



European
University
Institute

DEPARTMENT
OF HISTORY
AND
CIVILIZATION

Where Philosophy meets Bureaucracy

Cesare Beccaria's Social Contract from Page to
Practice

Alexandra Ortolja-Baird

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Florence, 14 December 2017

European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

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Department of History and Civilization - Doctoral Programme**

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Cesare Beccaria, renowned author of the 1764 Enlightenment treatise *Dei delitti e delle pene*, has long been celebrated as the voice of the abolitionist movement against the death penalty, the founding father of modern criminology, and the go-to source on penal reform. These personalities have been fuelled by the instant global success of Beccaria's text, however this celebrity trajectory has clouded many of his less sensational identities in its wake: Beccaria, reluctant man of letters, enlightened Habsburg bureaucrat and practical philosopher. This thesis recovers these entangled personas and, in so doing, provides an intellectual history of Cesare Beccaria that emphasises his substantial contribution as a philosopher, not just on the page, but in practice.

Beccaria envisioned an ambitious social project. Proposing a vision of society in which the social contract served to protect “the greatest happiness divided between the greater number” and which was based upon a hedonistic calculation of human nature, Beccaria concluded that individuals had the equal right to pursue pleasure and that government was obliged to provide this opportunity. Interpreting this in economic terms, Beccaria presented a case for the removal of all institutionalised obstacles to the pursuit of wealth: while not everyone could achieve riches, all had the equal chance at improving their lot. His philosophy was the product of both a rich reading culture and intellectual network, which were simultaneously patriotic and cosmopolitan. On the one hand, local, specialised and concerned with matters of public utility, on the other, internationally, intellectually and socially diverse. However, the social contract was no utopian vision, but rather a blueprint for the political classes. In the field of public health in particular, Beccaria demonstrated his commitment to providing equal access to the pursuit of pleasure, abiding by the tenets of his contract at all costs. It is this practically inclined philosophy that the thesis argues is Beccaria's most important contribution to the Enlightenment.

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– INTRODUCTION –

“Dov’è il sepolcro dell’immortal Beccaria?”

The legend of *Dei delitti e delle pene* and the fate of Cesare Beccaria

“Dov’è il sepolcro dell’immortal Beccaria?” cried Pietro Verri in the pages of the patriotic journal, *Termometro politico della Lombardia*, in 1796.¹ Indignantly touting the birth of a new political climate, championing democratic public opinion and rattling the chains of French occupation, the *Termometro* violently railed against the recent loss of Italian liberty, and Pietro Verri, though famously estranged from his once close friend and esteemed colleague Cesare Beccaria, took up the paper’s partisan cry in lamenting the apathy of the Milanese towards their most prestigious of patriots:

Qual monumento di riconoscenza avete eretto, o milanesi, a quel sublime genio, che fra le tenebre comuni, osò il primo slanciarsi e indicare il gran problema della scienza sociale, *la massima felicità divisa sul maggior numero?* Qual atto di riconoscenza, o milanesi, avete eretto a quest’uomo grande, che ha illustrato la vostra patria, e di cui il libro immortale *dei delitti e delle pene* trovasi tradotto in tutte le lingue d’Europa, e collocato fra le opere di filosofia più sublime in tutte le biblioteche del mondo?²

While Verri was protesting the lack of any marble testament to Beccaria’s legacy with polemics undoubtedly resolved to serve a broader nationalistic cause, the pertinence of his protest lingers for historians: Where is the sepulchre to the immortal Beccaria? Where is the testament to the author of that sublime work of philosophy, *Dei delitti e delle pene*? In short, what legacy is left of Cesare Beccaria, *philosopher*?

Born into a noble Milanese family on 15 March 1738, Cesare Beccaria rejected his patrician heritage early, upon choosing in 1760 to marry the young and socially unsuitable Teresa Blasco against his family’s wishes. Abandoning the family home and taking refuge with

¹ Vittorio Criscuolo, ed., *Termometro politico della Lombardia*, vol. I (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per l’età moderna e contemporanea, 1989), 513.

² Criscuolo, *Termometro politico della Lombardia*, 513.

Pietro Verri – dissident aristocrat, reformer and friend, ten years his senior – Beccaria was catapulted into a vivacious world of Milanese intellectuals, dividing his time between battling intellectually and, at times, physically, with fellow members of the *Accademia dei Pugni* – the academy of fists – and studiously writing for their journal *Il Caffè*. The motivation and stimulation of this close circle of socially-conscious nobles was to catalyse Beccaria at the tender age of twenty-five to produce one of the most important texts of late eighteenth-century Europe, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, a pamphlet whose passionate cries for the abolition of the death penalty and torture; for the proportion between crimes and punishments; and for the mildness of punishment, continue to move and empower the modern reader. Yet, focus on Beccaria’s biography often stops here at these powerful sentiments. Despite a handful of further publications and a successful administrative career which lasted until his unexpected death in 1794, for history, the clock stopped some thirty years earlier and Beccaria’s contribution to society ended at the publication of his legal masterpiece. Today, and to most, Beccaria’s resting place is in the pages of legal history. *Dei delitti e delle pene* is no work of philosophy but rather an historic document ratifying the momentous transformation from arbitrary to humane notions of criminal justice. As Cesare Beccaria’s name, his seminal treatise and his immortal image as a penal reformer have ascended into the stuff of myth, the legacy of Beccaria, *jurist*, towers above both popular and academic imagination. Over the centuries, *Dei delitti e delle pene* has become the principal historical source on penal reform, reinforcing a historiography unwavering in its worship of Beccaria, father of modern criminology; Beccaria, nascent utilitarian; and Beccaria, original humanitarian: entangled personas recurrent in the now inherently legal interpretations of his work. Thus it is less the lack of any tomb that weighs uncomfortably upon Beccaria scholarship, than the legitimacy of such an aphoristic memorial constructed upon interpretation, derivation and distortion. To deconstruct this sepulchre and pose Verri’s question once again, marks the starting point of this research: where ought the resting place of Cesare Beccaria, author, but not just of a criminological *Dei delitti e delle pene*, lie? Alongside whom and in what form?

Cesare Beccaria – reluctant philosopher, evangelist of reason,³ lackadaisical intellectual, Rousseau of the Italians,⁴ apologetic noble, hopeless daydreamer, devoted husband, haphazard poet, self-proclaimed political thinker,⁵ accidental socialist,⁶ sheepish celebrity, mathematical prodigy, diligent bureaucrat was, at heart, as Pietro Verri notably states, the first to dare tackle that great problem of social science: *the greatest happiness divided by the greater number*. Such a contribution to political philosophy deserves a legacy which reflects more than the influence and reception of *Dei delitti e delle pene* as a work of jurisprudence, a legacy which acknowledges the deeper intentions of Beccaria’s statements and the distinct cultural environment which shaped his outlook. We are overtly aware of how instrumental *Dei delitti e delle pene* was to become, yet only select scholarship has examined Beccaria’s wider intellectual milieu and the scope of his writings, engagements and actions outside of this one remarkable early treatise. While himself a hesitant citizen of the Republic of Letters, Cesare Beccaria was geographically, socially and professionally located at the heart of a vibrant cosmopolitan community and, as a Lombard state administrator, held an important mediating role between Milan and the Habsburg Empire; scenes often forgotten as *Dei delitti e delle pene*, once a dynamic and spirited work, has been left a dour and dusty relic estranged from the context which rendered it so noteworthy. With this static division between text and context, it is time to question whether there is any added value in taking Beccaria’s groundbreaking text as the primary focus of historical studies, or whether alternative sources, such as personal correspondence, government papers and memoranda provide more comprehensive and as yet, understudied, insights into Beccaria’s involvement in, and contribution to, his intellectual environment. If we remove Beccaria from the limelight of *Dei delitti e delle pene* and use these documents to instead investigate the intellectual climate of his immediate community, can we cut through the myopia of legal literature to discover that Beccaria’s writings are a product of interests, trends and ambitions wider than penal reform? Such is the starting point of this thesis. Through problematising and rejecting the

³ So-called by Jeremy Bentham. See: A.P. d’Entrèves, Introduction to Alessandro Manzoni’s *The Column of Infamy: Prefaced by Cesare Beccaria’s Of Crimes and Punishments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), xi.

⁴ Ferdinando Facchinei, *Note ed osservazioni sul libro intitolato Dei delitti e delle pene* (Venice, 1775), 188.

⁵ Cesare Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle Pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale Delle Opere di Cesare Beccaria*, vol. I, ed. Luigi Firpo (Milan: Mediobanca, 1984), 21.

⁶ Ferdinando Facchinei, “Note ed osservazioni sul libro intitolato dei Delitti e delle pene,” in *On Crimes and Punishments and Other Writings*, ed. Aaron Thomas (London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 92–7. Facchinei is also renowned for calling Beccaria the “Rousseau of the Italians” in response to the social contract theory present in *Dei delitti e delle pene*.

legal heritage of the immortal Beccaria we ultimately discover his mortal foil: A Beccaria who held a diversity of intellectual interests, whose contribution to philosophy extended far beyond his ground-breaking treatise, and whose attention was drawn to social injustices not just in law, but in economics, class, religion, gender, health and education. Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* was neither a piece of legal Utopianism, nor a humanitarian manifesto, but a rigorous programme for reform: a specific institutional transformation as required by his vision of an altogether more equitable society.

Approach, structure and contribution of the thesis

This thesis does not contribute to the polemicised legal tropes heralding Beccaria as the father of modern criminology. Instead, it seeks to recover Beccaria's more substantial intellectual contribution as a philosopher. Arguing that Cesare Beccaria formulated a vision of the social contract which was radical in its call for absolute equality in the pursuit of happiness, this thesis proceeds to demonstrate that this dedication to equality is not only consistent throughout many of his writings, but that it can also be traced in his activities as a Habsburg state administrator – a coherence ostensibly rendering Beccaria a practising philosopher.

There are consequently four main ambitions to this research. Primarily, by considering Beccaria from a distinctly non-legal standpoint, the thesis intends to show the value of more generous interpretations of Beccaria's work, which present his contribution to society as more wide-ranging, applying to areas as diverse as economics, politics, education, health, gender and class. While Beccaria's legal heritage is not undeserved, it has obscured the significance of Beccaria's social contract theory and the larger framework of social change presented by Beccaria, only within which was legal reform necessary. To recover this overarching ambition means not only resituating Beccaria's intellectual genealogy but also reassessing the legacy of this area of his thought. Secondly, by thoroughly examining Beccaria's philosophy, the thesis intends to demonstrate not only the centrality and continuity of the social contract in Beccaria's writings, but also how he envisioned its tenets being upheld by both state and individual. Beccaria did not purely reflect on the nature of society in the abstract, but considered which institutions and reforms – compatible with enlightened absolutism – were required to render society more equitable, as was the

intention of the social contract. Thirdly, the thesis will demonstrate how Beccaria's vision of the social contract, and the institutions required to uphold it, was coherently carried over into his outlook as a state administrator, providing the rationale for many of his actions and decisions. The significance of this coherence between page and practice has great repercussions for our understanding of Beccaria's intentions in writing, as well as the diverse interpretations of the role of the philosopher in the eighteenth century. Finally, the thesis claims that Beccaria maintained a sense of creativity as to the means by which the social contract could be upheld. Although he provided very clear instruction regarding the reformulation of social institutions, he remained open to the potential utility of discoveries, knowledge and methods derived from the advances in the scientific disciplines, in facilitating the equal access of all individuals to the pursuit of happiness.

To investigate the continuity of Beccaria's thought, this study will address Beccaria's thought holistically, focusing neither on one precise period in Beccaria's life, nor any particular publication, nor role held during his career, an approach absent from much of the corpus of Beccaria scholarship. In taking such a perspective it must be stated that this thesis is not trying to read continuity into Beccaria's work, quite the contrary. Identifying the coherence of Beccaria's dedication to public utility is the result of an extensive examination of his opus – of his writings, letters and state papers – which has only become apparent after much research into these diverse sources. In order to highlight the coherence running both chronologically through Beccaria's works and across the different spheres of his involvement and interest, this research will reflect on Cesare Beccaria's thought through the prisms of three identities: the man of letters, the philosopher and the state administrator. These are but three of manifold identities we could extract from Beccaria's life and the reason behind choosing these in particular is a deliberate counterbalance to the existing accounts treating Beccaria as an economist, jurist and criminologist. But the choice is more active than reactive. Each of these (albeit overlapping) identities functions at a different social level and with a different intellectual purpose. The expectations of the philosopher and the man of letters are not necessarily aligned with those of the state administrator and vice versa, thus in tandem these three categories provide us with the outer-most boundaries of our study, allowing the broadest scope within which to question the coherence of Beccaria's attitudes regarding public utility. As yet, many studies have relied on the internal coherence of Beccaria's texts within individual disciplines, mostly highlighting the

continuity of Beccaria's legal and economic reflections. However, the challenge lies in synthesising these disparate, internal coherences into a complete picture, with the ambition of measuring the overall continuity of Beccaria's claims regarding public utility. Consequently, this thesis will focus on the interaction between the identities of the philosopher, the man of letters and the state administrator, and demonstrate how these categories frame one another and share several fundamental details. Clearly, this is not an approach without pitfalls. At the very least it would appear oxymoronic to distinguish between the parts in pursuit of understanding the whole. Nonetheless, these categories do help to serve the purpose of clarity and these are labels that both Beccaria himself and his peers used in reference to his identity. Through the diversity of sources introduced under these titles, it will be shown that public utility lies at the heart of Beccaria's writings, be they predominantly economic, philosophical, legal or administrative and it is likewise a noticeable concern in both his public and private discussions.

Still they are fundamentally connected identities. Above all, restoring Beccaria as a philosopher relies on recovering his role as a state administrator. This was a role he upheld for the majority of his professional life, from 1771–1794 and which, more often than not, is but cursorily mentioned with only rare reference to his wealth of state papers. It is this particular Beccaria, one that dedicated himself in practice, not just on paper, to the preservation of the public good, who comes across as the most striking character in this thesis, not only observing the tenets of the social contract with fastidious reverence, but also actively experimenting with creative approaches in tackling complex social issues and infrastructural reform.

Structure

The historiography of the Lombard Enlightenment addressed in Chapter I is the first step in resituating Cesare Beccaria and his writings away from their existing legal framework. Treating the Lombard Enlightenment as a unique regional enlightenment within its wider European counterpart, this chapter distinguishes several key characteristics of this enlightenment which help to reconstruct the more immediate intellectual and cultural climate of Beccaria's writing, these being: the impetus of a period of economic crisis and reform; the hedonistic epistemology of the Milanese school of political economy; the dual

cosmopolitan-patriotism of the *Il Caffè* journal; the belief in the “geometric method”; and the employment of Milanese thinkers within the Habsburg state administration. This background serves to show Beccaria’s exposure to a very different intellectual milieu than is often used to contextualise *Dei delitti e delle pene*, and helps to integrate Beccaria’s role as a philosopher-statesman into a more general regional trend of practical enlightenment.

The thesis then turns, in Chapter II, to Beccaria’s intellectual networks, using correspondence maps and co-citation and network density visualisations to demonstrate the breadth of Beccaria’s engagements with diverse locations, individuals and groups spanning across the Republic of Letters. Spatially, socially and chronologically reconstructing Beccaria’s personal correspondence reveals that he maintained a vibrant epistolary network throughout his lifetime, even during his employment in the Milanese administration, and tracing co-citation helps to dissect how Beccaria and his correspondents perceived his identity and role within the Republic of Letters. Furthermore, the chapter reflects on the function of Beccaria’s network, concluding that Beccaria had little ambition of cultivating a wide and purely aesthetic correspondence, but rather purposefully manoeuvred within this network initiating, fostering and breaking connections as was necessary at different points of his career.

Following on from this, Chapter III looks more specifically at the content of the correspondence, examining Beccaria’s exchanges with booksellers and intermediaries and reconstructing the traceable reading habits of our protagonist. Through generating Beccaria’s “biblioscape” – a network which visualises all the literature which we can trace Beccaria having some form of contact with, be it through ownership, citation, recommendation or request – the chapter reveals the themes, topics, authors and texts which were more present in Beccaria’s network in quantitative terms. While this does not necessarily indicate that these were the most influential in shaping Beccaria’s thought, the analysis brings to light a more accurate account of Beccaria’s frame of cultural and intellectual reference. In both these chapters, we see that Beccaria is extensively engaging with more diverse intellectual traditions than we would perhaps expect, above all physiocracy and natural history. We also see that public utility, a central concern of Beccaria’s philosophical writings, takes centre stage as a pursuable and obtainable ambition in the correspondence and via the circulation of texts and manuscripts, and that Beccaria

actively sought to augment public utility through the promotion of fields such as hydraulic engineering and agronomy, as well as through exchanges regarding “useful” practices, which were potentially transplantable into the Lombard setting.

Chapter IV turns to Beccaria’s philosophy proper. Through a comprehensive examination of Beccaria’s wider opus, the thesis provides a synthesis of Beccaria’s interpretation of the social contract, as well as his understanding of key concepts such as happiness, pain and pleasure. Contrary to common utilitarian readings incorrectly attributing Beccaria with the expression “the greatest happiness of the greatest number”, Beccaria’s principal condition for public utility – the “greatest happiness divided between the greater number” – called for the equal distribution of the maximum happiness between all individuals, not to the majority. This maxim which above all measured happiness by the freedom to pursue wealth, was grounded in sensationist epistemologies based on the motivating forces of pain and pleasure, and required the removal of class, religious and economic privileges, therein ostensibly calling for the removal of all social and institutional obstacles to a proto-free market.⁷ The thesis argues that it is this demand for a complete restructuring of social institutions, greatly overlooked by later readers of *On Crimes and Punishments*, that ought to define Beccaria’s intellectual contribution to the Enlightenment and draws attention to the reality that it was this petition for social equality that caused the greatest friction during Beccaria’s lifetime. It concludes that *On Crimes and Punishments* is better interpreted as a set of demands for a specific institutional transformation, which is but one of many elements requiring reform in the project of securing an altogether more equitable society.

Turning in Chapters V and VI to Beccaria’s career as a state administrator, the thesis demonstrates that his social contract was no utopian vision, but rather a blueprint for the political and reforming classes. Examining archival documents from Beccaria’s time in the Lombard administration the thesis focuses on the field of public health in order to highlight how the terms of the social contract determined Beccaria’s administrative activities. Discussions regarding the efficacy of smallpox inoculation, the distribution of medical services, the vernacularisation of medical texts and training, the utility of nascent

⁷The term “free-market”, while not the ideal nomenclature for Beccaria’s economics, is used in scholarship. See: Bernhard Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets: Punishment and the Myth of Natural Order* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

veterinary sciences and the control of epizootic diseases, all attest to Beccaria's perception of the Lombard administration as a laboratory in which to test the limits of the social contract and we can trace Beccaria's philosophical convictions echoing throughout these discussions, at times even verbatim, and ultimately framing his political decisions. Most remarkably, it is in this setting that we see Beccaria argue against his own personal opinion on scientific utility in order to protect the terms of the social contract. It is in these two chapters that we see the creativity in Beccaria's approach to the provision of public utility as we witness how he cautiously treated "science", in terms of empirical knowledge, expertise and language, as a tool at the service of public utility. Chapter V, which examines the plans for the creation of the Milanese Veterinary School, as was promoted by Beccaria, illustrates the correlation drawn between public utility and scientific veterinary training, while Chapter VI addresses the provision of smallpox inoculation and the distribution of medical services, which Beccaria similarly interpreted in terms of public utility.

Contribution

The contribution of this thesis is threefold. Primarily, by demonstrating that we have long overlooked the deeper social criticism contained in both Beccaria's seminal treatise, *Dei delitti e delle pene* and his wider opus, this research resituates Cesare Beccaria within the history of Enlightenment thought, re-contextualising his work within debates on the social contract, political economy and social equality. Moreover, it raises the question of whether *Dei delitti e delle pene* is, in fact, the most significant intellectual contribution Beccaria made, or whether his cohesive and practically-oriented vision of societal reform, in which *Dei delitti e delle pene* is just an element of a much broader transformation, is in fact more remarkable. Secondly, in drawing attention to how Beccaria's ideas played out in Enlightenment institutions, the thesis contributes to literature examining the "Practical Enlightenment". Philosopher-statesmen were crucial arbiters of Enlightenment thought and recovering the coherence between their ideas and actions not only illustrates the multiple planes across which the Enlightenment operated, but also attests to the now widely held perception of Enlightenment as a set of practices. By ostensibly putting theory into practice, Beccaria successfully mediated between the often separate identities of thinker and administrator, but this generates fundamental questions regarding whether Beccaria had always intended his philosophical proposals to be achievable and, if so,

whether this ultimately restricted his vision so as to be compatible with the enlightened absolutism of the Habsburg territories. Similarly, in dissecting the geographical and social composition of Beccaria's intellectual community and its purposes, the thesis cuts through the rhetoric of the Republic of Letters to reveal a pragmatic and purposeful network which served more practical, domestic ambitions than the expansion of this supra-national Republic or the advancement of human knowledge, again contributing to more pragmatic readings of the Enlightenment. In this same vein, this research also contributes more specifically to Beccaria scholarship as it refutes the common trope that Beccaria retired from the world upon entering the Lombard administration.⁸ This conclusion, reached by highlighting the coherence in Beccaria's thought, as well as in his participation in the Republic of Letters throughout his career, enables the thesis to more broadly demonstrate that intellectual involvement need not exclusively be measured by textual contributions alone, but also through actions, engagements and connections. This links to the final contribution of this research. The methodology and sources used to present Beccaria as a philosopher in practice is grounded in the growing corpus of intellectual histories based on non-canon texts and traditionally non-textual sources. It is only through examining Beccaria's correspondence and administrative writings that it is possible to trace the coherence in his philosophical outlook and which consequently demonstrates that authorial intention can be extracted from functional sources. Furthermore, the quantitative and digital methods used in Chapters II and III intend to demonstrate the compatibility of small-scale digital history with traditional contextual intellectual history approaches.

However, the scope of this thesis has resulted in some important areas of research being neglected, which would form the crucial next steps in researching Beccaria's activities as a philosopher-administrator. In terms of the intellectual history presented in this thesis, it is important to acknowledge that this research has chosen not to use the *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile*, arguably one of the most important publications within Beccaria's opus. This has been a conscious decision, partly due to the extensive existing work carried out by Philippe Audegean on this text. However, to better situate Beccaria's reflections, especially

⁸ Carlo Capra, "Il gruppo del 'Caffè' e le riforme," in *Cesare Beccaria. La pratica dei lumi, Atti del Convegno, Torino, 1997*, eds. V. Ferrone, G. Francioni, (Olschki: Firenze, 2000), 68. "una svolta così rapida e radicale, che rimanda piuttosto a profonde motivazioni e pulsioni psicologiche, a un irresistibile bisogno di quiete interiore, di fuga dal rovello e dall tensione connessi all'attività letteraria."

on the nature of the mind, this publication needs greater attention within the context of Beccaria's administrative work in particular. A more rigorous examination of Beccaria's philosophy would mean engaging with this text at length, which would undoubtedly problematise some of the conclusions presented in Chapter IV of this thesis.

Another area which deserves far greater focus and which this thesis has actively not engaged with at length, is the relationship of Beccaria's thought to cameralism. Having held the first professorship in cameral sciences at the Palatine School, written a selection of texts which vacillated between the titles of cameral science and political economy, and held a long-term position in an administration whose ethos was based upon cameralist thought and policy, Beccaria was arguably exposed to cameralism to a much greater degree than this thesis has acknowledged, or has been truly explored in other Beccaria scholarship to date. On the one hand, we would benefit greatly from research into the theoretical links between Beccaria's writings and core cameralist literature, in order to understand the extent to which this academic tradition had intellectual and cultural traction in Enlightenment Lombardy. On the other hand and, arguably more importantly, Beccaria's career has the potential to contribute to the history of cameralist practices: to our understanding of not only what these were, where they occurred and who carried them out, but also why they were embraced and the plural understandings of the nature of cameralism that they signified. Through examining both the Milanese cameralist activities in greater detail and the commonalities between Lombardy and other Habsburg lands, Beccaria's work promises to help build a more comprehensive picture of the regional forms of cameralism during the late eighteenth century, an area which is still understudied in comparison to the history of cameralism in the German speaking lands. While cameralism may have fallen out of favour as an historical lens, the extent to which it traversed ideas and practices makes it a unique and important facet for rereading the Enlightenment as a phenomenon built upon and driven by multiple planes.

If, at times, this thesis has verged on presenting Beccaria's as a singular experience, it must be reiterated that Beccaria was far from alone in "converting" to the administration, which occurred not only in Lombardy but also, albeit in different forms, across many of the Habsburg territories and throughout the continent more broadly, even reaching, as scholars working on cameralism have recently showed, the Americas and Russia. Research into

Beccaria's cameralist practices would consequently open avenues to enable further contextualisation of Beccaria's outlook with regards to the activities of similar philosopher-administrators across the world of the Enlightenment, be they cameralist or not. Beccaria, as a figure employed within the state mechanics, is one of thousands of functionary characters whose actions arguably drove the Enlightenment

Finally, while this thesis contributes to Gian Paolo Massetto's article "Beccaria tra diritto penale ed economia",⁹ in examining Cesare Beccaria's administrative documents, these works together offer only a first step into the wealth of extant sources from this period, both within the fields we have selected (cumulatively: public health, grain, hunting, forestry, mining and prisons) and in many other areas of Beccaria's bureaucratic purview which remain untouched. To truly gain a comprehensive understanding of the extent to which Beccaria's understanding and adherence to the social contract stretched throughout his administrative activities, a much larger and broader study of these documents would be required. Likewise, a greater sensitivity to the change over time within Beccaria's administrative outlook would be necessary to provide a more granular analysis of this important period of Beccaria's career. Nonetheless, the approach of this thesis has demonstrated the viability of interpreting Beccaria's administrative career as a laboratory for testing the limits and ways of preserving the social contract.

Restoring letters to the canon: Rethinking the text in intellectual history

The ambition of this thesis to demonstrate the coherence running through Beccaria's opus and practice by using textual and non-textual sources situates this research somewhere at the intersection between intellectual history, history of science and cultural history. The question of the contribution of correspondence and administrative documentation as intellectual objects of study brings us to the perennial issue of what exactly makes intellectual history. While letters and administrative sources as textual, albeit functional products can, within broader interpretations of intellectual expression, be subjected to close-reading methodologies, they remain unusual and infrequently used materials in

⁹ Gian Paolo Massetto "Beccaria tra diritto penale ed economia *l'Illuminismo delle riforme civili: il contributo degli economisti lombardi* - Milano, 13-14 Dicembre 2011 - *A cura di Pier Luigi Porta e Roberto Scanzjari*.

intellectual history.¹⁰ Becoming more common, is the use of networks – such as correspondence networks – that, being purely structural forms, lack any of the explicitly textual elements central to the intellectual historian’s practice.¹¹ Although the demand of Cambridge School protagonists to divert attention away from the canon has now become a unquestioned feature of most intellectual histories, it is only recently that the hegemony of the text, as *written* document, has come under more than just theoretical scrutiny, being challenged by empirical intellectual histories addressing textual utterances in such diverse media as calendars, almanacs,¹² art,¹³ maps,¹⁴ emblems and architectural practices, among many other types of “non-textual” sources.¹⁵ The recurrent question of what makes a text worthy of intellectual study is being addressed with increasingly more generous answers. While there has been some backlash to the opening up of intellectual history (Nils Gilman pointedly remarked that there “is no such thing as a close reading of a telephone book”),¹⁶ the reception of new texts has been overwhelmingly positive, perhaps due to the fact that the text as the overarching subject of investigation of the intellectual historian, has provoked fundamental disagreements throughout the past half century over what exactly *is* a text, as well as the means of study and the ways of reading texts.¹⁷

¹⁰ Thomas Wheatland’s *The Frankfurt School in Exile* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009) for instance, has used correspondence more qualitatively in order to revise traditional interpretations with new archival evidence.

¹¹ The work of Ann Thomson has been especially important in this respect. See: “Toland, Dodwell, Swift and the circulation of religious ideas in France: what does the study of international networks tell us about the ‘radical Enlightenment?’,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 12 (2013): 159–175; “Informal Networks,” in *Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Knud Haakonssen, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 121–136.

¹² Ge Zhaoguang, *Intellectual History of China, Volume One: Knowledge, Thought, and Belief Before the Seventh Century CE* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 60–1.

¹³ Lynn Hunt, *Family Romance of the French Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁴ See: Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

¹⁵ See: Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); E.A. Grosz, *Architecture from the Outside: Essays on Virtual and Real Space* (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2001).

¹⁶ Nils Gilman, U.S Intellectual History Blog, “What is the Subject of Intellectual History?,” available at <http://s-usih.org/2013/02/what-is-the-subject-of-intellectual-history.html>.

¹⁷ For a diversity of important views on this issue see: James Langshaw Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, eds. James Opie Urmson and Marina Sbisà, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965); Mark Bevir, “Mind and Method in the History of Ideas,” *History and Theory*, vol. 36, no. 2 (1997): 167–189; Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History. Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983); Darrin M. McMahon and Samuel Moyn, *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and Intellectual History* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Paul Ricoeur “What is a

This thesis claims that authorial intention and intertextuality can be deciphered from both the structural analysis of correspondence and functional documents such as administrative proceedings, minutes, memoranda and internal communications, provided that we begin from the premise that textual utterances can be articulated by more than just words on the pages of canon texts, extending to visual, audible and numerical materials. This revision of the text and the life of reading and writing beyond the page derives from several recent conceptual shifts in intellectual history, placing it in greater dialogue with other subfields such as social and cultural history, and the history of science. The most crucial of these recent developments is undoubtedly the rise of the global. Most explicitly explored through Samuel Moyn and Andrew Satori's collaborative volume, *Global Intellectual History*, global approaches are generating a wealth of new intellectual histories which, through the new journal *Global Intellectual History*, publications such as *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*; the Modern Intellectual History Journal's, *Forum: A World of Ideas: New Pathways in Global Intellectual History, c.1880–1930* and the extensive work of scholars such as Shruti Kapila, Kapil Raj, Lissa Roberts and Sujit Sivasundaram, draw the discipline ever closer towards the history of science, postcolonial history and cultural history, in so doing opening up intellectual history to a rich diversity of approaches and topics.¹⁸ While this thesis is a distinctly unglobal intellectual history, this research has drawn upon the propensity of this field to broaden the available corpus of intellectual sources, examining diverse media such as stone tablets and iconography, and investigating such elements as law and practices.

Text? Explanation and Interpretation,” in *Mythic-Symbolic Language and Philosophical Anthropology* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1971); Richard Whatmore and B. W. Young, *A Companion to Intellectual History* (Malden, MA John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2016); Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁸ See: Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj, and James Delbourgo, “Introduction,” in *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820*, eds. Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj and James Delbourgo (Sagamore Beach, Mass: Science History Publication, 2009); Sugate Bose and Kris Manjapra, *Cosmopolitan Thought Zones: South Asia and the Global Circulation of Ideas* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); J. Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015); S. Gänger and Su Lin Lewis, “Forum: A World of Ideas: New Pathways in Global Intellectual History, c. 1880–1930,” *Modern Intellectual History Journal*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2013): 347–351; Shruti Kapila et al., “An Intellectual History for India,” *Modern Intellectual History*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2007); Shruti Kapila, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900* (Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Lissa Roberts, “Situating Science in Global History: Local Exchanges and Networks of Circulation,” *Itinerario*, vol. 33, no. 1 (2009): 9–30; S. Sivasundaram, “Sciences and the Global: On Methods, Questions, and Theory,” *Isis*, vol. 101, no. 1 (2010): 146–58.

Of more direct relevance to this research, global intellectual history has been greatly shaped by methods derived from the history of knowledge and cultural history, and the emphasis they place on translation, the circulation of ideas, networks and cultural transfers. This latter concept, coined by Michel Espagne in the 1980s, was initially explored by Espagne and Michael Werner in their research into the history of translation and the circulation of knowledge between France and Germany.¹⁹ Derived from postcolonial studies, Espagne and Werner's approach was based upon the rejection of nations and cultures as autonomous or hermetic, which they instead interpreted as dynamically interconnected. Questioning the perceived origins of European cultures in particular, their method highlighted both the importation and exportation of "culture" and sought to overcome the limitations of strictly comparative history. In order to complicate these cultural accounts, the study of cultural transfers aimed to be receptive to the exchange and complex reciprocity of cultural relations, interpreting boundaries as permeable and not defined by national, cultural and linguistic groups. Since Espagne and Werner, the concept of cultural transfer has been adopted by many historians, above all in France and the German speaking countries,²⁰ and a large proportion of scholarship has focused on the cultural transfers occurring within translation.²¹ After a significant period of reflection on the limitations of the initial bilateral approach of cultural transfers and their reliance on written sources, more recent research in the field has deviated somewhat from the original outlook of Espagne and Werner, though still lying within the general framework of their approach.

¹⁹ See: Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999); Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des CNRS," *Francia*, vol. 13 (1985): 502–510; Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, "La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France: genèse et histoire (1750-1914)," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, vol. 42, no. 4 (1987): 969–992. For a detailed history of cultural transfer see: Mathias Middell, "Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen im Austausch. Das Konzept des Kulturtransfers in verschiedenen Forschungskontexten," in *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert. Prag – Krakau – Danzig – Wien*, ed. Andrea Langer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001): 15–51.

²⁰ See: Helga Mitterbauer and Katharina Scherke, eds., *Ent-grenzte Räume: kulturelle Transfers um 1900 und in der Gegenwart*, Studien zur Moderne 22 (Vienna: Passagen, 2005); Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt, *Kulturtransfer im Epochenumbuch: Frankreich – Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*, Deutsch-Französische Kulturbibliothek 9.1/2 (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1997); Gregor Kokorz and Helga Mitterbauer, „Einleitung,” in *Übergänge und Verflechtungen: kulturelle Transfers in Europa*, Wechselwirkungen: Österreichische Literatur im internationalen Kontext 7 (Bern: Lang, 2004).

²¹ See: Armin Paul Frank, Kurt-Jürgen Maaß, Fritz Paul, and Horst Turk, *Übersetzen, verstehen, Brücken bauen: Geisteswissenschaftliches und literarisches Übersetzen im internationalen Kulturaustausch*, 2 vols., Göttinger Beiträge zur Internationalen Übersetzungsforschung 8.1/2 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1993).

This is exemplified in collaborative volumes such as *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*,²² and *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century*, as well as special issues such as *Triangular transfer: Großbritannien, Frankreich und Deutschland um 1800* and *Transferts culturels triangulaires France – Allemagne – Russie* which document the constant development and elasticity of the original theoretical framework. Similarly, Donato, Lüsebrink and Bernier’s *Jesuit accounts of the colonial Americas: intercultural transfers, intellectual disputes, and textualities* and Pamela Smith’s, “Itineraries of materials and knowledge in the early modern world” have demonstrated the evolution of cultural transfers through their exploration of multi-lateral and multi-source cultural transfers.²³ Moreover, these publications and the approaches of cultural transfer history and its later offshoots more generally have enabled historians to recover the seminal role played by intermediaries such as merchants, traders, booksellers and translators as intellectual figures whose actions actively altered the course, form and content of the global circulation of ideas: intermediary actors who inevitably bring with them a wealth of “intermediary” sources. Publications such as *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820*; James Secord’s thought-provoking article “Knowledge in Transit”;²⁴ *Les grands intermédiaires culturels de la République des Lettres. Etudes de réseaux de correspondances du XVIe au XVIIIe siècles*,²⁵ and Sophus Reinert’s *Translating Empire* emphasise the indirect and entangled trajectory of ideas and the multiple actors who, both knowingly and unknowingly, transformed, hindered or proliferated ideas in a multitude of different contexts. Alongside this renewed interest in the diverse actors involved in the global circulation of ideas, are intellectual histories which examine the networks and means

²² Stefanie Stockhorst, ed., *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2010).

²³ Sandra Pott and Sebastian Neumeister, “Triangular transfer: Großbritannien, Frankreich und Deutschland um 1800,” *Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift*, vol. 56 (2006): 1–9; *Philologiques* 4: “Transferts culturels triangulaires France – Allemagne – Russie” (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 1996); Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows and Edmond Dziembowski, eds., *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010); Clorinda Donato, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, and Marc Andre Bernier, *Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas: Intercultural Transfers, Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014); Pamela Smith, “Itineraries of materials and knowledge in the early modern world,” in *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*, eds. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London/New York: Routledge, 2016), 31–61.

²⁴ James A. Secord, “Knowledge in Transit,” *Isis*, vol. 95, no. 4 (2004): 654–672.

²⁵ Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Hans Bots and Jens Häselser, eds. *Les grands intermédiaires culturels de la République des Lettres. Etudes de réseaux de correspondances du XVIe au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005).

by which cultural transfers took place. There is now a wealth of literature focusing on the nature of networks in the early modern period, which has been crucial in mapping the framework of this thesis, in particular Laurence Brockliss' *Calvet's Web: Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth Century France*; Steven Harris', "Confession-building, long distance networks and the organization of Jesuit science"; and Jürgen Barkhoff and Helmut Eberhart's, *Networking across Borders and Frontiers. Demarcation and Connectedness in European Culture and Society*.²⁶ Of particular importance to this thesis, is Martin Mulsow's notion of the "constellation philosophique", which he describes as "une ensemble dense de personnes, idées, théories, problèmes ou documents en interactions les uns avec les autres; dans ce cas, seule analyse de cet ensemble, et non celle de ses composantes isolées, rend possible la compréhension des effets philosophiques et du devenir philosophique de ces personnes, idées et théories."²⁷ Mulsow's constellations feature a wide array of sources, including letters, notes, inventories and books, in order to reconstruct deep networks of exchange, which is mirrored in this thesis on a much smaller scale.²⁸

Other studies have examined correspondence less abstractly in order to articulate the complicated and mediated nature of global flows of information. Francesca Trivellato's study of correspondence routes and the etiquette of merchant epistolary culture in *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* for example, documents how ideas were circulated and manipulated across cultures,²⁹ while Lindsay O'Neill's, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World*, combines archival research into correspondence collections with social network technologies to produce a structural account of the overlapping communication webs of the early modern period, their evolution and the ways in which networks actively affect the exchange of information. Accordingly, news and information networks have likewise

²⁶ Laurence Brockliss, *Calvet's Web: Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987); Steven Harris, "Confession-building, long distance networks and the organization of Jesuit science," *Early Science and Medicine: Jesuits and the Knowledge of Nature*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1996): 287–318; Jürgen Barkhoff and Helmut Eberhart, eds., *Networking across Borders and Frontiers. Demarcation and Connectedness in European Culture and Society* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009).

²⁷ Martin Mulsow, "Qu'est-ce qu'une constellation philosophique? Propositions pour une analyse des réseaux intellectuels," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, vol. 64, no. 1 (2009), 82–109.

²⁸ Mulsow, "Qu'est-ce qu'une constellation philosophique?" 98–9.

²⁹ Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

received significant attention from intellectual historians. The articulation of what Emma Rothschild has helpfully described as “intermediate ideas,”³⁰ required intermediary forms of information exchange, such as reports and weeklies: entire generations of texts which, though traditionally absent from intellectual history, have been addressed in publications like *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe*,³¹ which seek to highlight the centrality of information networks in shaping intellectual climates. Similarly, intellectual histories are increasingly focusing on the circulation of books and manuscripts, as well as their contents. Of great importance to this thesis is the social history of ideas put forward by Renato Pasta, whose reconstruction of the booktrade and reading culture in eighteenth-century Italy and the Swiss territories has transformed our understanding of the role played by the circulation of books in shaping the social, political and intellectual climate of the region.³² Pasta’s work fits more broadly within a tradition of Italian scholarship which examines the intellectual history of the Enlightenment from a cultural and political standpoint and which is fundamental to the theoretical framework of this research. The works of Girolamo Imbruglia and Vincenzo Ferrone in particular are representative of approaches which see a greater level of interconnectedness between the European cultural and intellectual productions of the period and the Italian political climate, and which question the predominantly philosophical readings of the Enlightenment.³³

³⁰ Emma Rothschild, “Arcs of Ideas: International History and Intellectual History,” in *Transnationale Geschichte. Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, eds. Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad and Oliver Janz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 225.

³¹ Raymond Joad, *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe* (London: Routledge, 2006).

³² See: Renato Pasta, “Towards a Social History of Ideas: The Book and the Booktrade in Eighteenth-Century Italy,” in *Histoires du Livre: Nouvelles Orientations: Actes du Colloque du 6 et 7 septembre 1990, Göttingen*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 1995), 101-138; *Cultura, intellettuali e circolazione delle idee nel ‘700* (Milan: Angeli, 1990); “Prima della Rivoluzione: il mercato librario italiano nelle carte della Société typographique de Neuchâtel (1769-1789),” *Mélanges De L’Ecole Française De Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, vol. 102, no. 2 (1990): 281–320.

³³ See: Girolamo Imbruglia, “Scottish Enlightenment in Naples: history and political languages of reform,” in *The Enlightenment in Scotland: National and International Perspectives*, eds. J.F. Donyach and A. Thomson (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015), 153-79; Imbruglia, *Naples in the Eighteenth Century: The Birth and Death of a Nation State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Vincenzo Ferrone and Sophus A. Reinert, *The Politics of Enlightenment: Constitutionalism, Republicanism, and the Rights of Man in Gaetano Filangieri* (London: Anthem Press, 2014); Vincenzo Ferrone, *The Enlightenment: History of an Idea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); Ferrone, *The Intellectual Roots of the Italian Enlightenment: Newtonian Science, Religion, and Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1995).

We find traces of Pasta's approach in diverse publications which likewise interpret circulation studies as essential in documenting the evolution of ideas. To mention but two examples, Howsam and Raven's *Books between Europe and the Americas: Connections and Communities, 1620-1860*,³⁴ aims to highlight the fraught "relationship between migration patterns and cultural products" and Kate Loveman's groundbreaking examination of Samuel Pepys' reading behaviour, which documents not only what he read, but where and whom these materials came from, is a wonderful example of how individual reading habits and the circulation of reading materials help to trace intellectual development.³⁵ Loveman explicitly acknowledges the connection of her work to earlier disciplinary shifts directing focus away from the study of elites to "bottom-up" intellectual histories and, in particular, the influence of Robert Darnton's work in "digging downward in intellectual history" which are important to note here.³⁶ Though the debate regarding Darnton's conclusions still rages, his focus on clandestine literature and the popular press in Enlightenment France opened intellectual history up to social and book history, controversially introducing entirely new genres of texts to the canon. His emphasis on the value of diffusion and reading cultures has had longstanding resonance with many intellectual historians, discontented with the scope of sources and actors deemed worthy of intellectual history.

In contrast to, and much critiqued by Darnton, the work of the cultural historian Daniel Roche in recovering *les choses banales*,³⁷ by way of notarial archives, inventories and other often overlooked bureaucratic sources and public institutions has been pivotal in recovering the loci of the Enlightenment beyond the locales of "high" intellectual and cultural participation. This approach is now found in many works of cultural-intellectual history which utilise administrative documents and official papers as sources demonstrating both authorial intention and intertextuality, and which recover the importance of

³⁴ Leslie Howsam and James Raven, eds., *Books between Europe and the Americas: Connections and Communities, 1620-1860* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

³⁵ Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books: Reading, Newsgathering, and Sociability, 1660-1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

³⁶ Robert Darnton, "The High Enlightenment and the Low-Life of Literature in Pre-Revolutionary France," *Past & Present*, vol. 51 (1971): 50.

³⁷ Robert Darnton, "Il Faut Savoir Compter," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 27, no. 4 (2004): 729–731.

administrators and administrative history for writing intellectual history.³⁸ Of particular pertinence to this research are those publications, such as Georges Vigarello's *Histoire des pratiques de santé. Le sain et le malsain depuis le Moyen Age*,³⁹ which not only examine these bureaucratic documents and their makers, but which lie at the intersection of intellectual history and the history of medicine and public health, as is the focus of Chapters V and VI of this thesis. Still, the intellectual history of public health is permeating intellectual history more generally. Here it suffices to mention David Barnes, *The Great Stink of Paris and the Nineteenth-Century Struggle Against Filth* and Sabine Arnaud, *On Hysteria: The Invention of a Medical Category between 1670 and 1820*, which have both refuted the often touted dualism between social and cultural approaches and intellectual history in addressing the history of health and medicine.⁴⁰ Special mention must also be made of Janet Gyatso's, *Being Human in a Buddhist World: An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet*, which not only demonstrates the benefits of intellectual history approaches in tracing the development of medical knowledge but, in its study of visual medical culture brings us full circle back to global intellectual history, as it validates the importance of authorial intention, as conveyed by non-texts, in recovering overlooked knowledge traditions.⁴¹

***Dei delitti e delle pene*: Genesis and metamorphosis**

In order to resituate Cesare Beccaria as a philosopher-statesman, the intellectual history at the core of this thesis relies on methods derived from the study of cultural transfers, networks and administrative history. However, before doing so, it helps to account for how and why the dominant legacy of Beccaria as a jurist has been formed. It is, above all, to the singular and convoluted history of the text of *Dei delitti e delle pene* that we can attribute this identity. Since its first publication, mistranslations, pirated editions and over-zealous editors

³⁸ See: Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, Fabien Simon and Marie Thébaud-Sorger, eds., *L'Europe des sciences et des techniques: Un dialogue des savoirs, XVe-XVIIIe siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016); Hélène Vérin, *La gloire des ingénieurs. L'intelligence technique du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993); Eric Brian, *La Mesure de l'État: Administrateurs et géomètres au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994).

³⁹ Georges Vigarello, *Histoire des pratiques de santé: le sain et le malsain depuis le Moyen Age* (Paris: Editions Points, 2016).

⁴⁰ David S. Barnes, *The Great Stink of Paris and the Nineteenth-Century Struggle Against Filth* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Sabine Arnaud, *On Hysteria: The Invention of a Medical Category between 1670 and 1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

⁴¹ Janet Gyatso, *Being Human in a Buddhist World: An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

have all played their parts in altering the format and content of the text during its rapid circulation throughout Europe and it has taken dedicated archival detective work to unravel the trajectory of the treatise's extensive transformations.⁴² Completed in January 1764, Beccaria's manuscript was given to the Livorno based publisher Giuseppe Aubert and appeared in print in July the same year, its immediate success and the contention of its content swiftly provoking swathes of both passionate rebuttals and defences.⁴³ The following year Aubert brought out the third edition of *Dei delitti*,⁴⁴ complete with edits and revisions dictated by its author and which introduced the now famous haunting, allegorical frontispiece. The image depicted Justice woefully recoiling at the sight of a severed head and staring longingly towards the tools and shackles of the more socially-useful, hard labour and it explicitly captured the profound social criticism at the heart of Beccaria's argument. Rumoured to have been designed by Cesare Beccaria himself and accompanied by a telling epigraph from Francis Bacon,⁴⁵ the dramatic image was clearly understood by supporters and detractors alike. In 1764 there was to be no opacity regarding the treatise's condemnation of existing social hierarchies and many were shocked by the plainness of Beccaria's calls for equality. Gianrinaldo Carli, a fellow member of the Accademia dei Pugni (though he mistakenly aligned Beccaria's conclusions with that of Rousseau), remarked on the audacity of his conclusions in a letter to Paolo Frisi, claiming, "it is a great mistake is to believe all men to be equal in inclination, instinct, evolution and that all are equally capable of perspective, moderation and reasonableness."⁴⁶ Likewise, in the words of his most vociferous critic, the monk Ferdinando Facchinei, Beccaria the "socialist" had dared to base

⁴² In particular, Franco Venturi's seminal work in validating the Harlem edition of the text. See: Franco Venturi, *Illuministi Italiani: Riformatori Lombardi, Piemontesi e Toscani*, vol. III (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1958), 27–105.

⁴³ See: Ferdinando Facchinei, *Note ed osservazioni sul libro intitolato "dei Delitti e delle pene"* (1765); Alessandro and Pietro Verri, *Risposta ad uno scritto che s'intitola note ed osservazioni sul libro dei delitti e delle pene* (1765).

⁴⁴ The title of second edition having been usurped by a pirated second edition printed in Florence with the false imprint of Monaco.

⁴⁵ Francis Bacon, *Sermones fideles XLV*, "In rebus quibuscumque difficilioribus non expectandum, ut quis simul, et seriatim et metat, sed praeparatione opus est, ut per gradus maturescant," epigraph in *On Crimes and Punishments*, ed. Aaron Thomas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 3.

⁴⁶ Gianrinaldo Carli to Paolo Frisi (Piacenza, 1 January 1765), Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Bobina 1398 – 000032-33-34: "Grande errore è quello di credere tutti gli uomini eguale d'inclinazione, d'istinto, di evoluti e capaci tutti egualmente dai sentimenti di vista, di moderazione, di ragionevolezza, quando nella fisionomia, mai tratti del cuiso nella voce, e negli stessi lineamenti dalla persona, tante differenze, e varietà si rilevano eppure da questo principio deviano tutte le conclusioni di Rousseau, e di Beccaria. Io certamente non sono contento se non arrivo ad cuore tanto d'ozio di sviluppo l'idea della vera libertà dell'uomo."

his treatise on two “false and absurd principles: that all men are born free and naturally equal and that the laws are nothing but, nor should they be anything other than free pacts between such men.”⁴⁷

How then, has history come to overlook this blistering and factious social critique, so evident at the time of publication? An instant Italian literary masterpiece, it took little time for the first translations to appear, with the Abbé André Morellet releasing the first French edition, *Des délits et des peines*, in 1765. However, believing the text to not have fully exploited its polemic potential, Morellet drastically reorganised the treatise’s chapters, paragraphs and arguably, its very meaning, to the point of rendering the content virtually unrecognisable. The new structure was, in its editor’s words, intended to rationalise the “chaleur du sentiment”⁴⁸ clouding Beccaria’s argument and to clarify the vital substance of the text to its readers in order to render its content more useful (or perhaps more readable) for the nation. Understandably, its author was unconvinced by the text’s new internal logic. Politely thanking Morellet for his sterling efforts in improving the treatise, Beccaria unwaveringly maintained the original format for Aubert’s fifth Italian edition of 1766 and in further reprints,⁴⁹ never quite finding the opportune moment to fulfil his promise to implement the new structure alongside his own ample amendments.⁵⁰ We can perhaps see why: at even a glance it is clear to see that Morellet’s ordering gives the treatise a misleadingly jurisprudential overtone if compared to Beccaria’s “unnatural” arrangement of ideas.⁵¹ The rationale of the original text emphasises, in order: the correlation between rights and utility underpinning Beccaria’s calls for penal reform, the theoretical elements of the right to punish, the classification of crimes and the proportion between crimes and punishments, before then considering specific amendments to, and applications of, criminal law. Within his first chapters Beccaria plainly defines not only the social contract which demands the

⁴⁷ Translation Facchinei in *On Crimes and Punishments*, ed. Thomas, 97.

⁴⁸ Morellet, préface to *Traité des délits et des peines, traduit de l’italien, d’après la troisième édition revue... par l’auteur, avec des additions de l’auteur qui n’ont pas encore paru en italien. Nouvelle édition plus correcte que les précédentes* (Biblioteca pubblica di Lione, 1766).

⁴⁹ The fourth edition was also pirated. The fifth edition was printed with the false place names of Lausanne and Harlem, respectively.

⁵⁰ Cesare Beccaria to André Morellet (Milan, 26 January 1766), letter 68 in *Edizione Nazionale Delle Opere di Cesare Beccaria*, vol. IV (Milan: Mediobanca, 1994), 220: “Vi protesto con ogni sincerità che l’ordine che avete giudicato a proposito di dare all’opera è più naturale e perciò preferibile al mio, e mi rincresce che sia già quasi tutta compiuta la nuova edizione italiana, perché io mi sarei conformato in tutto, o quasi tutto, al vostro piano.”

⁵¹ Morellet, préface to *Traité des délits et des peines*, ix.

sacrifice of a portion of liberty,⁵² but additionally embraces a philosophical anthropology which demonstrates the importance of the motive forces of pleasure and pain, thus setting out a social framework which reflects human nature and ensures public happiness. Although Morellet may have identified how best to accentuate those more easily digestible theories on penal reform to encourage their immediate implementation, his rearrangement overlooked Beccaria's broader argument of the need for change in social organisation, not purely legislation. To make matters worse, Morellet's transformation of the text gave way to new discussions as to its true authorship. Having been published anonymously, *Dei delitti e delle pene* had often been attributed to Pietro Verri whose *Meditazioni sulla felicità* was published at the same time – a matter not helped by Pietro Verri's insistence upon his crucial involvement in the project after he and Beccaria parted ways.⁵³ Morellet's edition only fuelled rumours regarding whose ideas *Dei delitti* actually conveyed. In the *Annales politiques et littéraires* for instance, Simon-Nicholas Henri Linguet suggested that the *Encyclopédistes* were initially responsible for the treatise, only to have had their ideas so mangled by Beccaria that André Morellet had been forced to almost totally rewrite it.⁵⁴

Yet, while Beccaria remained quietly sceptical of Morellet's edition, the translation proved a huge success. Writing to Beccaria, Morellet revealed the astounding number of translated editions published in early 1766 alone, illustrating the immediate Europe-wide success of the treatise: “Savés vous que depuis le mois de janvier il s'est déjà fait sept éditions de la traduction? Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait aucun exemple d'un succès plus rapide et plus étendu... il y a donc au moins sept mille personnes qui lisent ce livre.”⁵⁵ What is more, it was this new interpretation of the text that inexplicably became the standard Italian edition after a

⁵² Beccaria in *Dei delitti e delle pene*, ed. Venturi (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A, 1997), 34.

⁵³ “Lo scritto, organizzato attorno a quattro blocchi fondamentali, non doveva essere inizialmente un ‘trattato’, ma un *pamphlet* filosofico che toccasse i temi di diritto penale solo in quanto mettevano in luce altrettanti ostacoli nel cammino dell’umanità verso la giustizia e la felicità....La progressiva trasformazione del libello morale in trattato giuridico comincia con la ristrutturazione operata dal Verri che, ricevuta carta bianca da un Beccaria non particolarmente propenso alla fatica, cerca di trasformare in un libro quel *puzzle* a incastri costituito da brani aggiunti in margine o su carte separate e collegati da segni non immediatamente evidenti.”; Marco Ballarini, “Cesare Beccaria: Un italiano per l’Europa,” in *Cesare Beccaria la civiltà dei diritti*, Camera dei Deputati (Rome: Associazione Culturale MetaMorfosi, 2011).

⁵⁴ See Bernhard Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets: Punishment and the Myth of Natural Order* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 253.

⁵⁵ André Morellet to Cesare Beccaria (Paris, 17–3 July 1766), letter 113 in *Edizione Nazionale Delle Opere di Cesare Beccaria*, vol. IV (Milan: Mediobanca, 1994), 348.

chance copy was translated and printed in Venice in 1774. Better known as the “vulgata” edition, this translation has been preserved for centuries as the unlikely, yet “classic”, Italian version, securing the authority of Morellet’s structure as it became the keystone text for additional re-translations into English and other languages. So pervasive was the vulgata edition that its authority remained staggeringly unquestioned until the 1950s, when Franco Venturi confirmed that the fifth edition, known as the Harlem edition, was the last unadulterated version of *Dei delitti*, complete with author additions. Venturi emphasised how scholars had long overlooked how translators, publishers and historians, unaware that they were not working from the original text, had helped to transform the outlook of Beccaria’s ideas, repeatedly reinforcing an interpretation unrepresentative of the author’s original intentions. However, they were not alone. Perversions of Beccaria’s original meaning are plentiful and in addition to the continued, innocent translation of Morellet’s ruthlessly altered version, another seemingly more innocuous predator has further complicated the text’s reception: that of mistranslation from one language to another. To be more precise, it is the mistranslation of a single phrase which has played havoc with Beccaria scholarship. The now infamous sentence, “la massima felicità divisa nel maggior numero”, is often translated in meaning, if not verbatim, as “the greatest happiness of the greatest number”, after the first English translation in 1767 attributed Beccaria with this seminal utilitarian sentiment. Perhaps better translated as “the greatest happiness shared among the greater number”,⁵⁶ Beccaria’s original meaning has been lost to a host of interpretations heralding him as the champion of utilitarian philosophy, a claim that has serious repercussions for understanding the intellectual traditions against which to weigh his writings.

Visions of Beccaria

The alterations of *Dei delitti* have been amplified by its rapid and continued dissemination across the globe. From Catherine II of Russia to Leopold of Tuscany, stretching even across the Atlantic to Thomas Jefferson, Beccaria’s reflections on the criminal process were

⁵⁶ This translation follows that of Richard Davies in Cesare Beccaria, *On Crimes and Punishments and Other Writings*, ed. Richard Bellamy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7.

swiftly transformed into “Beccarian” legislative reforms across Europe and beyond.⁵⁷ After having become a global celebrity in the years following *Dei delitti e delle pene*’s publication, Beccaria’s name – now synonymous with *Dei delitti* – came to lend legitimacy to “enlightened” legal reforms and inferred the intellectual illumination of those choice monarchs with the foresight to implement them. Yet, success is not always a blessing. Upon arriving in Paris after the copious requests of the *Philosophes* in 1766, Beccaria, much devoted to his family back in Milan, found the heady heights of celebrity overwhelming. He lasted but a few months at the centre of the *Philosophes*’ attention before disappearing under the guise of chronic illness, which was to jeopardise many vital friendships, not least with Pietro Verri. Wined, dined and adulated by the grandest men in Europe, Beccaria professed he found no joy in the company of the D’Alemberts, Diderots and Holbachs of his new cosmopolitan world, no happiness at the theatre, or at “dinner at the races”, but pined for the arms of his cherished wife, his children and his home.⁵⁸ While Beccaria may have managed to slip away from his Parisian debut, the suffocating grasp of *Dei delitti*’s stardom has yet to loosen its hold on modern scholarship. Much like the author himself, literature on Beccaria has suffered at the hands of the treatise’s fame, resulting in a star-struck historiography that privileges the reception of the text over its author’s intentions, heralding Beccaria as a founding father of modern criminological values. It was a danger captured even at the time by Gianrinaldo Carli who, dissatisfied with Beccaria’s apparent egalitarianism as we have already seen, merely remarked “let us content ourselves with praising the work while drawing a veil over its principles”.⁵⁹ In his eyes, the treatise was a public spectacle, not a rigorous intellectual enterprise. The legacy of the text and its phenomenal reception have consequently clouded Beccaria’s more subtle motives as, now analogous with penal reform, he is repeatedly referred to as a “pioneer” in criminology and the abolition of capital punishment.⁶⁰ While it does not take great imagination to see the

⁵⁷ Some ‘Beccarian’ edicts include: Catherine II’s 1766 *Nakaz*; the 1786 *Editto di Pietro Leopoldo Granduca di Toscana: intorno alla riforma della legislazione criminale*; Joseph II’s 1785 *Regolamento del Processo Civile, per la Lombardia Austriaca* and 1786 *Norma Interinale del Processo Criminale per la Lombardia Austriaca*; and the 1787 *Allgemeines Gesetz über Verbrechen, und derselben Bestrafung. Codice Generale sopra i Delitti, e le Pene*.

⁵⁸ Beccaria to Teresa Blasco Beccaria (Paris, 25 October 1766), letter 157 in *Edizione Nazionale Delle Opere di Cesare Beccaria*, vol. IV, 455.

⁵⁹ Gianrinaldo Carli to Paolo Frisi (Piacenza, 1 January 1765), Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Bobina 1398 – 000032-33-34: “Continuamoci noi di lodar l’opera, tirando a velo sopra i principij di essa.”

⁶⁰ See Elio Monachesi, “Pioneers in Criminology IX: Cesare Beccaria,” *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, vol. 46, no. 4 (1956): 439–449. Additionally, Marcello Maestro, “A

lacunae in such interpretations, the credibility of any criticism is challenged by the sheer strength-in-numbers of this criminological literature. Irrespective of the vast scholarship on the Enlightenment in Europe, there is still very limited acknowledgement of Beccaria's engagement in his contemporary intellectual climate and the dimensions of his thought and interests beyond his contribution to jurisprudence. Even a cursory glimpse at publication titles betrays the retrospective approach to Beccaria, declaring him as either a crucial contributor to the development of jurisprudence in the late eighteenth century, or as having laid the legal foundations in *Dei delitti e delle pene* for modern European and US penal systems. With such publications tellingly entitled *Cesare Beccaria, The Father of Criminal Justice: His Impact on Anglo-American Jurisprudence*,⁶¹ and *Three Criminal Law Reformers: Beccaria, Bentham, Romilly*,⁶² we witness that literature is rarely a product of the historical discipline, but rather of legal philosophy, political theory and criminology.

This transformation was swift. While readers of the treatise in 1764 remarked on its social critique, readers in 1765 were struck by Beccaria's daring legal pragmatism. The immediate positive reception of *Dei delitti e delle pene* by the likes of William Blackstone, William Eden and Jeremy Bentham, all reformers dedicated to the amendment of systems of punishments in what is now considered as the "classical school" of criminology, not only illustrates the fast acceptance of Morellet's edition but also how entrenched the criminological perspective is within the historiography. While it is overly simplistic to state that Beccaria has suffered at the hands of association alone, the frequent reference to *Dei delitti* by these penal reformers is partially accountable for the legal readings of the text as they confirm the historical reception of the treatise as a work predominantly tackling criminal law. Beccaria's contribution to criminology as a discipline has consequently been considered as foundational. Asserting that "Beccaria's treatise... lays the philosophical basis for an approach to criminality known as the classical school, an approach that considers with declared and introspective rigour the significance of the system that tries and convicts the

Pioneer for the Abolition of Capital Punishment: Cesare Beccaria," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 34, no. 3, (1973): 463–468.

⁶¹ Dominic R. Massaro, *Cesare Beccaria, The Father of Criminal Justice: His Impact on Anglo-American Jurisprudence* (Cecina: Universitas Internationalis Coluccio Salutari, 1991).

⁶² Coleman Phillipson, *Three Criminal Law Reformers: Beccaria, Bentham, Romilly* (London: J.M Dent & Sons, 1923).

criminal”,⁶³ Elena Past exemplifies the pervasiveness of the criminological tradition. Though a work of comparative literature, her statement is indicative of the cross-disciplinary perception of Beccaria’s integral role in the creation of the classical school of criminology, a retrospective categorisation imposed by modern legal studies. Yet, to declare that Beccaria’s treatise attempted to lay out a science of criminology would appear anachronistic. While it is not wholly incorrect or unhelpful for criminologists to include Beccaria in the so-defined “classical school”, considering that he did advocate some archetypal, “classical” procedural reforms such as the proportionality between crimes and punishments, the problem lies in the pull of the existing historiography, which is dominated by such categorisation; indisputably useful for criminologists, but frustrating for historical studies. The classification of Beccaria as a founder of the classical school not only overlooks many of Beccaria’s explicit intentions in writing, but reduces the content of the treatise, as the boundaries imposed by the classical school schema deny the flexibilities in Beccaria’s philosophy, such as his acknowledgment of external social factors such as poverty as being stimuli for crimes.⁶⁴ This statement would today be attributed to the “positivist” or “scientific” school of criminology, yet to make such a detailed distinction is to continue to ground the treatise within this criminological discipline. *Dei delitti* undoubtedly made a momentous contribution to legal history but attempting to fit Beccaria into the classical school of modern legal textbooks risks an oversimplification of his theory and has resulted in hero-worship of his humanitarianism and “towering moral authority”, inconsistent with his essentially morally neutral and irreligious account of human volition.⁶⁵

Beccaria’s centrality within the criminological discourse has been further secured by his work being used to provide historical legitimacy for modern criminological debates. To give but an example, Marcello Maestro, writing in the shadow of the temporary abolition of the death penalty by the US Supreme Court,⁶⁶ cited *Dei delitti*, voice of the “rationalistic and humanitarian spirit of the Enlightenment”, in order to illustrate the historical precedent

⁶³ Elena Past, *Methods of Murder: Beccarian Introspection and Lombrosian Vivisection in Italian Crime Fiction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 24.

⁶⁴ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle Pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale Delle Opere di Cesare Beccaria*, vol. I, ed. Firpo, 75.

⁶⁵ Thomas, “Preface,” in *On Crimes and Punishments*, ed. Thomas.

⁶⁶ The abolition lasted from 1972–6.

behind the abolition of capital punishment.⁶⁷ Similarly, John Hostettler when considering contemporary human rights abuses and torture appealed to Beccaria’s “cri de Coeur” as having “a particular resonance that should be ringing in our ears at the present time”.⁶⁸ For modern criminology it would seem, Beccaria’s image is not purely historical but plays a continual role in the assessment of current legal debates. This approach is not solely restricted to criminologists: historical readings of *Dei delitti e delle pene* also predominantly examine the treatise as a work of jurisprudence. The journal *Beccaria: Revue d’histoire du droit de punir* founded in 2015, marks the continuation of this field of study,⁶⁹ which has, to date, produced a rich body of literature dating back to the turn of century.⁷⁰ Of particular importance have been the works of Adriano Cavana, Michel Porret, Elizabeth Salvi, Gianni Francioni and Gustavo Zagrebelsky,⁷¹ but this outlook continues to stimulate extensive discussion and increasingly varied interpretations. The 2013 conference entitled “Cesare Beccaria: Reception et Heritage. Du temps des Lumières à aujourd’hui”, boasted an extensive and illustrious catalogue of papers addressing the reception and influence of *Dei delitti e delle pene* on a wide range of persons and legal practices extending all the way to modern China.⁷² The collection, *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e l’Europa*, marking the 250th anniversary of Cesare Beccaria’s birth, likewise focused on *Dei delitti e delle pene*’s relation to juridical culture.⁷³ Alongside more general reflections on the treatise’s legacy within the eighteenth century,⁷⁴ many studies have addressed the specific regional receptions of the

⁶⁷ Maestro, “A Pioneer for the Abolition of Capital Punishment,” 465.

⁶⁸ John Hostettler, *Cesare Beccaria: The Genius of ‘on Crimes and Punishments’* (Hampshire: Waterside Press, 2011), xiv.

⁶⁹ *Beccaria: Revue d’histoire du droit de punir* (Chêne-Bourg: Georg, 2015).

⁷⁰ Cesare Cantù, *Beccaria e il diritto penale* (Florence: Barbera, 1862).

⁷¹ See: Adriano Cavana, *Cesare Beccaria: la controversa penale (18.-21. Siècle)*, eds. M. Porret and É. Salvi (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015); Michel Porret, *Beccaria: Il diritto di punire* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2014); Gianni Francioni, “La prima redazione del Dei delitti e delle pene. Appendice: Delle pene e delitti e altri autografi di Cesare Beccaria,” *Studi settecenteschi*, vol. 1 (1981): 103-272; Gustavo Zagrebelsky, “La legge secondo Beccaria e le trasformazioni del tempo presente,” in *Cesare Beccaria: La pratica dei lumi*, ed. Vincenzo Ferrone e Gianni Francioni (Florence: Olschki, 2000): 13-22.

⁷² 21–23 February 2013, Geneva, organised by Département d’histoire générale – Unité d’histoire moderne – Equipe DAMOCLES – International Association for the History of Crime and Criminal Justice (IAHCCJ) Centre Bentham (Ecole de droit de Sciences-po, Paris).

⁷³ Sergio Romagnoli, Gian Domenico Pisapia, eds., *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e l’Europa* (Milan: Cariplo-Laterza, 1990).

⁷⁴ Cesare Beccaria and Franco Venturi, *Dei delitti e delle pene: con una raccolta di lettere e documenti relativi alla nascita dell’opera e alla sua fortuna nell’Europa del Settecento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1965); Maria Rosa Di Simoni, “Riflessioni sulle fonti e la fortuna di Beccaria,” in *Cesare Beccaria: La pratica dei lumi*, eds. Ferrone and Francioni, 49-61; Carlo Capra, “Il Dei delitti e delle pene in Italia: appunti e

text throughout Italy,⁷⁵ including in Venice, Naples and Tuscany,⁷⁶ as well as the influence of Beccaria's thought in England and America,⁷⁷ as well as in Russia,⁷⁸ France and the Swiss territories.⁷⁹

However, coinciding with the 250th anniversary of *Dei delitti e delle pene*, there has been a renewed interest in Cesare Beccaria, above all in his wider opus. This shift in interpretation has been greatly aided by the publication of the final volumes of the Mediobanca *Edizione Nazionale*, the last of which, containing Beccaria's economic writings, was released in 2014. Much of the recent non-legal literature concerning Beccaria's thought consequently focuses on his economic theory. Works such as Till Wahnbaeck, *Luxury and Public Happiness: Political Economy in the Italian Enlightenment*,⁸⁰ Cecilia Carnino, "Luxury and Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Italy";⁸¹ Sophus Reinert, "Guerra senza sangue e l'aroma dei lumi: La

riflessioni," *Materiali per una storia della cultura giuridica*, vol. 225, no. 2. (1995): 313–339; Elizabeth Salvi and Michel Porret, "L'héritage di Beccaria nel primo Ottocento europeo: il dilemma liberale," in *Il caso Beccaria. A 250 anni dalla pubblicazione del 'Dei delitti e delle pene'*, eds. Vincenzo Ferrone and Giuseppe Riciperati (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2016): 209–229.

⁷⁵ Adriano Cavanna, *La codificazione penale in Italia. Le origini lombarde* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1975).

⁷⁶ See: Gianfranco Torcellan, "Cesare Beccaria a Venezia," in Torcellan, *Settecento veneto e altri scritti storici* (Turin: Giappichelli, 1969), 203–234; Anna Maria Rao, "Delle virtù e de' premi: la fortuna di Beccaria nel Regno di Napoli," in *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e l'Europa* (Bari: Cariplo-Laterza, 1990), 534–586; Renato Pasta, "Beccaria tra giuristi e filosofi: aspetti della sua fortuna in Toscana e nell'Italia centrosettentrionale," in *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e l'Europa*, 512–533.

⁷⁷ Rémy Duthille, "Les radicaux anglais lecteurs de Beccaria (1767-1795)," in *Le bonheur du plus grand nombre: Beccaria et les Lumières*, ed. Philippe Audegean (Lyons: ENS éditions 2017); Anthony J. Draper, "Cesare Beccaria's Influence on English Discussions of Punishment, 1764–1789," *History of European Ideas*, vol. 26, no. 3–4 (2000).

⁷⁸ A. Lentin, "Beccaria, Shcherbatov, and the Question of Capital Punishment in Eighteenth-century Russia," *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1982): 128–137.

⁷⁹ Élisabeth Salvi, "'Adoucir le sort des hommes accablés par l'oppression légale'. La réception de Beccaria dans la Bibliothèque philosophique (1782-1785)," in *Le bonheur du plus grand nombre*, ed. Audegean; Jacques Godechot, "Beccaria et la France," in *Atti del Convegno internazionale su Cesare Beccaria, Torino 1964* (Turin: Accademia delle scienze, 1966), 67–83; Mario Mirri, "La cultura svizzera, Rousseau e Beccaria. Variazioni settecentesche sul tema della virtù," in *Atti del convegno internazionale su Cesare Beccaria promosso dall'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino nel secondo centenario dell'opera 'Dei delitti e delle pene'* (Turin: Accademia delle Scienze, 1966), 133–239; Yannick Preumont, *Essai juridique, traduction et créativité phrastique: les traductions françaises de Dei delitti e delle pene de Cesare Beccaria* (Rome: Aracne, 2012).

⁸⁰ Till Wahnbaeck, "Luxury and Public Happiness: The Luxury Debate and the Shaping of Political Economy in Eighteenth-Century Tuscany and Lombardy" (Oxford: D.Phil., 2000).

⁸¹ Cecilia Carnino, "Luxury and Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Italy: Intellectual History, Methodological Ideas and Interdisciplinary Research Practice," *History of European Ideas*, vol. 40, no. 4 (2014): 495–515.

cultura del Caffè tra politica e commercio internazionale nella Lombardia austriaca”;⁸² Germano Maifreda, “Sapere economico e metodo scientifico nell’illuminismo lombardo: Note da ‘Il Caffè’”;⁸³ Pier Pier Luigi Porta, “Lombard Enlightenment and Classical Political Economy”;⁸⁴ Bernard E. Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets*;⁸⁵ and the volume *Illuminismo delle riforme civili: il contributo degli economisti lombardi*,⁸⁶ all place Beccaria within the wider economic debates concerning consumption, luxury and trade, providing new insights into Beccaria’s *Elementi di economia pubblica*. While earlier works such as Joseph Schumpeter’s *History of Economic Analysis* paved the way in investigating Beccaria’s significant economic contributions, the new wave of literature has drawn vital connections between his economic and philosophical thought, treating his approach to political economy as an important element of his approach to the state and society.⁸⁷ Other publications have concentrated on reframing Beccaria’s philosophy, either in terms of focus, such as Philippe Audegean’s *La Philosophie de Beccaria: Savoir Punir, Savoir écrire, Savoir Produire*⁸⁸ which provided an analysis of Beccaria’s *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile*, a text not examined in any significant detail since Giuseppe Zarone’s *Etica e politica nell’utilitarismo di Cesare Beccaria* in 1971,⁸⁹ or in terms of the culture which shaped Beccaria’s thought, as demonstrated by the collaborative volume *Le bonheur du plus grand nombre Beccaria et les Lumières*.⁹⁰ Others still have examined Beccaria’s philosophy from new comparative standpoints, such as John Bessler’s “The Italian Enlightenment and the American Revolution”.⁹¹

⁸² Sophus A. Reinert, “Guerra senza sangue e l’aroma dei lumi: La cultura del Caffè tra politica e commercio internazionale nella Lombardia austriaca,” in *Illuminismo delle riforme civili: il contributo degli economisti Lombardi*, eds. Pier Luigi Porta and Roberto Scazzieri (Milan, 13-14 Dicembre 2011).

⁸³ Germano Maifreda, “Sapere economico e metodo scientifico nell’illuminismo lombardo: Note da ‘Il Caffè’,” in *Illuminismo delle riforme civili: il contributo degli economisti lombardi*, eds. Porta and Scazzieri.

⁸⁴ Pier Pier Luigi Porta, “Lombard Enlightenment and Classical Political Economy,” *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, vol. 18, no. 4 (2011): 521-550.

⁸⁵ Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets: Punishment and the Myth of Natural Order*.

⁸⁶ *Illuminismo delle riforme civili: il contributo degli economisti lombardi*, eds. Porta and Scazzieri.

⁸⁷ Joseph A. Schumpeter and Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*. 1954.

⁸⁸ Philippe Audegean, *La philosophie de Beccaria: savoir punir, savoir écrire, savoir produire* (Paris: Vrin, 2010).

⁸⁹ Giuseppe Zarone, *Etica e politica nell’utilitarismo di Cesare Beccaria* (Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1971).

⁹⁰ Audegean, *Le bonheur du plus grand nombre: Beccaria et les Lumières*.

⁹¹ John D. Bessler, “The Italian Enlightenment and the American Revolution: Cesare Beccaria’s Forgotten Influence on American Law,” *Hamline Journal of Public Law and Policy*, vol. 37, no. 1 (2017): 1–184.

However, despite this recent turn towards Beccaria's wider opus, it remains that very few scholars have examined Beccaria's administrative career and at the point of writing no extensive investigation into his correspondence exists (although it is often referenced). Recent publications using these sources have similarly tended to focus more on Beccaria's economic thought, though with a larger consideration of his administrative career than exists in much existing economic literature. Among these are Carlo Scognamiglio Pasini, *L'arte della ricchezza: Cesare Beccaria Economista*;⁹² A. Quadrio Curzio, R. Scazzieri, "Dall'economia politica al governo dell'economia: riflessioni sul contributo di Cesare Beccaria e Pietro Verri sulla teoria e pratica della moneta";⁹³ and A. Carera, "Cesare Beccaria, magistrato in 'provincia d'annona'".⁹⁴ However, there are now a handful of publications which explicitly address Beccaria's role as a civil servant and the documents from the Lombard administration. The most notable are Carlo Capra's chapter "Beccaria fonctionnaire et l'évolution de ses idées"⁹⁵ and Gian Paolo Massetto's article "Beccaria tra diritto penale ed economia",⁹⁶ both of which examine Beccaria's administrative papers and highlight the lines of continuity which can be traced between his writings and his administrative activities. This thesis complements Massetto's research in particular, as it examines different areas of the administration's purview to those explored in his article (grain, hunting, forestry, mining and prisons), whilst reaching similar conclusions regarding the points of coherence in Beccaria's thought. Beyond these recent works, the contribution made by Rosalba Canetta as editor of the Mediobanca volumes of Beccaria's administrative documents remains the most important source in rebuilding Beccaria's bureaucratic career, as are her articles on this topic.⁹⁷

⁹² Carlo Scognamiglio Pasini, *L'arte della ricchezza: Cesare Beccaria Economista* (Milan: Mondadori Università, 2014).

⁹³ Alberto Quadrio Curzio and Roberto Scazzieri, "Dall'economia politica al governo dell'economia: riflessioni sul contributo di Cesare Beccaria e Pietro Verri sulla teoria e pratica della moneta," in *Saggi di politica economica in onore di Federico Caffè*, eds., N. Acocella, G. Rey, M. Tiberi, vol. 2 (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1992), 141-181.

⁹⁴ Aldo Carera, "Cesare Beccaria, magistrato in 'provincia d'annona,'" in *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e l'Europa* (Bari: Cariplo-Laterza, 1990), 425-467.

⁹⁵ Carlo Capra, "Beccaria fonctionnaire et l'évolution de ses idées," in *Le bonheur du plus grand nombre*, ed. Audegean.

⁹⁶ Gian Paolo Massetto, "Beccaria tra diritto penale ed economia," in *l'Illuminismo delle riforme civili: il contributo degli economisti lombardi*, eds. Porta and Scazzieri.

⁹⁷ See: Cesare Beccaria, Luigi Firpo, Gianni Francioni, and Rosalba Canetta, *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Cesare Beccaria*, vols. VI–XVI (Milan: Mediobanca, 1984); Rosalba Canetta, "Questioni agricole milanesi in alcuni scritti inediti di Cesare Beccaria," in *Aspetti di vita agricola lombarda (secoli XVI-XIX)*, ed. M. Romani (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1973), 3-183; Rosalba Canetta, "Gira la stalla

A long and varied career

Beccaria's participation in the intellectual life of Milan commenced upon his joining the Accademia dei Pugni in 1762, after having graduated in 1758 from studying law at the University of Parma. The Accademia dei Pugni dedicated itself to discussion and the improvement of Lombardy, which resulted in the publication of the journal *Il Caffè* which was released between the years 1764-1766. During this period Beccaria published not only *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764), but also *Del disordine e de' rimedi delle monete nello Stato di Milano nell'anno 1762* (1762), as well as several important articles for *Il Caffè*, including "Il Faraone" (1764), "Frammento sugli odori" (1764), "Risposta alla 'Rinunzia'" (1764), "Tentativo analitico su i contrabbandi" (1764), "Frammento sullo stile" (1765), "De fogli periodici" (1765) and "I piaceri dell'immaginazione" (1765). *Il Caffè* published its final volume in June 1766 and in October of the same year Beccaria and a fellow member of the journal, Alessandro Verri travelled to Paris at the request of leading Philosophes. There they met Morellet, Diderot, Thomas, D'Alembert, D'Holbach and countless others, garnering great attention for the Milanese Illuministi. As already noted, Beccaria made the decision after a mere month to return to his family in Milan, causing severe divisions within the Milanese group. Nonetheless, he had already made his mark on the European intellectual community and was subsequently invited to Russia by Catherine the Great to help implement the Nakaz, the new legislative commission. Though Beccaria never accepted the offer, news that Milan was losing its brightest mind catalysed Prince Kaunitz to write to Count Firmian in order to find an occupation for Beccaria which would settle him in Milan. This resulted in Beccaria being awarded the position of the first chair of cameral sciences at the Palatine School in Milan in 1768. During his time as a lecturer here, Beccaria published his *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile* in 1770, the second part of which was only published posthumously in 1805. At the same time, he submitted a proposal for a book which never materialised, entitled *Ripulimento delle nazioni*. What remains of this manuscript are two extracts, *Pensieri sopra la barbarie e coltura delle nazioni e su lo stato selvaggio dell'uomo* and *Pensieri sopra le usanze ed I costumi*, which are believed to have formed part of the original proposal, and which were copied out in 1770 by a student of Beccaria.

come pazza: Cesare Beccaria e un caso di epizoozia a Melegnano," *Studi Settecenteschi*, vol. 23 (2003): 304–8.

After two years at the Palatine School, Beccaria applied for a position on the Supreme Economic Council of Lombardy (Supremo Consiglio di Economia), expressing his ardent desire to “consacrare in un servizio più diretto e con maggiore assiduità all’Augustissima Padrona tutto se stesso”.⁹⁸ He took up this post on 24 March 1771 which, by that September, was placed within the Regio Ducal Magistrato Camerale which replaced the Supreme Economic Council. Here Beccaria was responsible for monetary reforms and new legislation on letters of exchange, before his attention was directed towards the provision of food supplies in 1773. His achievements were painfully interrupted by the loss of his beloved wife Theresa Blasco in 1774, though this was followed by his prompt marriage to Anna Barbo only four months later. Proving himself to be an apt administrator, Beccaria became the provincial magistrate for the mint and a member of the delegation for monetary reform in 1778. For the second time in just over a decade, in May 1786 Beccaria’s role was put at risk due to the reorganisation of the administration imposed by the Habsburg authorities as, under the reforms of Joseph II, the Magistrato Camerale was disbanded and replaced with the Consiglio di Governo. Beccaria survived this reshuffle within the administration, becoming the head of the third department (out of six) of the Consiglio, which was responsible for manufacture, commerce, fairs and markets, hunting, the price of food, the *policies des blés* and the control of business and merchants, the veterinary school and the Società Patriotica. By the end of 1789 he had progressed to become head of the second department. Only two years later the Consiglio was abolished by Leopold II and replaced by the Magistrato Politico Camerale. Beccaria remained in his position but his purview was, in keeping with the ever growing intervention of the Habsburg powers into daily life, greatly expanded to include public health, police, prisons, correctional facilities, police conduct and jurisdictional issues. Still, Beccaria remained an effective (and increasingly well-paid) bureaucrat. In April 1791 he was asked by Leopold II to be part of the Commissione ecclesiastica e degli studi (first formed in 1786), which was responsible for overseeing the administration of religious funds and the administration of the patrimony derived from the suppression of religious institutions. The same year Beccaria was nominated as a member of the Giunta per la riforma del sistema giudiziario which was concerned with the reform of civil and criminal justice. Needless to say, at the time of his sudden death on 28 November 1794, Beccaria remained an integral part of the Lombard administration.

⁹⁸ Supplica di Beccaria a Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rittberg (Milan, 20–25 September 1770), letter 341 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. V, 191.

Sources and editions

Stepping away from *Dei delitti e delle pene* and addressing Beccaria's later career inevitably opens this research up to a greater variety of sources covering a broader time frame in Beccaria's career. One vital source which has not yet been thoroughly examined in Beccaria scholarship, is his extant body of correspondence. This correspondence, spanning from 1758 to 1794 forms the backbone to Chapters II and III of this research. For the purposes of understanding the cultural transfers taking place around Beccaria, letters prove to be the most revealing sources, chronicling the transmission of ideas, texts and debates in great detail through their very nature as intermediary and exchangeable documents. By recreating and visualising Beccaria's networks of correspondence we grasp the dimensions and nature of his intellectual world. His letters, both professional and personal, give a wonderful illustration of the networks within which he moved and the diversity, geographically, professionally and socially, of his contacts in the Republic of Letters. We see the image that he wanted to project of himself, how he fashioned himself in different milieu and who his contemporaries, friends and admirers perceived him to be. Simultaneously, these letters give great insight into the texts and ideas being circulated throughout Beccaria's correspondence network. We see which books Beccaria is ordering from booksellers, which books are being recommended to him based on his interests and which ideas and topics his correspondents are keen to discuss with him. A second understudied element of Beccaria's archive are state papers from his time in the II and III Dipartimento del Consiglio di Governo della Lombardia Austriaca, which are used in Chapters V and VI. It is in these functional documents that we finally see the application of Beccaria's concerns for the Milanese public. They are encyclopaedic in their detail of the reforms and issues for which the Consiglio took responsibility in the years between 1771 and Beccaria's death and demonstrate not only Beccaria's contribution to the Lombard administration but the changing outlook of the Consiglio in general, described as the "paradigma lombardo", a distinct attitude which was regionally focused on Lombardy but which functioned within a distinctly European intellectual context.⁹⁹

Beccaria's extant correspondence and a great quantity of his administrative papers have now been published in the volumes of the Mediobanca *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di*

⁹⁹ "Nota al Testo," in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Cesare Beccaria*, vol. XVI, part II, ed. Rosalba Canetta, 1048.

Cesare Beccaria which are used here for the majority of primary materials. However, additional archival materials from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Archivio di Stato di Milano and the Archivio di Stato di Trieste have also been used to support the empirical chapters of this thesis. The Mediobanca *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Cesare Beccaria* has also been used for all of Cesare Beccaria's published and unpublished writings, as it is not only considered the critical Italian edition of Beccaria's writings, but, in some cases, is also the only printed version available. The texts used from this edition include *Dei delitti e delle pene*; *Elementi di economia pubblica* (and the *Materiali preparatori e stesure rifiutate*); *Prolusione nell'apertura della nuova cattedra*; *Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costumi*; *Pensieri sopra la Barbarie*; *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile*; *Frammento sullo stile*; and *Frammento Sugli Odori*. Where *Il Caffè* articles have been referenced, they have been taken from the critical Italian edition edited by Gianni Francioni and Sergio Romagnoli.¹⁰⁰

It is worth making a brief observation at this stage on the linguistic dimension of this research. Beccaria's working languages were Italian and French, and he often displayed a preference for French even amongst his Italian contacts. Consequently, to avoid inaccuracies in translation, this thesis has relied on the original language version of all texts. Where it seems necessary to quote in the original language (for issues of tone, untranslatable words, concepts etc.) then the quotations are paraphrased within the analysis, otherwise quotations in English follow my own translation with the original language quotation in the footnote. Occasionally, where another critical edition of Beccaria's work has provided an excellent translation into English (especially Bellamy and Davies' *On Crimes and Punishments and Other Writings*), this version has been used.

Conclusion

Dei delitti e delle pene is, in many ways, a testament to the difficulties of studying the circulation of texts and ideas in the eighteenth century. Within a matter of years after its first publication, the treatise had been significantly altered by author, editor and translator alike, which transformed the text and shifted its reception, producing a far more legalistic legacy to Beccaria's work than had arguably been his original intention. The subsequent,

¹⁰⁰ Gianni Francioni and Sergio Romagnoli, *“Il Caffè”: 1764-1766* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1998).

predominantly legal historiography, though aware of many of these transformations, has further helped to reinforce this legacy in current scholarship. We can thus clearly see how it is that Beccaria has become the figure he is today, regarded as a forerunning criminologist, jurist and humanitarian, and this brief history serves to illustrate the extent to which understanding the content, intentions behind, and development of Beccaria's thought is challenged from the offset due to this vision. However, this thesis does not intend to perform a purely reactionary role against the criminological tradition, nor to contribute to the existing corpus of legal interpretations, but rather to shift the focus on Beccaria's contribution to society all together. Rebuilding Beccaria's role as a philosopher, both on the page and in practice, reveals that his contribution is found not just in the law, but in other crucial aspects of society, among them, economics, politics, education, health and gender equality.

– CHAPTER ONE –

The Lombard Enlightenment

Crisis, political economy and applied enlightenment

Ce pays est encore enseveli sous les préjugés qu'y ont laissé ses anciens maîtres.

*Les milanois ne pardonnent pas à ceux qui voudroient les faire vivre dans le 18^e siècle.*¹⁰¹

– Beccaria to André Morellet, 1766

Walking through the streets of Milan in 1784 one would have remarked in wonder at the new oil streetlamps installed to guide citizens safely back home through the darkness. An initiative overseen by Beccaria in the Lombard administration in a bid to prevent crime, funded by the lottery system and based upon the new technological advances of the physicist Amié Argand, the streetlights marked the physical illumination of a city in the midst of great change: a metaphor for the enlightenment of a region being slowly drawn out of the darkness and into the eighteenth century.¹⁰² It was a different Milan to the one of Cesare Beccaria's birth. Steeped in patriarchy and tradition, parochialism and superstition, the Milan of the 1740s and '50s deeply frustrated the young Beccaria who, though clearly devoted to his hometown, found the inertia of the ruling patrician class unbearable. Milan's 120–140,000 inhabitants, 670 noble families, 200 churches and 300 convents were tightly squeezed within the *Navigli* (the system of canals surrounding the city) and regardless of its growing population the city clung fiercely to its political traditions, fuelling animosity

¹⁰¹ Beccaria to André Morellet (Milan, 26 January 1766), letter 68 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 224. Beccaria had also discussed the benefits of street lighting in preventing crime in *Dei delitti e delle pene*, 53: “La notte illuminata a pubbliche spese, le guardie distribuite ne' differenti quartieri delle città...”. It was a common point of fascination among the Milanese reformers and we see Alessandro Verri use the street lighting of London to criticise the backwardness of Milan. Lidia De Michelis, “Letters from London: A ‘Bridge’ Between Italy and Europe,” in *The Centre and the Margins in Eighteenth-Century British and Italian Cultures*, eds. Frank O’Gorman and Lia Guerra, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 40: “Essa è poi illuminata come non v’è n’è altra in Europa. Vi sono lampade d’ambe le parti, e lampade ben fatte, come lo sono tutte le cose che servono agli usi della vita qui in Londra. Parigi è male illuminato, perché lo è colle candele di sego. A proposito d’illuminazione: quando codesti buoni Milanesi vorranno poi, colla solita loro flemmatica prudenza, pensare a porre delle lampade di notte per tutta la Città, come veramente sarebbe opportuno, potrò citare per esempio Torino, Lione, Parigi, Lilla, Dunkerke e Londra, ch’io stesso ho vedute co’ miei occhi illuminate di notte.” (9 December, 1767).

¹⁰² “Illuminazione di Milano. Medico Baronio. Polizia a Pavia. Protocolli delle Preture lombarde, riscontri”, no.3485 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 26–7.

between the patrician elders and a younger generation keen for social and economic reform. Such is the most common picture we have of Beccaria's Milan: a city divided between old and young, patricians and reformers, the status quo and the desire for rejuvenation. The cooperation of Beccaria and fellow members of the *Accademia dei Pugni* with the new Habsburg administration, working to dismantle the entrenched Milanese political and social hierarchy has become the symbol of the uniquely Lombard Enlightenment: reform through collaboration as opposed to revolution.

Cesare Beccaria had a fraught relationship with his native city. Writing to André Morellet in 1766, Beccaria revealed that he had found his upbringing in Milan “stifling, suffocating and artificial”.¹⁰³ Claiming that “in a city of around 120,000 inhabitants, you would find only a mere twenty who loved learning and who sacrificed themselves to virtue and truth”, Beccaria voiced the frustrations of the Milanese Illuministi who craved the overthrow of traditional Lombard political and social hierarchies. The transformation of Lombardy's political situation was a long and complicated process however, which helps to account for why Beccaria and so many other Lombard reformers ended up in bureaucratic positions in the Habsburg Empire. Lombardy's capital Milan, in particular, had in its recent history, witnessed a remarkable evolution in political control and alongside it, profound internal conflict. Under Maria Theresa and then Joseph II, Lombardy underwent a period of extensive reform, the magnitude of which has given way to a so-called “myth” of Theresian government which, in its most dramatic form, claims that this period of renewal was so needed, supported and successful that it can even explain the moderate attitudes of the Lombards to European political events towards the end of the century.¹⁰⁴ In light of such interpretations it is important to stress, first and foremost, that while the Habsburg policy of centralisation was vast during the second half of the eighteenth century, these reforms were not always effective or immediate, nor was the cooperation of the Milanese Illuministi with the Habsburg administration representative of the majority of the Lombard patriciates, who were far from supportive of the intervention from Vienna in the governance and finances of the region. By contrast, it is more accurate to interpret the Habsburg rule in Lombardy as a period of generational conflict, brought about by ideological divisions over

¹⁰³ Beccaria to André Morellet (Milan, 26 January 1766), letter 68 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 224.

¹⁰⁴ For a discussion of the historiography see Carlo Capra, “Habsburg Italy in the Age of Reform,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2005): 229–30.

the social and political ramifications of the dramatic administrative shift. Finding themselves both cosmopolitan and patriotic – loyal to Milan, to Italy and to Austria – the Milanese experienced a divide between the old patrician oligarchy and the reformist Illuministi towards the latter half of the eighteenth century, as Milan’s changing administration demanded new and often resented allegiances.

Such schism characterised a relatively new period in Milan’s history. For almost two centuries the Spanish had held control over Lombardy in a peaceful era, both politically and socially, of stasis and immobility. Previously a short-lived Republic, Milan had been taken by Louis XII of France in 1499 and subsequently attached to the House of Habsburg after the Battle of Pavia in 1525. The Spanish Habsburgs were soon given control over the region and their sovereignty lasted unchallenged up until the Treaty of Utrecht concluded the War of Spanish Succession in 1713.¹⁰⁵ With the end of Spanish rule, Lombardy was returned to the control of the Austrian Habsburgs, marking a breaking point in the region’s longstanding political tranquillity as the transfer of authority having revealed many of the long-term administrative failings accumulated under Spanish rule which required urgent attention.¹⁰⁶ During these previous centuries the permanence and stability of Spanish rule had been preserved through the numerous privileges awarded to Lombardy which protected the autonomy of its territories divided between the Duchy of Milan, the Principality of Pavia and the counties of Cremona, Lodi and Como.¹⁰⁷ Though a Spanish possession on paper, Lombardy remained pseudo-independent thanks to these privileges which preserved many traditional Lombard institutions, such as the patrician structure of society and the legal framework, which was kept in its entirety under the new constitution of Carlo V.¹⁰⁸ The Lombard Senate thus became the bastion of Lombard autonomy, granted absolute, unwavering authority in matters of criminal and civil jurisdiction, *tamquam deus*, closed to all but the impenetrable patriciate class who formed the governing and

¹⁰⁵ Sophus A. Reinert, “Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Political Economy in the *Accademia dei pugni* in Austrian Lombardy 1760–1780,” in *The Rise of Economic Societies in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Koen Stapelbroek and Jani Marjanen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 132–3.

¹⁰⁶ Franco Valsecchi, “Le Riforme Teresiane in Lombardia’ in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia nell’età di Maria Teresa*, vol. I, eds. Aldo De Maddalena, Ettore Rotelli and Gennaro Barbarisi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982), 30.

¹⁰⁷ De Maddalena, *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. I, 27.

¹⁰⁸ De Maddalena, *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. I, 27.

judicial backbone of the region.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, Lombardy remained in a permanently stable position: self-governing in almost all aspects (bar the final say on matters of finance) and safeguarding its traditional urban patriciate from those social and administrative reforms which would be so clamoured for by Beccaria's peers in late eighteenth-century Milan.

It was only under the period of Austrian rule with its policies of centralisation that the traditional privileges of the Lombard state and, with it, the traditional privileges of the patrician class, were successfully dismantled. Under Empress Maria Theresa public administration was reshaped, diverting the absolute authority of the Lombard Senate to Vienna along with many financial and administrative departments as part of a wider "revolution from above" scheme of centralisation and rationalisation of the Habsburg territories.¹¹⁰ One of the first and most crucial structural changes concerned the role of the Plenipotentiary, the functionary of the Habsburg regime who was to govern Lombardy, answering to and implementing the requests of, the higher powers of the Habsburg government.¹¹¹ Grasping the significant position of this intermediary governor – located in Milan to temper the severity of the newly imposed Habsburg administrative changes – is vital to understanding how reforms were made possible in a state reluctant to accept changes to its patrician government. The Plenipotentiary, answering to Vienna, was in communication with the existing Lombard administration, instigating a dialogue of sorts, but at heart employed to smooth the path for Habsburg reforms and provide information as to how such reforms could best be implemented. In this manner, it was Plenipotentiary Count Gian Luca Pallavicini, who from 1745, was responsible for initiating the first wave of Lombard reforms, creating a single *Magistrato Camerale*, abolishing the sale of offices and resuming the cadastral survey intended to contribute to the creation of a more uniform and egalitarian fiscal system.¹¹² As early as 1757, all Italian affairs of the Habsburg government had finally been transferred from the last Spanish administrative remnant, the Council of Italy, to the Italian department within the Austrian Chancellery of State run by Prince

¹⁰⁹ De Maddalena, *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. I, 28.

¹¹⁰ Reinert, "Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Political Economy," 133.

¹¹¹ Valsecchi, "Le Riforme Teresiane in Lombardia," 31.

¹¹² Capra, "Habsburg Italy in the Age of Reform," 224.

Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz,¹¹³ who subsequently oversaw a host of pivotal reforms undertaken by Pallavicini's successors, Beltrame Cristiani and Pompeo Neri. Neri, in particular, was responsible for the *Censimento*, the cadastral register, which in conjunction with the creation of the general tax farm, was a crucial reform incentivising agricultural development and bolstering Lombard state finances.¹¹⁴ The reform of both direct and indirect taxation was one of the most sweeping changes to be realised under Maria Theresa's rule. Between the 1750s and '60s, the Austrian government rescinded all contracts granting the collection of taxes by external agencies, resulting in the collection of more than double the revenue from the State of Milan by 1794.¹¹⁵

It was only later in the Habsburg rule that more radical reforms began to take place outside of the economic sphere, under the watch of the new and subsequently most-renowned Plenipotentiary, Count Firmian. Awarded the position in 1759 and finding himself in the midst of the Seven Years War (1756–1763), Firmian sought to counter the financial toll on Vienna by promoting further administrative centralisation in Lombardy, increasing Vienna's economic support on its territories and encouraging greater involvement of the Habsburg regime in the social, political and intellectual life of the region.¹¹⁶ As a consequence, Milan became one of the most precious possessions of the Austrian Habsburg state as its economic value provoked heightened interest from Vienna and increasing intervention in its administration. In his role as Plenipotentiary, Firmian actively encouraged the work of the Illuministi and his engagement in Lombard society was greatly valued by the Milanese who had despaired at State Chancellor Prince Kaunitz's notorious indifference towards the Milanese territory.¹¹⁷ Firmian's support for the writings of reformers such as Beccaria helped prove to the Milanese that centralisation under Maria Theresa was not a purely financial venture, but in addition, a conscious political and ideological move to dismantle the authority and privilege of the Lombard patrician class. It was this desire to reform Lombardy politically and remove the traditional social hierarchies, alongside Firmian's personal encouragement, that was to attract the younger generation of Milanese intellectuals

¹¹³ Reinert, "Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Political Economy," 133.

¹¹⁴ Stuart Woolf, *A History of Italy, 1700–1860: The Social Constraints of Political Change* (London, New York: Routledge, 1991), 98.

¹¹⁵ Capra, "Habsburg Italy in the Age of Reform," 228–9.

¹¹⁶ Capra, "Habsburg Italy in the Age of Reform," 219.

¹¹⁷ Kaunitz is anecdotally rumoured to have addressed Lombard affairs whilst putting on his stockings in the morning, see Valsecchi, "Le Riforme Teresiane in Lombardia," 36.

to support Habsburg sovereignty, convinced that the reforms offered an unprecedented opportunity for the rejuvenation of Lombard society.¹¹⁸

Unlike that of her son, Joseph II, Maria Theresa's reign in Lombardy is often remarked upon as a period of gradual reform in collaboration and cooperation with local institutions, individuals and traditions and it is arguable that the drive towards centralisation was facilitated in many ways by the support of the Milanese Illuministi who took up key positions within the Habsburg administration in Lombardy, turning their backs on their patrician families and the privileges of traditional oligarchy. The *Accademia dei Pugni* and *Il Caffè* writers, in particular, were predominantly of the patrician class and their conscious break from the traditional institutional and social hierarchies of the preceding Lombard generations and cooperation with the state encapsulate the generational shift occurring under Habsburg sovereignty.¹¹⁹ Cesare Beccaria himself scathingly attacked the patriarchal structure of society in the chapter "On Family" in *Dei delitti e delle pene*, railing against the institutionalised injustice and tyranny of the family structure which valued one patriarch as representative of entire families.¹²⁰ Beccaria argued that society was wrongly regarded as a union of families rather than a union of persons and would be better served if considered a "republic made up of persons... [where] there is no obligatory bond other than the sacred and inviolable call to give all necessary mutual aid and the duty to show gratitude for kindnesses received – a bond undermined less by the malignancy of the human heart than it is by being misguidedly imposed by the laws".¹²¹ This republic of individuals, Beccaria argued, would incite the passions inclining one to sacrifice oneself to the nation, strengthening the commitment of citizens towards their *patria*, rather than to their family – an analogy which clearly criticised the introspective and self-reinforcing hierarchy of the Milanese patrician structure. The Illuministi thus perceived centralisation as a necessity for the public good. The rationalisation of the administration, the economy and the judicial system under Habsburg sovereignty would, they claimed, make the state more efficient and enable it to adequately fulfil its role as the guardian of public welfare.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Valsecchi, "Le Riforme Teresiane in Lombardia," 39.

¹¹⁹ Reinert, "Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Political Economy," 134.

¹²⁰ Richard Bellamy, ed., *Cesare Beccaria, On Crimes and Punishments and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 60.

¹²¹ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 61.

¹²² Valsecchi, "Le Riforme Teresiane in Lombardia," 34.

The most common trope in Enlightenment historiography is that the Illuministi were not Philosophers in the proper sense of the word, but innovators, aware of the intellectual currents and doctrines of their epoch and open to new, useful ideas. They believed that the pragmatism catalysing their reformist sentiments, was a pragmatism shared by Maria Theresa, a ruler that they respected for her sensitivity to new ideas but firm grasp on reality.¹²³ Convinced by the Habsburgs' potential, the Milanese Illuministi actively collaborated with the ruling government, embedding themselves in the administration, as illustrated by the marked decline in their philosophical publications towards the end of the century. With the creation of the Supreme Council of the Economy in 1765, many of these Lombard reformers were employed by the Habsburg government to research Lombard economic policy and comment on the functioning of the cadastral register, tax farm, monetary reform, provisioning system and monopolies.¹²⁴ Most strikingly, this cooperation was not limited to within the Lombard administrative structure, but extended to the university system, where many members of the Accademia dei Pugni acquired teaching posts, including Beccaria who was appointed Chair of Cameral Science at the Palatine School. Universities were a focus point of Maria Theresa's reforms, as she was convinced by the potential utility and financial promise in training the next generation of enlightened bureaucrats.

Although the role played by the reformers in Milan's administration was both significant and unusual, it is crucial to underline that Lombardy, one of the most important territorial possessions of the Austrian Habsburgs, remained, on all fronts, subject to the decision-making powers in Vienna. The Illuministi were consulted and awarded administrative and university positions, but ultimately they were not granted the authority or autonomy to bypass Vienna. Yet, despite their grumblings the reformers continued to manoeuvre within the Habsburg bureaucracy, tirelessly lobbying Vienna with their own proposals for reform. The situation was further complicated however by the patriciates in the Lombard Senate who aggressively obstructed any reforms due to be implemented, stifling Maria Theresa and the reformers' attempts to rule through cooperation. It was a level of impotence that frustrated many of the more vocal Illuministi and Pietro Verri was quick to criticise the mechanics of Habsburg bureaucracy: "given the present system, I see that none of the

¹²³ Valsecchi, "Le Riforme Teresiane in Lombardia," 33–6.

¹²⁴ Woolf, *A History of Italy*, 100–2.

employees can have enough influence to do good: one person always proposes, another opposes, a third one modifies, and the result is a diagonal line along which one moves”.¹²⁵ As a result, these hostile obstructions triggered a more resolute removal of Lombard authority in the later years of Habsburg rule, with wide-sweeping reforms – especially regarding to the legal system – being implemented under Joseph II, who was renowned for his assertive and unsympathetic attitude towards Lombard autonomy.¹²⁶ When, in 1765, Joseph II became co-regent alongside Maria Theresa, his personal interest in Lombardy and forthright attitude towards progress and centralisation stimulated a spate of forceful reforms, often in conflict with the visions and advice of State Chancellor, Prince Kaunitz.¹²⁷ After his mother’s death in 1780, Joseph used his single rule to implement a more rigorous centralisation policy, removing the last vestiges of his mother’s more tolerant attitude to traditional institutions and regional autonomy. Most resolutely and destructively for the Illuministi, Joseph weakened the position of the Plenipotentiary Firmian by creating a collegiate Government Conference, replacing the Supreme Council with a Royal Cameral Court and imposing new and exacting checks and balances on the Lombard treasury and Senate.¹²⁸

By 1786, the Senate, State Congregation and Cameral Court had all been replaced by the Government Council and Joseph ensured that any remaining regional jurisdictions were superseded by local courts, courts of appeals and a Supreme Tribunal. In so doing, Joseph finally dismantled the last remnants of the traditional Lombard social hierarchy, leaving no trace, or even potential, for rivalries between Milan and its provinces, or between patricians and the lower classes.¹²⁹ Joseph, often identified as the quintessential enlightened despot, was deeply concerned with imposing rational measures which he perceived as most useful for his citizens and he was determined to regulate the Habsburg territories uniformly so as to ensure the benefit for all his people. With this ambition, Joseph continued to extend state intervention into new areas of society. No longer restricted to finance or administrative structures, the Habsburg state began to take increasing responsibility for education, public

¹²⁵ Woolf, *A History of Italy*, 126.

¹²⁶ Capra, “Habsburg Italy in the Age of Reform,” 228.

¹²⁷ Woolf, *A History of Italy, 1700–1860*, 100.

¹²⁸ Woolf, *A History of Italy, 1700–1860*, 103.

¹²⁹ Woolf, *A History of Italy, 1700–1860*, 128.

health, sanitation, poverty, police and the Church.¹³⁰ While Maria Theresa had collaborated with the Lombard reformers, granting them key positions in the administration, Joseph continued his crusade against regional particularities by adjusting the bureaucratic structure in Milan, removing many local officials and replacing them with non-patrician and often foreign counterparts who were loyal to the tenets of Joseph's enlightened absolutism and the Habsburg state.¹³¹ In this vein, Joseph imposed the most notable amendment to the Lombard administration: the extensive reform of its judicial system. Greatly inspired by Beccaria's legal contributions in *Dei delitti e delle pene* and especially his remarks on the abolition of torture, Joseph had originally hoped that a new, reasonable legal code could be devised by promising Lombard jurists. However, upon finding their proposals both too traditional and too limited, Joseph took the executive decision in 1787 to extend the Austrian legal code, the *Allgemeines Gesetz über Verbrechen und derselben Bestrafung* in full to Lombardy, therein ensuring the legal uniformity of the Habsburg territories. In 1786, Karl Anton Martini, State Counsellor and previously Professor of Law in Vienna, was dispatched to Milan to implement the Austrian legal framework for criminal and civil law, introducing a three-tier system comprised of a Supreme Court in Milan, appellate courts in Milan and Mantua and tribunals in the provincial capitals, as well as creating a Milanese police bureau.¹³² With these reforms, Lombardy was truly engulfed by the Habsburg state, making it ever more challenging for reformers employed in government positions to convince the relevant authorities of the value of their contributions and suggestions for reform, and even to address issues locally without first requiring the approval of centralised Habsburg departments.

Such was the political context of Cesare Beccaria's Milan. Not only was this the background which nurtured his thought, this was the institutional setting for the majority of his career. In his various positions in the Milanese administration, Beccaria was presented with significant challenges arising from the centralised administration, which required him to find ways to manoeuvre between satisfying the Habsburg authorities and implementing adequate reforms.

¹³⁰ Capra, "Habsburg Italy in the Age of Reform," 226.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 228.

What was the Lombard Enlightenment?

*The product of the meeting of French and English ideas with central European, above all Viennese, models of reform; the application of new ideas to the real problems of Habsburg Lombardy; the rediscovery of politics as the most noble commitment and vocation of men of culture.*¹³³

Milan's political slumber, impoverishing the region through archaic feudal privileges, would drive Beccaria to turn on his own class and family. While many Milanese resented being forced into the eighteenth century, Beccaria embraced and came to embody the ethos of the Lombard Enlightenment, contributing to the city's slow transformation into a centre of Enlightenment thought. It is through him and other protagonists such as Pietro Verri and the larger group of *Il Caffè* writers, including Alessandro Verri, Giuseppe Visconti di Saliceto, Paolo Frisi, Luigi Lambertenghi, Alfonso Longo, Giuseppe Colpani and Gian Rinaldo Carli that the Lombard Enlightenment is most commonly identified. However, the collaboration of reformers and government is but one of several defining features of the Lombard Enlightenment, as distinguished from other regional Enlightenments and the European Enlightenment more generally. Above all, the Lombard Enlightenment is associated with the "school of Milan", a style of political economy generated by many of these same figures, which centred around treatments of happiness and the motivating sentiments of pain and pleasure. To an almost equal extent, the Lombard Enlightenment is defined by the literary style and political outlook of the *Il Caffè* journal, which is seen as the mouthpiece of a specifically Lombard vision of enlightened absolutism and which carefully balanced cosmopolitanism and patriotism. Additionally, this Enlightenment is discerned by the use of the "geometric method": the belief that all matters could be reduced to mathematical calculation. Finally, the Lombard Enlightenment has been defined as a set of practices, as opposed to being driven by any clear ethos or idea. The applied nature of this civil Enlightenment sets it apart from the Enlightenment as a philosophy, corpus of ideas or ideology. This chapter will consequently present five connected pillars of scholarship which have contributed to the abovementioned characterisation of the Lombard Enlightenment, in order to resituate Beccaria in his most immediate intellectual and cultural context and

¹³³ Giuseppe Armani quoted in Giuseppe Petronio, "L'illuminismo Lombardo," in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia nell'età di Maria Teresa*, vol. II, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982), 267: "il prodotto dell'incontro delle idee francesi e inglesi con i modelli delle riforme dell'Europa centrale, soprattutto viennesi, dall'applicazione delle nuove idee ai problemi reali della Lombardia austriaca, dalla riscoperta della politica come impegno e vocazione più nobili dell'uomo di cultura".

subsequent historiography: the Venturian paradigm of crisis and reform and the institutional history of Habsburg Lombardy; economic histories of the Milanese school of political economy; the cultural history of *Il Caffè*; studies concerning the “geometric method”; and the more recent historiography of Enlightenment practices and Habsburg cameralism.

Within Italian scholarship the Lombard Enlightenment (or Milanese Enlightenment as it is sometimes called), as distinct from other regional Enlightenments is well-accepted, frequently referenced and thoroughly researched. Outside of Italian scholarship however, the Lombard Enlightenment remains an understudied area of Italian eighteenth-century history and much literature boils it down to tropes about the reformers, *Il Caffè* and Pietro Verri’s political economy.¹³⁴ Unlike the Neapolitan and, to a lesser extent, Tuscan Enlightenments, which are more commonly considered as unique regional Enlightenments,¹³⁵ their Lombard counterpart has yet to be identified for its singular nature and to date there is no comprehensive study on *the* Lombard Enlightenment. More often, Lombardy is seen as a crucial part of an Italian Enlightenment, forming one of multiple Enlightenment centres. The ethos of the Italian Enlightenment has been neatly defined by Francesca Bregoli: “If the French Enlightenment of the *philosophes* was characterized by radical, anticlerical ideals and the encyclopedic tradition, the Scottish was thoroughly empirical and pragmatic, and the Prussian influenced by metaphysical and historicist questions, the Italian Enlightenment was eminently driven by goals of societal reform and transformation”.¹³⁶ We find this overarching goal shared in the ambitions of Lombard reformers. Nonetheless, although few scholars reject the premise of an Italian

¹³⁴ For the full Italian historiography of the Lombard Enlightenment starting from the 1950s see: Petronio, “L’illuminismo Lombardo,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. II, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 257–276.

¹³⁵ For the Neapolitan Enlightenment see: Vincenzo Ferrone and Sophus A. Reinert, *The Politics of Enlightenment: Constitutionalism, Republicanism, and the Rights of Man in Gaetano Filangieri* (London/ New York/Dehli: Anthem Press, 2012); Koen Stapelbroek, *Love, Self-Deceit and Money: Commerce and Morality in the Early Neapolitan Enlightenment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Niccolò Guasti, “Antonio Genovesi’s *Diceosina*: Source of the Neapolitan Enlightenment,” *Journal of History of European Ideas*, vol. 32, no. 4 (2006): 385–405. For the Tuscan Enlightenment see: Francesca Bregoli, *Mediterranean Enlightenment: Livornese Jews, Tuscan Culture, and Eighteenth-Century Reform* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014); Till Wahnbaeck, *Luxury and Public Happiness: Political Economy in the Italian Enlightenment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006); Eric W. Cochrane, *Tradition and Enlightenment in the Tuscan Academies, 1690–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

¹³⁶ Bregoli, *Mediterranean Enlightenment*, 35.

Enlightenment,¹³⁷ the differing regional contexts and intellectual trends emanating from the various centres of this national Enlightenment, though all falling within this umbrella goal of societal reform, has prompted some scholars to emphasise the utility of interpreting the Enlightenment in Italy as a series of regional Enlightenments,¹³⁸ echoing the call from Withers to view the Enlightenment as “national *and* local *and* international”.¹³⁹ This multi-levelled approach best reflects the understanding of Enlightenment held by many eighteenth-century Italians themselves, Beccaria included, who though feeling part of a communal Italian Enlightenment, despaired at the lack of any truly Italian product of this Enlightenment: “I was irritated by never knowing where Italy was ... if Italy really had a centre, a point of union, she would be richer in the fine arts, in the letters, and perhaps in the sciences; much more than any other nation”.¹⁴⁰ Echoing Bettinelli’s sentiments, Beccaria’s close friend Paolo Frisi similarly remarked that the fragmented activities of the Illuministi, divided between Italy’s many regional centres, could have been avoided by the existence of one grand capital in one vast Kingdom.¹⁴¹

These reflections on the existence of regional Italian enlightenments reflect wider discussions in Enlightenment studies concerning national and peripheral readings of the Enlightenment. Perhaps most famously articulated in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich’s *The*

¹³⁷ The Italian Enlightenment is now commonly referenced, see: Vincenzo Ferrone, *The Intellectual Roots of the Italian Enlightenment: Newtonian Science, Religion, and Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1995); Wahnbaeck, *Luxury and Public Happiness*; Adriana Luna-Fabritius, “Passions and the Early Italian Enlightenment: Human Nature and *Vivere Civile* in the Thought of Gregorio Caloprese,” *European Review of History: Revue européenne d’histoire*, vol. 17, no.1 (2010): 93–112.

¹³⁸ Pier Luigi Porta, “Lombard Enlightenment and Classical Political Economy,” *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, vol. 18, no. 4 (2011): 521–550.

¹³⁹ Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 7.

¹⁴⁰ Quote from the *Lettere Inglese* by Italian Jesuit writer Saverio Bettinelli (1718–1808) in Luigi Cerruti, “Dante’s Bones, Geography and History of Italian Science, 1748–1870,” in *Archimedes, New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology*, vol. 2, ed. Kostas Gavroglu (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 97.

¹⁴¹ Paolo Casini, “Paolo Frisi, le riforme Teresiane e il ruolo dell’intellettuale scientifica,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. 2, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 131. Frisi even went on to compile a survey in 1771 on the state of Italian education. Here he stressed the cultural and educational fragmentation of Italy, stating that though the nation possessed more in terms of universities, academies, collections and professors, this could not be put to good use without greater communication between regions.

Enlightenment in National Context,¹⁴² which criticised the tendency to interpret the Enlightenment as “systems of socially disembodied ideas”,¹⁴³ interpretations of national enlightenments emphasise how the Enlightenment occurred in a multiplicity of social and political environments, which cannot necessarily be reduced into stereotypes reflecting the nature of the French Enlightenment and its characteristic institutional and intellectual structures such as the salon. As Porter and Teich argue, approaching the Enlightenment through national contexts is not to deny a sense of cosmopolitan identity within the period, but rather seeks to understand the diffusion of ideas across boundaries and into specific intellectual situations, which in turn generates an Enlightenment with a geographically wider purview than traditional studies. To date, national and regional Enlightenments have been explored in the context of America,¹⁴⁴ the Atlantic,¹⁴⁵ Austria,¹⁴⁶ Germany,¹⁴⁷ Ibero-America,¹⁴⁸ Russia,¹⁴⁹ and Scotland,¹⁵⁰ as well as in collections such as the *European Review of History*’s special edition *Enlightenment and Communication: Regional Experiences and Global Consequences*.¹⁵¹ Alongside the rise of national contexts is scholarship addressing the Enlightenment in “peripheries”, best exemplified by the volumes *Peripheries of the Enlightenment*, edited by Richard Butterwick, Simon Davies and Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa,¹⁵² and *The Sciences in the European Periphery During the Enlightenment*.¹⁵³ Highlighting the possibility

¹⁴² Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

¹⁴³ Porter and Teich, *The Enlightenment in National Context*, vii.

¹⁴⁴ Robert A. Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment: 1750–1820* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

¹⁴⁵ Susan Manning and Francis D. Cogliano, eds., *The Atlantic Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

¹⁴⁶ Ritchie Robertson and Edward Timms, *Austrian Enlightenment and Its Aftermath* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992); Derek Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005).

¹⁴⁷ Katherine M. Faull, *Anthropology and the German Enlightenment: Perspectives on Humanity* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1995).

¹⁴⁸ Mariselle Meléndez and Karen Stolley, “Introduction: Enlightenments in Ibero-America,” *Colonial Latin American Review*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2015): 1–16.

¹⁴⁹ Roger Bartlett and Janet M. Hartley, *Russia in the Age of the Enlightenment: Essays for Isabel De Madariaga* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

¹⁵⁰ Jean-François Dunyach and Ann Thomson, eds., *The Enlightenment in Scotland: National and International Perspectives* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015).

¹⁵¹ “Enlightenment and Communication: Regional Experiences and Global Consequences—Les Lumières et la Communication: Experiences Régionales et Conséquences Globales”, *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, vol. 13, no. 3 (2006): 509–676.

¹⁵² Richard Butterwick, Simon Davies and Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa, eds., *Peripheries of the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2008).

¹⁵³ Kostas Gavroglou, ed., *The Sciences in the European Periphery During the Enlightenment, Archimedes*,

of defining peripheries by more than geographical location alone, and drawing attention to the social, economic and cultural experiences distancing these regions from the Enlightenment as interpreted in Paris or London, the authors suggest that to interpret peripheries purely in terms of their reflection or imitation of the core loci of the Enlightenment, undermines the distinct and significant character of these areas in and of themselves, reducing them to definition by the margins of a dominant, homogenous perception of what the Enlightenment should have been.

Although now a seminal work in Enlightenment historiography, Porter and Teich's arguments for national contexts have provoked more debates than they have alleviated. John Robertson's *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680–1760*,¹⁵⁴ for example, attempted to overturn the plural Enlightenment argument by employing a comparative study of local settings, which demonstrated that in two separate regional contexts, "eighteenth-century thinkers...saw themselves as members of a wider, European intellectual movement, dedicated to understanding and publicising the cause of human betterment on earth."¹⁵⁵ Looking comparatively at the dissemination and development of political economy in the contexts of Naples and Scotland, Robertson presents a complex interpretation of the singular Enlightenment, undermining the static, philosophic preconceptions that "the Enlightenment... had existed in a certain time and place, was identified with a particular group of men, and was characterised by specific ideas",¹⁵⁶ In a bid to demonstrate similarity amidst difference, Robertson highlighted "the existence of Enlightenment as a coherent, unified intellectual movement of the eighteenth century, whose adherents engaged in original enquiry into the fundamentals of human sociability, and were committed to the cause of bettering the human condition in this world without regard to the next".¹⁵⁷ Drawing attention to Franco Venturi's paradigm of parallel cosmopolitanism and patriotism in demonstrating the possibility of *the* Enlightenment,

New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, vol. 2, (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999).

¹⁵⁴ John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680–1760*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Robertson, "The Enlightenment above National Context: Political Economy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland and Naples," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 40, no. 3 (1997): 667–97.

¹⁵⁵ Robertson, "The Enlightenment above National Context," 377.

¹⁵⁶ Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment*, 2.

¹⁵⁷ Robertson, "The Enlightenment above National Context".

Robertson argued that national endeavours to utilise political economy were simultaneously coupled with cosmopolitan, comparative attempts to contribute to European debates. Robertson's views tie into larger debates concerning the Enlightenment as a singular or plural phenomenon. The tradition of a singular Enlightenment can in many respects be traced back to the work of Ernst Cassirer, whose *Philosophy of the Enlightenment* presented a unitary Enlightenment, defined by philosophical thought and chronologically book-ended by the intellectual endeavours of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Immanuel Kant.¹⁵⁸ Cassirer's reading was distinctly apolitical, focusing instead on reproducing a history of ideas that emphasises the "form and manner of intellectual activity in general",¹⁵⁹ and the "mind of the Enlightenment",¹⁶⁰ over the individual doctrines or views of leading philosophical thinkers. Though Cassirer was highly criticised for reducing individual philosophical doctrines to the overarching methods of reason and empiricism, his insistence upon *the* singular Enlightenment, defined by rationality and secularisation, has been incredibly influential within scholarship, especially in the seminal works of Peter Gay. The two volumes of Gay's *The Enlightenment: The Rise of Modern Paganism* and *The Science of Freedom*, polemically illustrate the Enlightenment as a period in which man's use of reason enabled him to strive for progress and adhere to a programme of "secularism, humanity, cosmopolitanism, and freedom".¹⁶¹ Although far from Cassirer's description of the eighteenth-century mind, Gay similarly argues that there existed a philosophic family, which though not articulating a school of thought, demonstrated a common motivation towards progress,¹⁶² which results in his struggle to place individuals such as Rousseau into his narrative, whose ideas fit uncomfortably with Gay's distinctly secular and progress-driven vision of the Enlightenment. This overarching tradition of singular classification has been scathingly critiqued by J.G.A Pocock: "There is no single or unifiable phenomenon describable as "The Enlightenment".¹⁶³ Pocock argues that while the term "Enlightenment" can be applied usefully without its definite article, care is needed to understand how the meaning of the term changes when used, referring to a family of

¹⁵⁸ Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).

¹⁵⁹ Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, ix.

¹⁶⁰ Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, 3.

¹⁶¹ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. The Rise of Modern Paganism* (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977), 3.

¹⁶² Gay, *The Rise of Modern Paganism*, 4–5.

¹⁶³ J.G.A. Pocock, "Historiography and Enlightenment: A View of their History," *Modern Intellectual History*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2008): 83–96.

phenomena, to things which are related but which cannot be determined by any root meaning or understanding of “the Enlightenment” as a single process.¹⁶⁴ Pocock draws attention to the hesitancy to speak of Enlightenments in the plural, which he attributes to two preconceptions within the discipline of intellectual history: Primarily, that “the Enlightenment” denotes an ideological programme, most often of secular liberalism, which many historians see as a core value worthy of protection; and secondly, that to speak of Enlightenments in the plural, is to immediately subject the discourse to national rather than thematic contexts.¹⁶⁵ Putting these prejudices aside, the benefits of dismissing the unified classification of Enlightenment are, in Pocock’s eyes, highlighted by the flexibility of being able to speak of an Enlightenment in a specific context, whilst still being capable of including it within a narrative incorporating more generalised observations.¹⁶⁶ Charles W. J. Withers has similarly criticised “*the* Enlightenment as a unitary and philosophical phenomenon reducible only to the level of the nation”,¹⁶⁷ claiming that:

Between the Enlightenment in national context, which presumes in ways unwarranted by the evidence an essential Enlightenment moving out from an originating European “core” to wholly receptive “margins,” and the national Enlightenment, in whose context certain defining features are held to signify a nation’s geographical particularity. Even if we are thus more attentive, we must also recognise that the nation was a far from standard unit of geographical “measurement” and that differences in scale, location, social status, and timing of what was taken to be Enlightenment offer “internal” contradictions within “national” space. At the same time, the cosmopolitan movement of ideas, of practices, of people.¹⁶⁸

The Lombard Enlightenment as a regional Enlightenment, naturally assumes the existence of parallel regional and national Enlightenments, with which it continuously interacted and throughout the following sections we will recurrently come across points at which these Enlightenments intersect and the tensions and benefits this produced.

¹⁶⁴ Pocock, “Historiography and Enlightenment,” 83–4.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 84.

¹⁶⁷ Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment*, 234.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 6–7.

Dei delitti e del pane: Economic crisis and reformist sentiment

We owe much of the image of the Milanese reformers to the seminal work of Franco Venturi. A politically-animated participant in the anti-fascist and partisan movements, Venturi strove to recover the Italian Enlightenment as a point of study distanced from nationalist or clerical sentiments. Disillusioned with the pre-war legacy of literary and philosophical interpretations of the Enlightenment, best exemplified by Benedetto Croce's "absolute historicism", which strongly criticised the inherited ideas of the Enlightenment,¹⁶⁹ Venturi saw eighteenth-century Italy as not only a "promised land", rich with intellectual and political minds, but as a veritable *tabula rasa*, as scholars of the Enlightenment had traditionally limited themselves towards economic narratives of the eighteenth century, with the occasional nod to the opus of Giambattista Vico.¹⁷⁰ It was to this blank slate that Venturi set himself to work, resulting in the seminal series *Settecento Riformatore*, now reaching a total of seven publications.¹⁷¹ Demonstrating a unique approach, or perhaps even formula, to interpreting the Enlightenment, *Settecento Riformatore* tackled eighteenth-century Italy and its neighbours by highlighting how the period was distinguished by the relation between ideas and reform, carried out by individuals dedicated to political action. It is an Enlightenment defined by change, conscious rationality, secularisation and politico-economic development and Venturi directed focus away from the philosophical ideas and the intellectual origins characteristic of Enlightenment thought in preference of analysing the economic and political aspirations of select characters towards reform. Venturi's opus identifies two grand motifs as the underlying currents guiding his interpretations: the continuous interaction between the themes of reform and revolution, and cosmopolitanism and patriotism.¹⁷² These parallel relationships provide the conceptual tools with which to interpret "how among contemporaries themselves a sense of common purpose coincided with a recognition of a diversity of experience", a seeming paradox which prevented Venturi from having to define the Enlightenment as either a unified European phenomenon or a series of singular

¹⁶⁹ John Robertson, "Franco Venturi's Enlightenment," *Past and Present*, vol. 137, no. 1 (1992): 185–206.

¹⁷⁰ Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, vol. I (Turin: Einaudi, 1969–1990), xiii.

¹⁷¹ Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, vol. I, xiii.

¹⁷² Franco Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), ch. 3 and 4.

national contexts.¹⁷³ The themes of reform/revolution and cosmopolitanism/patriotism enabled Venturi to argue that the Enlightenment was propelled by both mild and radical challenges to the *ancien régime*, simultaneously accounting for the idiosyncrasies of national experiences and the specific cosmopolitan (as opposed to universalist) potential for pan-European intellectual and political inspiration.¹⁷⁴ With these concepts in mind, Venturi defined Enlightenment Italy by its preference for reform over revolution; an attitude articulated by Beccaria himself whose “answer to the problem he had put himself was not a utopia but a society of free and equal men”.¹⁷⁵ Quick to highlight the intensification in reformist positions from the more moderate Illuministi of the 1730s, such as Ludovico Muratori, towards the end of the century, Venturi drew attention to the 1760s and ‘70s as the period in which Italy, across her many independent regions, was universally catalysed to engage in structural and administrative reforms. Although Venturi emphasised the increasingly radical ambitions of Illuministi such as Antonio Genovesi and the Milanese journal *Il Caffè*, he was careful to stress that though politically driven, such reformist sentiments were neither “war nor politics in the traditional sense of the word”, but rather marked a changing set of values stimulated by profound economic problems throughout Italy.¹⁷⁶ Indeed, Venturi traces the unprecedented appropriation of administrative roles by Italian intellectuals such as Beccaria, and their collaboration with sovereigns and patriciates, as being a direct attempt to find practical solutions to the economic crisis. Such cooperation demonstrated the dedication of the Illuministi to reform, underlining their pragmatism directed towards matters of state, as opposed to any explicit intent to overthrow enlightened absolutism.¹⁷⁷ It was this preference for reform over revolution that Venturi argued culminated in “economic transformation, of administrative reform, of the abolition of old laws and the formation of new codes, of the reorganisation of the schools, of the universities, of culture in general”.¹⁷⁸ Venturi clarified that 1760s Italy enjoyed a uniquely tranquil position in Europe; unthreatened by conflicts and constitutional struggles and at peace with enlightened absolutism, consequently preventing any evolution of aggressive opposition to political rule and thus granting both space and

¹⁷³ Robertson, “Franco Venturi’s Enlightenment,” 203.

¹⁷⁴ Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment*, ch. 3 and 4.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁷⁶ Franco Venturi, “Church and Reform in Enlightenment Italy: The Sixties of the Eighteenth Century,” *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 48, no. 2 (1976): 217–18.

¹⁷⁷ Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, vol. I, ch. 9.

¹⁷⁸ Venturi, “Church and Reform in Enlightenment Italy,” 217–18.

time for internal reflection on the efficiency of Italian administration.¹⁷⁹

The expediency of this thematic approach is complemented by an additional methodological device: Venturi's method of tackling the Italian Enlightenment through biographical writing. Venturi's work largely focuses on the political role of individuals, emphasising the greater impact of these reformist Illuministi over that of isolated ideas and concepts, consequently sidestepping debates concerning the home-grown or continental roots of Italian intellectual endeavours. Venturi defined his approach as a "history of ideas, which looks for proofs and references in society, stressing the creative function of men rather than the more nebulous political management of the ideas themselves,"¹⁸⁰ and proceeding to dissect Italy regionally, Venturi characterised local political atmospheres through the ambitions and reforms of particular Illuministi, such as the Naples of Antonio Genovesi, or the Milan of *Il Caffè*.¹⁸¹ It is these protagonists, rather than their works, that are chosen to highlight the engagement of intellectuals in political and economic reform. In Venturi's eyes the pressing questions of this period were those directed towards critiquing administrative programmes and rectifying inadequate institutional structures, a conclusion further highlighted by his far more limited acknowledgement of reformist attitudes in the fields of religion and philosophy. Speaking of Beccaria's native Milan, Venturi underlined how the economic stagnation throughout Lombardy and concerns for the poverty and famine sweeping across Italy due to administrative inefficiencies, inspired the writers of *Il Caffè* to use their expertise in political economy and cameral science to propose institutional reforms directed towards financially and culturally reinvigorating their region.¹⁸² Applying themselves to issues of commerce, Venturi argues that *Il Caffè* engaged with those intellectual discourses whose versatility they recognised as useful for improving the economic climate, such as the demoralised treatment of luxury that emphasised its crucial economic role. *Il Caffè* involved itself in the philosophical discussions on luxury precisely for practical purposes of economic reform,¹⁸³ thereby illustrating their engagement in cosmopolitan intellectual debates as part of a search for solutions to domestic issues of

¹⁷⁹ Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment*, 217–18.

¹⁸⁰ Dino Carpanetto and Giuseppe Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason 1685–1789* (London: Longman, 1987), 327.

¹⁸¹ Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, vol. I.

¹⁸² Venturi, "Church and Reform in Enlightenment Italy," 218–19.

¹⁸³ Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, vol. I, 668–9.

government and administration.

Franco Venturi's work stood against the nationalist histories which sought to provide historical legitimacy for national unification. Directly challenging the unified portrait of eighteenth-century Italy given by his predecessors, Venturi's response to these nationalist readings of the 1940s aptly highlights the coterminous Italian and regional dynamics of the period and their implications and challenges for scholars. It comes as little surprise that the experience of fascism throughout Europe should have resulted in a new interpretative trend concerning the nature of eighteenth-century Italy and, true to form, with the rise of nationalist sentiments and subsequent criticisms of fascism, Italian scholarship mutated into a search for the origins of the Risorgimento, determined to highlight how the unique Italian intellectual and political dynamics of eighteenth-century Italy anticipated, for better or worse, future national unification: "Many Italians repeat that the Eighteenth Century is, even in Italy, the century of French philosophy. I have more faith in those of our historians who can be called nationalists who see a single original and indigenous line in the development of our thought".¹⁸⁴ The historian Giulio Natali, quoted here, published an Enlightenment history entitled *Il Settecento*, very much the product of such a nationalist agenda, repeatedly articulating Italy's autonomy from the cultural and intellectual influences of the Republic of Letters.¹⁸⁵ Antagonistically challenging the significance of the French Revolution, the opposition to the *ancien régime* and the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment, Natali interpreted the domestic reforms of eighteenth-century Italy as a proto-nationalist endeavour to strengthen the State as it was to become, based on distinctly Italian intellectual and political ambitions, and laying the patriotic foundations for a unified Italy. Natali was by no means alone in this crusade, as historians such as Ettore Rota and Gioacchino Volpe amongst others helped to propel the nationalist interpretation to the forefront of Enlightenment scholarship.¹⁸⁶ This was a view of the Italian Enlightenment as striving towards a definite political standard, which overlooked or made excuses for regional particularities and the philosophical endeavours of the Illuministi, centralising

¹⁸⁴ Giulio Natali quoted in Carpanetto and Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason*, 322.

¹⁸⁵ Giulio Natali, *Il Settecento*, Storia letteraria d'Italia series (Milan: Vallardi, 1964).

¹⁸⁶ See: Ettore Rota, *Storia politica d'Italia: Le origini del Risorgimento (1770–1800)* (Milan: F. Vallardi, 1948); Gioacchino Volpe, *Principi di Risorgimento nel '700 italiano*, Quaderni della rivista storica italiana series (Turin: Giovanni Battista Paravia, 1940).

instead their dedication to, and role in, reforms ambitious of a future Italian nation state. While the individual works of historians such as Natali do not help to critically understand the intellectual climate of Beccaria's Milan, the nationalist historiography does raise two crucial questions recurrent within Italian Enlightenment scholarship, especially pertinent to deconstructing Beccaria's intellectual milieu: can a unified Italian Enlightenment be spoken of considering the specific regional experiences of the time, and if not, can these individual intellectual climates and ideas be precisely or effectively divided into regions or localities? After all, Italy was at this time divided between the papal states, the kingdoms of Savoy Piedmont and Bourbon Naples and Sicily, the Lorraine Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the duchies of Habsburg Lombardy, Habsburg Modena and Bourbon Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla and the republics of Venice, Genoa and San Marino.

While Venturi's *Settecento Riformatore* is undeniably the masterpiece at the centre of Italian Enlightenment scholarship, the intertwined themes of Italian reform and economic crisis pose serious issues when attempting to account for the intellectual framework of the Illuministi within a wider European context. Historiography undoubtedly supports the reformist attitudes of Italian intellectuals, yet interpretations acknowledging the more complex volition of the Illuministi to engage in reform, are perhaps more fruitful in accounting for intellectual productions of the period, such as *Dei delitti e delle pene*, whose content exceeded purely practical suggestions. Furthermore, it is worth questioning whether the inclination towards reform, based almost exclusively on economic demands, best explains the Lombard dynamic. The economic crises throughout the decentralised Italian peninsula differed from region to region, principality to principality, and Lombardy was in an arguably favourable financial position compared to more southern states, leading some historians to reflect on possible additional stimuli encouraging the Illuministi's demands for institutional reform. Although Venturi's overarching Italian project continues to determine much of our impression of the Lombard Enlightenment, it is pulled into question by a wealth of literature dealing exclusively with Habsburg Lombardy which is far less ambitious.¹⁸⁷ Exploring the changing institutional framework of the region above all, this comprehensive scholarship is critical of Venturi's indiscriminating account of the

¹⁸⁷ For more on the historiography of Lombard reforms see Ettore Rotelli, "Fra stato nazionale e stato moderno: storia della storiografia sulle riforme lombarde del Settecento," in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, vol. III, 21–61.

reformist spirit and presents a more complicated climate of reform than is accounted for by Venturi, focusing less on the circulation of Enlightenment-reformist ideas as on the actual institutional histories. Within this corpus two publications have made especially important contributions to reshaping our understanding of Lombard Enlightenment institutions: Carlo Capra's *La Lombardia austriaca nell'età delle riforme, 1706–1796*,¹⁸⁸ and the encyclopedic volumes of Aldo De Maddalena, Ettore Rotelli and Gennaro Barbarisi's *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia nell'età di Maria Teresa*,¹⁸⁹ and further studies have focused in detail on Lombard reforms in four key areas and their corresponding institutions: economics, politics, law and regional education.

Much research has been dedicated to dissecting the economic structure of Habsburg Lombardy. The work of Carlo Capra, Giancarlo Galli, Sergio Zaninelli and Patrizia Bresolin on the economic situation in Milan and Lombardy, has provided extensive insight into the origins, structure and reforms of Habsburg economics.¹⁹⁰ More focused research has also been carried out by Capra and Galli, as well as by Christine Lebeau into Milanese taxation as based upon the land register, census and cadastral surveys undertaken by the Habsburg administration.¹⁹¹ Similarly, the extensive work of Alexander I. Grab has provided detailed research into grain commerce in Lombardy under both Maria Theresa and Joseph II.¹⁹² Other works such as Cesare Mozzarelli's *Sovrano, società e amministrazione*

¹⁸⁸ Carlo Capra, *La Lombardia austriaca nell'età delle riforme, 1706–1796* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1987).

¹⁸⁹ De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, eds., *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*.

¹⁹⁰ See Sergio Zaninelli, "Economia e società lombarda in epoca teresiana," and Patrizia Bresolin, "Aspetti economici della feudalità nello Stato di Milano nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo," in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi; Carlo Capra, "The Finances of the Austrian Monarchy and the Italian States," in *Economic Systems and State Finance*, ed. Richard Bonney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).

¹⁹¹ Carlo Capra and Giancarlo Galli, "The 18th-century Land Register in the State of Milan," *Jahrbuch für europäische Verwaltungsgeschichte*, vol. 13 (2002): 55–81; Christine Lebeau, "Vers la construction d'une science administrative au XVIIIe siècle. L'exemple du cadastre de Milan," in *L'illuminismo delle riforme civili: il contributo degli economisti lombardi*, eds. **Porta and Scazzieri**; Lebeau, "Échanger des modèles dans la République des administrateurs (XVIIIe siècle): des cadastres italiens au cadastre josphiste," in *De l'estime au cadastre en Europe. L'époque moderne*, ed. Mireille Touzery (Paris: Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France, 2007); Pier Luigi Porta and Roberto Scazzieri, "Regional Exchanges and Patterns of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century Europe: the case of the Italian Cadastres," in *Global Debates about Taxation*, eds. Holger Nehring and Florian Schui (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 21–35.

¹⁹² See: Alexander I. Grab, "Le riforme annonarie nello Stato di Milano (1765–1766)," in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in di Lombardia*, vol. III, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi; "The Politics of Subsistence: The Liberalization of Grain Commerce in Austrian Lombardy under Enlightened

locale nella Lombardia teresiana: 1749-1758; Dan Riley's "Privilege and Property: The Political Foundations of Failed Class Formation in Eighteenth-Century Austrian Lombardy"; and Daniel M. Klang, "Reform and Enlightenment in 18th Century Lombardy" have focused more generally on the nature and structure of the Lombard administration,¹⁹³ while key areas of the administration such as the magistratura,¹⁹⁴ the Italian envoy to Vienna,¹⁹⁵ the supreme economic council,¹⁹⁶ and the chamber of commerce,¹⁹⁷ have also been examined. Klang has concurred with Venturi in arguing that political economy was a definitive ambition of the Milanese Enlightenment. Although critical of Venturi's provocative suggestion that the *Il Caffè* group was concerned with "maximum economic and social mobility", Klang similarly identifies the dire Lombard economic situation as the central motivation of the Illuministi, clearly articulated in Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene*, where "the attack on traditional jurisprudence and magisterial government stands beside an affirmation of political economy and economic growth".¹⁹⁸ For Klang, the joint desire of the Verri brothers and Beccaria to reinvigorate manufacturing and agriculture was an achievable vision of reform considering the employment of many Milanese Illuministi as government officials and it reflected their intentions to ameliorate the economic situation by working with, rather than against, the administration in Vienna.¹⁹⁹ Ultimately defining

Despotism," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 57, no. 2 (1985): 185–210; "Enlightened Absolutism and Commonlands Enclosure: The Case of Austrian Lombardy," *Agricultural History*, vol. 63, no. 1 (1989): 49–72; *La politica del pane: le riforme annonarie in Lombardia nell'età teresiana e giuseppina*, (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1986).

¹⁹³ Dan Riley, "Privilege and Property: The Political Foundations of Failed Class Formation in Eighteenth-Century Austrian Lombardy," *Comparative Studies in Sociology and History*, vol. 45, no.1 (2003): 190–213; Cesare Mozzarelli, *Sovrano, società e amministrazione locale nella Lombardia teresiana, 1749–1758* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982); Daniel M. Klang, "Reform and Enlightenment in 18th-Century Lombardy," *Canadian Journal of History/Annales Canadiennes d'Histoire*, vol. 19, no. 1 (1984): 43.

¹⁹⁴ Ugo Petronio and Franco Arese, "L'alta magistratura lombarda nell'età delle riforme," in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. III, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 659–695.

¹⁹⁵ Carlo Capra, "Luigi Giusti e il dipartimento d'Italia a Vienna (1759–1766)," in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. III, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 365–390.

¹⁹⁶ Mario Scazzoso, "Tentativi di riforma burocratica nella Lombardia austriaca: il Supremo Consiglio di Economia (1765-1771)," in *Archivio Storico Lombardo: Giornale della società storica lombarda*, serie 10, vol. 3 (1977).

¹⁹⁷ Cesare Mozzarelli, "La riforma politica del 1781 e la nascita delle Camere di Commercio in Lombardia," in *Economia e corporazioni: il governo degli interessi nella storia d'Italia dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli (Milan: Giuffrè, 1988).

¹⁹⁸ Daniel M. Klang, "Cesare Beccaria and the Clash between Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Eighteenth-Century Lombardy," *Canadian Journal of History/Annales Canadiennes d'Histoire*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1988): 321.

¹⁹⁹ Klang, "Reform and Enlightenment in 18th-Century Lombardy," 39–47.

the “Milanese reform movement” by its concern with political economy, the historiography focused on reform and economics illustrates a political atmosphere that embraced intellectual discourses for the purposes of benefitting state mechanics.²⁰⁰

Other studies such as Gianpaolo Massetto *Saggi di storia del diritto penale lombardo (secoli XVI-XVIII)*; Gigliola Renzo Villata, “Giuristi, cultura giuridica e idee di riforma nell’età Lombardia preunitaria”; Adriano Cavanna “La codificazione del diritto nella lombardia austriaca” and *La codificazione penale in Italia. Le origini Lombarde*; and Giuliana Volpi, *Tentativi di riforma del diritto del processo nella Lombardia teresiana: il Nuovo Piano di Gabriele Verri* have explored Habsburg Lombard law reforms, outlining the juridical culture in Lombardy, the codifications of the laws and the changing process of criminal law during the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁰¹ Maria Carla Zorzoli has additionally provided great insight into the development of juridical university education,²⁰² which ties into another central area of focus, that being the reform of learned institutions and universities. H. Reinalter has provided a more general overview of the university reforms under Maria Theresa,²⁰³ and Mario Scazzoso has likewise provided comprehensive summary of the reforms in public education in *Istruzione professionale e società nella Lombardia austriaca. Milano: Vita e pensiero*.²⁰⁴ Elena Brambilla’s work has been central to understanding the changing university culture of Milan, especially with regards to scientific education and the social hierarchy of institutions,²⁰⁵ supported by additional works such as Maria Theresa Monti’s “Promozione

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 70.

²⁰¹ See: Adriano Cavanna, ‘La codificazione del diritto nella Lombardia austriaca’ in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. III, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 611–57; Adriano Cavanna, *La codificazione penale in Italia: le origini lombarde* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1987); Gigliola di Renzo Villata, “Giuristi, cultura giuridica e idee di riforma nell’età Lombardia preunitaria,” in *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e l’Europa*: convegno di studi per il 250° anniversario della nascita promosso dal Comune di Milano, ed. Sergio Romagnoli (Milan: Cariplo, 1990); Villata, “Giuristi, cultura giuridica e idee di riforma nell’età di Beccaria,” in *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e l’Europa*; Gianpaolo Massetto, *Saggi di storia del diritto penale lombardo (secoli XVI-XVIII)* (Milan: LDE, 1994); Giuliana Volpi, *Tentativi di riforma del diritto del processo nella Lombardia teresiana, Vol. 2: Nuovo Piano di Gabriele Verri* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1986).

²⁰² Maria Carla Zorzoli, “La formazione dei giuristi lombardi nell’età di Maria Teresa: il ruolo dell’Università,” *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. III, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi.

²⁰³ H. Reinalter, “Le riforme universitarie in Austria al tempo di Maria Teresa,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. III, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 829–44.

²⁰⁴ Mario Scazzoso, *Istruzione professionale e società nella Lombardia austriaca* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2000).

²⁰⁵ E. Brambilla and M.G. Di Renzo Villata, “Per una storia dell’Università di Milano,” *Annali di*

del sapere e riforma delle istituzioni scientifiche nella Lombardia austriaca” which has helped to outline the rise in scientific institutions and education in Habsburg Lombardy,²⁰⁶ and Baldo Peroni has focused on the university reforms in Pavia.²⁰⁷ Other studies have similarly revealed the role and importance of learned institutions such as the Società Patriottica di Milano during the later years of the century.²⁰⁸

Overall, the rich institutional history of the Lombard Enlightenment has been crucial in mapping the characteristics of this regional Enlightenment, counterbalancing Venturi’s trope of crisis and reform with detailed accounts of the internal context and dimensions of specific Lombard reforms. At the same time however, institutional histories can be critiqued for not relating the Lombard experience to the European Enlightenment more generally and for ignoring the crucial transfer of intellectual debates and ideas across the continent. The pattern of Lombard institutional reform can be partially attributed to distinct cultural and intellectual elements which were discernible in the wider context of the Italian and European Enlightenments, as we shall see outlined in the next characteristic of the Lombard Enlightenment: the *Il Caffè* journal.

***Il Caffè*: voice of the Lombard Enlightenment**

In addition to the institutional history of Habsburg Lombardy, much literature has focused on the journal *Il Caffè* as the mouthpiece for this regional Enlightenment.

storia delle università italiane, vol. 11 (2007): 286; “Tra teoria e pratica: studi scientifici e professioni mediche nella Lombardia settecentesca,” in *Lazzaro Spallanzani e la biologia del Settecento. Teorie, esperimenti, istituzioni scientifiche*, eds. G. Montalenti and P. Rossi (Florence: Olschki, 1982), 553–68; “Il ‘sistema letterario’ di Milano: Professioni nobili e professioni borghesi dall’età spagnola alle riforme teresiane,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, vol. III, 79–160; “Scientific and Professional Education in Lombardy, 1760–1803: Physics between Medicine and Engineering,” in *Nuova Voltiana. Studies on Volta and his Times, Vol. I: Proceedings of the International Congress for the Bicentenary of the Invention of the Battery, Pavia, 11-13 December 1998*, eds. F. Bevilacqua and L. Fregonese (Pavia: Università degli Studi di Pavia-Hoepli, 2000): 51–99.

²⁰⁶ Maria Teresa Monti, “Promozione del sapere e riforma delle istituzioni scientifiche nella Lombardia austriaca,” in *La politica della scienza: Toscana e stati italiani nel tardo Settecento*, eds. Giulio Barsanti, Vieri Becagli and Renato Pasta (Florence: Olschki, 1996), 367–92.

²⁰⁷ Baldo Peroni, “La riforma dell’università di Pavia nel Settecento,” in *Contributi alla storia dell’Università di Pavia*, ed. A. Solmi (Pavia: Tipografia Cooperativa, 1925), 115–74.

²⁰⁸ See: “Parocchi e gentlemen farmers: la Società Patriottica di Milano,” in *Le Società Economiche alla prova della storia (secoli XVIII–XIX)*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di studi: Chiavari, 16-17-18 maggio 1991 (Chiavari: s. n., 1996).

Published anonymously,²⁰⁹ and distributed every ten days between June 1764 and April 1766, *Il Caffè* was the product of the intellectual group the Accademia dei Pugni, comprising Pietro and Alessandro Verri, Cesare Beccaria, Luigi Lambertenghi, Giambattista Biffi, Alfonso Longo and Giuseppe Visconti, as well as additional contributors such as Sebastiano Franci, Paolo Frisi, Giuseppe Colpani, Gianrinaldo Carli and Ruder Josip Boškovič. *Il Caffè* was consciously modelled on *The Spectator* and its name, meaning either “the coffee-shop” or just “the coffee”, served to embody the entire phenomenon of coffeehouse culture and its spirit of community through discussion. There was even an imaginary coffeeshop proprietor, the Greek Demetrio who, dressed in oriental garb and educating his customers in the natural history of coffee, captured the exoticism of coffeehouse culture. In generating this imaginary coffeehouse, *Il Caffè* provided a cosmopolitan locus where it and its readers could engage in spirited discussion, above all concerning *cose non parole* – things not words – which was to become the journal’s motto as the *caffettisti* shared a concern for praxis above sterile abstraction, directing their efforts towards public utility: “cose varie, cose disparatissime, cose inedite, cose fatte da diversi autori, cose tutte dirette alla pubblica utilità”. Articulating the views of a young educated class frustrated with patrician politics and the cultural hegemony of the academic elite, *Il Caffè* intended to encourage discussion, promote social reform and criticise the academy and the *Crusca*. At the same time, the journal blended this distinctly cosmopolitan form of coffeehouse discussion with explicitly patriotic aims of raising the visibility of Italian thought to international prominence, espousing proto-nationalist sentiments regarding Italy and the Italians, claiming that “we should all again become Italians in order to not stop being men”.²¹⁰ Such patriotism was not only seen as compatible with the cosmopolitan form, it was likewise reconcilable with the *caffettisti*’s strong ties to Milan and Habsburg Lombardy.

Scholarship on *Il Caffè* owes much to the efforts of Gianni Francioni and Sergio Romagnoli in their critical edition of the journal,²¹¹ as well as the extensive work of Raymond Abbrugiati into diverse aspects of the periodical, such as its judico-economic

²⁰⁹ See: James T.S. Wheelock, “The Anonymity of the Milanese ‘Caffe’ 1764-1766,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 5, no. 4 (1972): 527–44.

²¹⁰ Gian Rinaldo Carli, *Della patria degli Italiani* in *Il Caffè*, vol. 2 (1765).

²¹¹ For the most conclusive descriptions of *Il Caffè* see *Il Caffè, 1764–1766*, eds. Gianni Francioni and Sergio Romagnoli (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1993).

reflections and its notions of politesse.²¹² The German tradition examining the conceptual language of the journal has equally shaped our understanding of *Il Caffè* from a philological standpoint.²¹³ Additionally, literature dealing with the more general periodical climate in Habsburg Lombardy has been central to understanding the unique position of *Il Caffè* in the Lombard Enlightenment,²¹⁴ as have accounts placing *Il Caffè* within the broader Italian public sphere and coffeehouse reading culture.²¹⁵ Current scholarship on *Il Caffè* broadly identifies three defining elements of its nature. First, is the greater receptiveness of the journal to French economic and philosophical ideas and English styles of writing, than to intellectual or literary trends within the Italian peninsula. This perspective is primarily laid out in the earlier works of Gaetano Compagnino and Sergio Romagnoli,²¹⁶ but we similarly find Owen Chadwick, in his discussion of the Italian Enlightenment, emphasising

²¹² Raymond Abbrugiati, *Études sur 'Le Café'. 1764–1766: un périodique des Lumières* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'université de Provence, 2006); “La pensée politique du ‘Caffè’ ou l’expression juridique et économique d’un projet de société,” *Chroniques Italiennes* (1996): 5–29; “Les Lumières milanaises et la naissance des sciences humaines,” in *Naissance De La Science Dans L’Italie Antique Et Moderne* (Bern; Peter Lang, 2004), 277–285; “La réflexion linguistique et littéraire du ‘Caffè,’” *Chroniques Italiennes* (1998): 89–106; “Politesse et bonnes manières dans ‘Le Café’ ou la facette mondaine de l’humanisme des Lumières,” *Italiens*, vol. 11 (2007): 461–475.

²¹³ See: Christof Dipper, *Politischer Reformismus und begrifflicher Wandel. Eine Untersuchung des historisch-politischen Wortschatzes der Mailänder Aufklärung (1764–1796)* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1976); Dirk Hoeges, *Aufklärung und die List der Form: zur Zeitschrift ‘Il Caffè’ und zur Strategie italienischer und französischer Aufklärung*, (Krefeld: Scherpe, 1978); Helmut C. Jacobs, *Die Zeitschrift ‘Il Caffè’: Vernunftprinzip und Stimmenvielfalt in der italienischen Aufklärung* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2003).

²¹⁴ See: Giuseppe Ricuperati, “I giornali italiani del XVIII secolo: Studi e ipotesi di ricerca,” *Studi storici*, vol. 25, no. 2 (1984): 279–303; Patrizia Delpiano, “I periodici scientifici nel nord Italia alla fine del Settecento: studi e ipotesi di ricerca,” *Studi Storici*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1989): 457–82; Rita Carrarini, and Michele Giordano, eds. *Bibliografia dei periodici femminili lombardi: 1786–1945* (Milan: Bibliografica, 2003); Erica Morato, “Periodici milanesi dell’età teresiana: ‘Il caffè’, l’Estratto della letteratura europea’, la ‘Gazzetta letteraria,’” in *Le Riviste Di Economia in Italia (1700–1900): Dai Giornali Scientifico-Letterari Ai Periodici Specialistici*, eds. Massimo Augello, Marco Bianchini and Marco Guidi (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1996); Silvia Scotti Morgana, “Aspetti linguistici dei periodici milanesi dell’età teresiana,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. III, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 413–38.

²¹⁵ See: Alessandro Fontana and Jean-Louis Fournel, “Piazza, Corte, Salotto, Caffè,” in *Letteratura italiana*, vol. 5, *Questioni*, ed. A. Asor Rosa (Turin, Einaudi, 1986), 635–86; Danilo Reato, *La bottega del caffè: I caffè veneziani tra ‘700 e ‘900* (Venezia: Arsenale, 1991); Giuseppe Ricuperati, “Giornali e società nell’Italia dell’Ancien Régime (1668–1789),” in *La stampa italiana dal cinquecento all’ottocento*, Carlo Capra, Valerio Castronovo and Giuseppe Ricuperati (Bari: Laterza, 1986); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014).

²¹⁶ Gaetano Compagnino, *Gli Illuministi Italiani* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 1982); Sergio Romagnoli and Pietro Verri, eds. *Illuministi settentrionali: Pietro Verri, Cesare Beccaria, Alessandro Verri, Gian Rinaldo Carli, Francesco Algarotti, Saverio Bettinelli, Carlo Denina* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1962).

that *caffetisti* were “intellectually nearer to Vienna or to Paris than to the Neapolitans”.²¹⁷ Unlike other Milanese journals of the period, such as the *Raccolta Milanese* which focused on “local affairs and archaeology, the diffusion of language, magic, and the origins of idolatry”,²¹⁸ *Il Caffè* expressed an interest in contemporary and international developments and discussions regarding law, economics, agriculture medicine and natural science among other fields. It was their cosmopolitan intellectual roots and receptiveness to the transfer of ideas from across the continent, that gave the Milanese *caffetisti* their unique outlook, being shaped by French thought above all.²¹⁹ Cecilia Carnino and Manuela Albertone have concurred with this perspective, claiming that the views of the journal members regarding luxury were stimulated by diverse physiocratic perspectives, including Forbonnais, Gournay and Quesnay.²²⁰ Lia Guerra has conversely focused on the influence of English periodical culture (above all *Tatler* and *The Spectator*) on the group, highlighting the role of Giambattista Biffi as a cultural mediator between England and Italy, whose interests in English journals infiltrated into his writings for *Il Caffè*.²²¹ Guerra, offering a key explanation for Italian interest in English culture, emphasises the “popularising role of the English periodical essay, an instrument that offered novel topics for discussion and disseminated knowledge of English works in every field of culture, from literature to aesthetics, from philosophy to science”.²²² It was part of a wider shift in Lombardy towards English culture,²²³ not just in style but also towards the philosophy of Locke and Newton.²²⁴

However, in parallel with this cosmopolitan view of *Il Caffè* is scholarship which identifies the dual importance of patriotism and cosmopolitanism for the journal. Regardless of the

²¹⁷ Owen Chadwick, “The Italian Enlightenment,” in *The Enlightenment in National Context*, ed. Porter and Teich, 96.

²¹⁸ Wahnbaeck, *Luxury and Public Happiness*.

²¹⁹ See: Raymond Abbrugiati, *Cesare Beccaria et la France des lumières* (Lille: A.N.R.T, 1992).

²²⁰ Manuela Albertone and Cecilia Carnino, “‘Lusso di Ostentazione’ e ‘Lusso di Comodo’. Tra Economia e Politica: Un Linguaggio di Riforma della Società nella Milano del ‘Caffè,’” in *l'Illuminismo delle riforme civili: il contributo degli economisti Lombardi*, eds. Porta and Scazzieri, 69–105.

²²¹ Lia Guerra, “Giambattista Biffi and His Role in the Dissemination of English Culture in Eighteenth-Century Lombardy,” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2 (2010): 245–264.

²²² Guerra, “Giambattista Biffi and His Role in the Dissemination of English Culture,” 246.

²²³ Franca Rossi, *La cultura inglese a Milano e in Lombardia nel Seicento e nel Settecento* (Bari: Adriatica 1970).

²²⁴ Mario Sina, “Locke e la Filosofia dell'Illuminismo Lombardo,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. II, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 253–4.

greater influence of French over Italian ideas upon the *caffetisti*, *Il Caffè* balanced the cosmopolitanism of its intellectual and stylistic heritage with distinctly patriotic ambitions. As Sophus Reinert has argued, “the *Accademia*’s cosmopolitanism and openness to foreign cultures and ideas informed a relentlessly realist and patriotic programme of economic development”.²²⁵ Similarly referred to as “italianité” by Raymond Abbrugiati, this patriotism of *Il Caffè* was a response to the lack of an intermediary nation between the regional and European levels of cultural identity.²²⁶ For the journal members, patriotism and cosmopolitanism were not perceived to be antagonistic, but rather complementary. Perhaps even more than complementary, as Norbert Jonard has claimed, cosmopolitanism and patriotism were interpreted by Pietro Verri to be one and the same: “cosmopolitanism only extends patriotism, just as individual happiness finds itself in public happiness”.²²⁷ This alignment was not accidental. As Marco Cerruti has demonstrated, the group studiously reflected on the meaning of patriotism and cosmopolitanism,²²⁸ and as we shall encounter later in Chapter II, the *caffetisti* were extremely critical of what they perceived as the detrimental effects of the unquestioning love for the patria. Perhaps most telling of the patriotic aspect of *Il Caffè* is the reality that the journal ceased to exist after a mere two years, as the majority of its founders took up positions in the Lombard administration and public institutions: Gianrinaldo Carli became president of the Supreme Council of the Economy, Alfonso Longo became a professor, and Pietro Verri, as Beccaria would later, had already joined the administration. If made to choose between the cosmopolitanism and patriotism, as Sophus Reinert has argued, the *caffetisti* chose patriotism: “international allegiances were honoured only as long as they contributed to local needs”.²²⁹

Finally, and very much related to the issue of patriotism, is scholarship which remarks on the role of *Il Caffè* in promoting enlightened absolutism. Alongside drawing attention to the repeated praise throughout the journal for benevolent Habsburg rule as a mechanism for successful reform, scholars have even interpreted the bourgeois nature of the journal, not only in the composition of its writers, but as demonstrated through elite cultural

²²⁵ Reinert, “Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Political Economy,” 156.

²²⁶ Abbrugiati, “La pensée politique du ‘Caffè,’” 12–14.

²²⁷ Norbert Jonard, “Cosmopolitismo e patriottismo nel ‘Caffè,’” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. 2, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 95.

²²⁸ Marco Cerruti, “‘Nazione’, ‘patria’, ‘patriottismo’ ne ‘Il Caffè,’” *Italies*, vol. 6 (2002): 217–231.

²²⁹ Reinert, “Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Political Economy,” 156.

aspects such as its dialogue form, as an articulation of the enlightened absolutist values lying beneath its pages.²³⁰ A vital but smaller section of this literature concentrates on the periodical's progressive attitude towards women, as indicative of their views of enlightened absolutism.²³¹ Concentrating above all on the article "The defence of women" (as we will see in greater detail in Chapter IV), research has argued that the *caffetisti*'s argument that women should play a productive role in society and the exultation of the Empress Maria Theresa within this text demonstrates their promotion of Habsburg reformism.

The Milanese School of political economy and the geometric method

While Venturi framed the Lombard Enlightenment in terms of economic reforms, others have placed the Milanese school of political economy at the heart of this regional Enlightenment. Although referred to even at the time by Voltaire as the "School of Milan", older economic histories of the Enlightenment have, by and large, referred to an Italian school of political economy which is defined by its "bent for sociability", rather than any regional variations.²³² Vincenzo Ferrone has condensed the drive of Italian political economy as towards:

Removing obstacles, privileging free trade and widening markets to all did not only serve to secure the search for profit and the better circulation of goods, as argued... from Antonio Genovesi to Pietro Verri, but also, and primarily, to brush aside privileges and guarantee the equal rights of all nations to participate with a republican spirit in international trade.²³³

Commencing with the seminal work of Schumpeter in 1954,²³⁴ this interpretation has been further distilled by a now longstanding tradition of Italian economic histories which emphasise the separate contribution of eighteenth-century Milanese political economy, as distinct from the more famous Neapolitan school associated with Antonio Genovesi. The

²³⁰ Guido Abbattista, *Storia moderna* (Roma: Donzelli, 2010).

²³¹ See: Guerra, "Giambattista Biffi and His Role in the Dissemination of English Culture," 245–64; Rebecca Messbarger, "Reforming the Female Class: Il Caffè's 'Defense of Women,'" *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3 (1999): 355–69; Perle Abbrugiati, "L'accusateur accusé, le défenseur défendu: la *Défense des femmes* dans 'Il Caffè,'" *Italies*, vol. 3 (1999): 197–214.

²³² Porta, "Lombard Enlightenment and Classical Political Economy," 523.

²³³ Ferrone and Reinert, *The Politics of Enlightenment*.

²³⁴ Joseph A. Schumpeter and Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 139–202.

work of Pier Luigi Porta in particular, has thoroughly outlined the differences between these schools and contributed to bringing the Milanese approach to greater attention in current scholarship.²³⁵ Focusing on Pietro Verri and Cesare Beccaria, Porta has argued that the Milanese school of political economy was far more sophisticated than it has been given credit for, and that Verri ought to be considered as “the leading theorist of the process through which – by means of a careful blend of ‘need sophistication’ and ‘moral simplification’ – human beings could become responsive to the ‘indirect government’ characterizing civil society.”²³⁶ Porta identifies four crucial aspects of the Milanese school of political economy:

1. The question of money, including the link between money supply and growth.
2. Free trade, especially in staple food (whether this should be admitted and defended or should be conceived as inimical to the interests of the State).
3. Pain and pleasure, scientifically considered, with a view to the definition and measure of happiness and public happiness in particular.
4. Developing quantitative tools to analyse the economy and to the design of policy.²³⁷

In terms of focus, the Milanese school is above all distinguished by its emphasis on monetary issues and its defence of free trade.²³⁸ However, its approach was distinct from both physiocracy and mercantilism. While the Milanese follow physiocratic views on free trade, they do not limit economic productivity to agricultural production and while they embrace mercantilist monetary and financial themes, they employed these in entirely different contexts. In addition, as we will see in greater detail in Chapter IV, the Milanese approach to political economy, above all espoused by Beccaria and Verri, is commonly distinguished by its focus on public happiness and sensationist epistemologies of pleasure and pain.²³⁹ Although “the theme of pleasure and pain... raged throughout Italy in the

²³⁵ See: Luigino Bruni and Pier Luigi Porta, “Economia civile and pubblica felicità in the Italian Enlightenment,” *History of Political Economy*, vol. 35, no. 3 (2003): 361–385; Pier Luigi Porta and Roberto Scazzieri, “Pietro Verri’s Political Economy: Commercial Society, Civil Society, and the Science of the Legislator,” *History of Political Economy*, vol. 34, no. 1 (2002): 83–110.

²³⁶ Pier Luigi Porta, “Lombard Enlightenment and Classical Political Economy,” *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, vol. 18, no. 4 (2011): 521–50.

²³⁷ Porta, “Lombard Enlightenment,” 523–4.

²³⁸ See: Alberto Quadrio Curzio and Roberto Scazzieri, “La Teoria monetaria dell’illuminismo Lombardo,” in *l’Illuminismo delle riforme civili: il contributo degli economisti Lombardi*, eds. Porta and Scazzieri, 193–240; Angelo Moiola, “Tariffe, dazi e politiche di commercio,” in *l’Illuminismo delle riforme civili*, 171–92.

²³⁹ Bruni and Porta, “Economia civile and pubblica felicità in the Italian Enlightenment,” 361; Daniela Parisi, “Internazionalità della scienza economica lombarda,” in *Alle Origini Del Pensiero Economico in Italia*, ed. Alessandro Roncaglia (Bologna: Mulino, 1996).

second half of the century”,²⁴⁰ inspired above all by Pierre-Louis Maupertuis, the Milanese were singular in the extent to which they interpreted pain and pleasure to be calculable and thus measurable.²⁴¹

The Milanese school is set apart by its situating of political economy at the centre of all social and political issues. Economic thought was not perceived as an independent discipline but seen as part of “a more elaborate and multi-level scientific enterprise for which it is appropriate to use the term *economia civile*”.²⁴² This has resulted in a body of literature which examines the Milanese school from both an economic and political perspective.²⁴³ As Roberto Scazzieri has claimed, the contribution of the Lombard Enlightenment is characterised by the “ability to visualize both the ‘horizontal’ standpoint of the division of labour and exchange, and the ‘vertical’ perspective of administrative structures”.²⁴⁴ This ability creates an economic school which displays a significant overlap between commercial society and governmental structure, an overlap which Scazzieri argues is characteristic of the civil enlightenment.

Porta’s fourth point, that the Milanese political economists developed “quantitative tools to analyse the economy and to the design of policy” links to another pillar of the Lombard Enlightenment – the geometric method – though Porta, who examines the actual mathematical treatment of political economy and social science, would arguably not agree with much of the literature addressing this topic. This scholarship claims that the Lombard Illuministi embraced a “geometric method” or “geometric spirit”; an all-encompassing approach to social and political economic questions based upon the

²⁴⁰ Sergio Moravia, “An Outline of the Italian Enlightenment,” *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1969): 390–409.

²⁴¹ Roberto Parenti, “Sensismo e edonismo nella cultura Lombarda dell’età Teresiana,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. III, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 225: “Dal Verri al Beccaria, dallo Zanotti al Vogli, da Isidoro Bianchi a Ulbaldo Cassina, dobbiamo in primo luogo sottolineare come, nella ricezione del sensismo, fondamentale apparisse lo stretto nesso tra sensazione come primum gnoseologico e il meccanismo piacere–dolore come elemento orientativo della volizione.”

²⁴² Porta, “Lombard Enlightenment,” 523.

²⁴³ See: Porta and Scazzieri, “Pietro Verri’s Political Economy”; Giuseppe Bognetti, “Governo dell’economia e teoria della politica economica,” in *l’Illuminismo delle riforme civili*, eds. Porta and Scazzieri, 137–70; Carlo Scognamiglio Pasini, *L’arte della ricchezza: Cesare Beccaria economista*, (Milan: Mondadori Università, 2014); Paola Tubaro, “Un’esperienza peculiare del Settecento italiano: la ‘scuola milanese’ di economia matematica,” *Studi Settecenteschi*, vol. 20 (2000): 193–230.

²⁴⁴ Roberto Scazzieri, “L’Illuminismo delle riforme civili: divisione del lavoro, commercio, produzione della ricchezza,” in *l’Illuminismo delle riforme civili*, eds. Porta and Scazzieri, 14.

unwavering belief in the infinite possibilities of mathematical methods of analysis.²⁴⁵ These interpretations claim that the new class of Lombard intellectuals, who dedicated themselves to the reform of schools, university and industry, infused their approaches, be they economic systems or proposals for new educational syllabi, with scientific methods and experimental philosophies.²⁴⁶ In this reading, the geometric method was not simply the application of algebra or mathematical analysis to economics as Porta has explored in his research, but rather a “hypothetical-deductive”²⁴⁷ approach so universal that no field of knowledge was beyond its remit, social sciences included. It is an attractive argument to explain the singular approach of the Lombard Illuministi and it has consequently become a trope in recent historiography. Nonetheless, as will be clarified here, it is a literal reading which conflates the actual mathematical approach to political economy expounded by the Milanese school with the pervasive figurative “geometric” language common throughout the century, which served to avow one’s allegiances to seeing the commonality and links between diverse disciplines. The result being that the ambitions of the Milanese political economists to both quantify economics and resituate political economy more centrally within social issues, have been taken to apply much more broadly than is attested to within their writings and that the imaginative usage of geometry in concurrent literature is taken at face value.

The large body of literature which treats the geometric method as a method proper traces its origins to shifts in the audience and availability of the sciences in Italy. Scholars such as Dooley and Ferrone see its popularity as a reflection of a growing scientific culture in Lombardy and Italy more generally, which experienced a “scientific renaissance”²⁴⁸ or second scientific revolution,²⁴⁹ marked by three distinct elements. First, was the popularisation of science and its embedding into general culture, above all through

²⁴⁵ See: Marco Bianchini, *Bonheur public et méthode géométrique: enquête sur les économistes italiens (1711-1803)* (Paris: INED, 2002); Gianmarco Gaspari, “Stendhal e il mito dell’*école de Milan*,” *Studi settecenteschi*, vol. 15 (1995): 331-364; Pier Luigi Porta, “Nuove prospettive negli studi economica sull’*illuminismo Lombardo*,” in *l’Illuminismo delle riforme civili*, eds. Porta and Scazzieri, 449–472.

²⁴⁶ See: Bianchini *Bonheur public et méthode géométrique*; Mario Scazzoso, *Istruzione professionale e società nella Lombardia austriaca* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1994).

²⁴⁷ Ludovic Frobert, Marco Bianchini, *Bonheur public et méthode géométrique: enquête sur les économistes italiens (1711-1803)* (Lyon : ENS Éditions, 2005), available at <http://asterion.revues.org/21> (last accessed 26 August 2017).

²⁴⁸ Dooley, *Science and the Marketplace in Early Modern Italy*, 128.

²⁴⁹ Vincenzo Ferrone, “Clio e Prometeo. La storia della scienza tra illuministi e positivisti,” *Studi Storici*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1989): 351.

journals which aspired to channel new scientific interests to wider audiences. According to Vincenzo Ferrone, by the 1780s Milan witnessed the birth of a new type of scientific periodical which devoted unprecedented attention to international scientific and technological developments in order to satisfy the demands for scientific knowledge cast by an ever-broadening audience.²⁵⁰ Ugo Baldini concurs, claiming that scientific discourse became imbedded in intellectual debates above all through the endeavours of the Accademia dei Pugni and *Il Caffè* which brought together the knowledge of professional “scientists” like Paolo Frisi and Ruđer Bošković with interested amateurs and collaborators such as Gianrinaldo Carli.²⁵¹ It was not purely an attempt to popularise scientific discourse but to simultaneously broadcast the achievements of Italian “scientists”. This is perceived as part of a wider change in Italian periodical culture,²⁵² which Brendan Dooley interprets as “restoring Italy’s reputation for scientific advancement” through not only chronicling Italian contributions to European scientific debates, but also through propagating new principles of governance through techniques of empirical investigation.²⁵³ However, while Italian achievements were documented and disseminated, the extent to which this signalled a stand-alone treatment of scientific discourse is highly debatable in the case of *Il Caffè*, arguably Lombardy’s most important journal at the time and which is most frequently perceived as employing the geometric method. Scientific themes were, of course, of great interest, as demonstrated by articles addressing inoculation, astronomy and agricultural cultivation, among others. Scientific metaphor likewise pervaded *Il Caffè*’s written style. Yet, whether this truly displays a geometric method remains open for discussion, especially considering that we find such scientific metaphor above all in satirical pieces, as is demonstrated later. Secondly, scholars interpret the appearance of new scientific disciplines in Italian universities in the earlier decades of the century, the growing professionalisation of “scientists”, and the increasing distinction between the pure sciences, as contributing to the rise of the geometric method. According to Dooley, the eighteenth century saw the rapid growth and professionalisation of scientific academies and departments in universities, resulting in a Europe-wide

²⁵⁰ Vincenzo Ferrone, *I profeti dell’illuminismo: le metamorfosi della ragione nel tardo Settecento italiano* (Rome: GLF editori Laterza, 2000), 59–60.

²⁵¹ Ugo Baldini, “L’attività scientifica nelle Accademie Lombarde de Settecento,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, eds De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 522.

²⁵² Mordechai Feingold, ed., *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2003).

²⁵³ Brendan Dooley, *Politics and Society in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, (Michigan: Garland, 1991), 91–129.

recognition of Italy's expertise in fields such as botany, anatomy, medicine and hydrometry.²⁵⁴ Paolo Casini too stresses that while mathematicians might not have been the true *Philosophes* of the Italian Enlightenment, the culture deriving from professional research in the disciplines of mathematics, physics, astronomy, geology, hydraulics and chemistry had unparalleled influence in political and philosophical debates.²⁵⁵ Again, such claims fail to provide a convincing connection between cultural and institutional developments and the birth of the geometric method. The assumption that the professionalisation of the pure sciences fostered a more general scientific culture, is again debatable. The history of Italian universities and scientific institutions has become an extensively researched area of scholarship, too vast to be detailed here,²⁵⁶ however, although we will see the growing collaboration between the universities and the administration in the later chapters, the extent to which we can claim to find a distinct cultural shift so early in the period of the formalisation of the scientific disciplines, seems unlikely.

Finally, the geometric method is perceived as deriving from the conscious attachment of science to matters of public utility, where specialised knowledge was applied to “practical problems of public welfare”.²⁵⁷ This perspective interprets the rise of both professional and popular science to have renewed wider interests in issues of agriculture, sanitation and medicine, among other areas of public concern. Dooley, for instance, stresses that the rise in scientific research and production was coupled with the polemic ambition of the Illuministi to “provide technical knowledge necessary for the reform of politics in the past and future”,²⁵⁸ and which was achieved through applying scientific methods as instruments for reform. However, the increased interest of the Illuministi in matters such as agriculture and medicine can be attributed to multiple factors, not least, as the next section will address, the shifts in government responsibility brought about by the Habsburg adoption

²⁵⁴ Dooley, *Politics and Society in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, 98–129.

²⁵⁵ Paolo Casini, “La Storiografia della Scienza: Considerazioni Preliminari,” in *Il Settecento Negli Studi Italiani*, eds. Anna Maria Rao and Alberto Postigliola (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 2010), 228.

²⁵⁶ For a brilliant example of this scholarship, focusing on the scientific institutions in Bologna see: Renzo Cremante and Walter Tega, eds., *Scienza e letteratura nella cultura italiana del Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984); Icilio Guareschi, *La Chimica in Italia dal 1750 a 1800* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1901).

²⁵⁷ Dooley, *Science and the Marketplace*, xv–xvi.

²⁵⁸ Dooley, *Science and the Marketplace*, 177.

of cameralist policy.

Perhaps the most disputed dimension of this scholarship, is the attribution of the rise of the geometric method to the spread and popularisation of Newtonianism throughout Italy. According to Ferrone, Italy embraced Newtonianism as a means of understanding and processing knowledge in order to stimulate debates in philosophy and politics and he claims that Newtonianism was well-received and prevalent within a wider and non-institutional climate, becoming embedded into critical discourses as a “harbinger...of more generally ideological innovations”.²⁵⁹ Stuart Woolf concurs that Italian Newtonianism, already entrenched as an approach within the hard sciences since its spread in the 1710s, had filtered out of the scientific disciplines, catching the imagination of a scientifically-intrigued culture which was ripe with inspired intellectuals eager to creatively experiment with its scientific methods of analysis and observation.²⁶⁰ It is not exactly clear how this spread is measured however. Naturally, the popularity of texts such as Francesco Algarotti’s 1737, *Il newtonianismo per le dame*,²⁶¹ demonstrate a degree to which Newtonianism had filtered into the public sphere, as does the opening up of university science, in particular to Italian women.²⁶² Yet, it seems prudent to remain sceptical of claims that the popularisation of science translated directly into the acceptance of Newtonianism as an epistemology more generally.

Literature on the geometric method has thus overemphasised the extent to which the Lombard reformers were indiscriminately driven by new methods of analysis derived from

²⁵⁹ Ferrone, *The Intellectual Roots of the Italian Enlightenment*, xi.

²⁶⁰ Woolf, *A History of Italy*, 79–80.

²⁶¹ Francesco Algarotti, *Il newtonianismo per le dame ovvero dialoghi sopra la luce e i colori* (Naples, 1737).

²⁶² In her research into the role of women such as Laura Bassi in scientific circles and universities, Paula Findlen argues that women were encouraged to participate in science as a means of popularising the circulation of knowledge, primarily because of the unusual concern displayed by Italian intellectuals for broadening the audience of their writings. Through both the fictive appearances of women in scientific texts and their, admittedly few, positions as teachers of scientific methods in prominent universities and academies, Italy’s scientific discourses were consciously disseminated to a scientifically lay community, generating a wider scientific culture built upon the interaction between the production and consumption of knowledge. See: Paula Findlen, “Science as a Career in Enlightenment Italy: *The Strategies of Laura Bassi*,” *Isis*, vol. 84, no. 3 (1993): 441–69; Findlen, “Translating the New Science: Women and the Circulation of Knowledge in Enlightenment Italy,” *Configurations*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1995): 167–206; Paola Bertucci, “The In/visible Woman: Mariangela Ardinghelli and the Circulation of Knowledge between Paris and Naples in the Eighteenth Century,” *Isis*, vol. 104, no. 2 (2013): 226–49.

the sciences. In practice, the Illuministi lacked any consensus as to what the geometric method actually was, let alone how to apply it, and often cast great scepticism and even derision towards its proponents. Writing to the professor of mathematics Paolo Frisi in 1760, Gregorio Fontana of the Scuole Pie captured this confusion, “Oh, if only the Italian geometers and philosophers could learn from you the true way of applying mathematics to the sciences of nature, how much bigger would the daily progress of philosophy be, and how it would serve to distinguish Italy from the other nations!”²⁶³ Much scholarship has consequently criticised the use of the geometric method to define the Lombard Enlightenment. Giuseppe Petronia, although acknowledging that this spirit or method was a discernible cultural motif within the Lombard Enlightenment, has highlighted the vast and interchangeable number of ways in which the geometric method was referenced:

Si erano aperti tutti ... all'uso di un metodo nuovo, quello che essi dicevano, con varia terminologia, ‘metodo’ o ‘spirito filosofico’, ‘metodo’ o ‘spirito scientifico’, ‘metodo’ o ‘spirito geometrico’, ‘metodo analitico’, ‘metodo sistematico’: un metodo (tutto in contrasto con ciò che dicevano ‘metodo’ o ‘spirito di sistema’) che essi deducevano tutt’assieme dagli ‘scienziati’, da Galileo a Newton, e dai ‘filosofi’, da Bacone e Locke fino ai philosophes e a Condillac.²⁶⁴

Other scholars have more firmly criticised the use of the geometric method to define the outlook of the Lombard reformers. Philippe Audegean has reflected on the uncertainty of Beccaria’s group in how to apply scientific methodologies to their writings, defining the empiricism shaping Beccaria’s work as “un moyen et non une fin”.²⁶⁵ Audegean emphasises how Beccaria himself understood the limits of the scientific spirit and claims that his ambitions were far more modest than any attempt to achieve a systematic understanding of the science of man.²⁶⁶ Empiricism, Audegean argues, was a source of inspiration, a tradition to which you dedicated yourself – it did not, and could not, provide coherence or unity to any philosophical programme.²⁶⁷ Germano Maifreda has taken up this issue more directly and in examining the relationship between scientific knowledge and political economy in

²⁶³ Gregorio Fontana to Paolo Frisi (Rovereto, 26 September 1760), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Y.150 Sup., vol. III (Lettere a Paolo Frisi): “Oh se i geometri, e filosofi Italiani imparessero da Lei la vera maniera di applicare le matematiche alla Scienza della Natura, quanto più grandi sarebbero di giorno in giorno i progressi che si farebbero nella Filosofia, e quanto pone individuerebbe allora l'Italia alle altre nazioni.”

²⁶⁴ Giuseppe Petronio, “L’illuminismo Lombardo,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. II, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 267.

²⁶⁵ Audegean, *La Philosophie de Beccaria*, 24.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

the Lombard Enlightenment, he has likewise called into question the rigour of literature regarding the “geometric method”. In his exploration into the economic writings of the *Il Caffè* group,²⁶⁸ Maifreda has examined a wider collection of sources for proof of the application of this method, drawing attention the criticism of the geometric spirit from within the group itself:

The traditional reading, influenced by ideas that were already circulating in the eighteenth century, is that the School of Milan was largely filled with a boundless faith in the possibilities of mathematical method, and in finding geometrical laws to describe the economy and society.... however, the admiration for the mathematical and scientific innovations of the preceding decades...never becomes the sterile acceptance of pre-existing quantitative schematization, nor the banal imposition of mechanistic readings of economic and social systems.²⁶⁹

What was precisely so unique about the Milanese Enlightenment was the understanding that the geometric method had distinct limits. Algebra, as Beccaria himself famously states in the *Tentativo analitico su i contrabbandi*, could only be used “up to a point”:

L'algebra non essendo che un metodo preciso e speditissimo di ragionare sulle quantità, non è alla sola geometria od alle altre scienze matematiche che si possa applicare, ma si può ad essa sottoporre tutto ciò che in qualche modo può crescere, o diminuire... Quindi anche le scienze politiche possono fino ad un certo segno ammeterla... Dissi fino ad un certo segno, perché i principii politici dipendono in gran parte dal risultato di molte particolari volontà e da variissime passioni, le quali non possono con precisione determinarsi, ridicola sarebbe una politica tutte tessuta di cifre e di calcoli.²⁷⁰

This sentiment is repeated in several occasions in *Dei delitti e delle pene*:

Similarly, a false idea of utility wishes to impose on a multitude of sentient creatures the symmetry and order of brute inanimate matter, and ignores the immediate motives, which alone work constantly and forcibly on the mass of people, in favour of remoter motives whose effect is very brief and weak, unless, that is, some power of the imagination, rare in human beings, compensates for the distance of their object by magnifying it..²⁷¹ The chaos of men's activities cannot be reduced to a geometric order devoid of irregularity and confusion. Just as the constant and very simple laws of nature do not prevent the

²⁶⁸ See: Germano Maifreda, “Sapere Economico e Metodo Scientifico nell'Illuminismo Lombardo: Note da ‘Il Caffè,’” in *Illuminismo delle riforme civili*, eds. Porta and Scazzieri.

²⁶⁹ Germano Maifreda, “Flowing rather than digging: Scientific knowledge and political economy in the Lombard Enlightenment,” paper delivered at *David Nichol Smith Seminar in Eighteenth-Century Studies XV, Ideas and Enlightenment: The Long Eighteenth Century 10-12 December 2014*, The University of Sydney, Australia, 1–2.

²⁷⁰ Cesare Beccaria, “Tentativo Analitico su i Contrabbandi,” in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Cesare Beccaria*, vol. 2 (Milan: Mediobanca, 1984), 35.

²⁷¹ Bellamy ed., *On Crimes and Punishments*, 101–2.

planets being disturbed in their orbits, so human laws cannot prevent disturbances and disorders among the infinite and very opposite motive forces of pleasure and pain.²⁷²

In these two extracts, Beccaria clearly articulates his criticism of the indiscriminate application of mathematical order to social questions and indicates that the geometric method has distinct limitations. Beccaria and his *Il Caffè* colleagues dedicated much time to trying to understand exactly what was meant by science, attempting to distinguish method from subjects of inquiry. At the heart of their approach was the deliberate destruction of the geometric method in favour of a more honest and accurate understanding of science and its potential in terms of public utility. Beccaria was not “scientific” in his approach, nor did he adhere to any particular methodology, but instead sought to understand the dimensions of science’s benefits for the good of mankind. Social questions could not be merely reduced to calculation, but rather the benefits of science for mankind could be calculated.

The factor which most significantly complicates the arguments in support of the geometric method is the extent to which geometry had become a figurative language and the degree to which the Illuministi criticised this empty rhetoric. Not just reserved to Lombardy, geometrical rhetoric had pervaded much of the Western intellectual discourse as Matthew Wickman has remarked in discussion of the Scottish Enlightenment:

Literature creatively adopted and distorted ideas – or, as I will call them, *figures* of thought... this could only happen in a society where geometry suffused popular consciousness, however much or little particular writers may have engaged or grasped in its fine details. Geometry... was not only a rigorous discipline, but also a cultural medium, a trope... geometry functioned as a medium through which literati reasoned across disciplines. A discrete science, geometry also served then as a common language connecting disparate fields: mathematics and philosophy, the natural and moral sciences, history and literature.²⁷³

Core figures such as Newton and Locke had similarly transformed into representatives of this language, becoming detached from their actual ideas and instead purely symbolising a spirit of interrogation, as Gerd Buchdal has claimed:

Relevant here were not so much the details of Newton’s and Locke’s achievements but rather the ‘image’ that the Eighteenth Century was making for itself of these figures...Newton’s and Locke’s *obiter dicta* became so influential because they seemed to

²⁷² Ibid., 103.

²⁷³ Matthew Wickman, *Literature After Euclid: The Geometric Imagination in the Long Scottish Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

express the new spirit in both science and philosophy, emerging from the ‘shadows’ of the Middle Ages and the more recent period of humanism.²⁷⁴

Other Lombard reformers likewise criticised the geometric method and the vague rhetoric of geometry. Alessandro Verri, despairing that one no longer needed to read Newton’s works to be an expert in his theory: “Quanti ora parlano dell'attrazione newtoniana come di una verità dimostrata, la quale sarebbe uno scandolo porre in menomo dubbio, ma quanti hanno letti i libri di Neuton, e ne parlano con cognizione di causa? A che sono debitori tutti questi pappagalli di non essere in errore se non se al caso?”²⁷⁵ In the *Il Caffè* article “Le Riverenze”, Alessandro again derided the uncritical followers of the geometric method:

Tell your writers of the Caffè that I am about to publish a very instructive work, whose title will be *A Mathematical-Logical-Political Treatise on Reverence*. The title is grandiose and I hope to make it brilliant in invention and erudition. You know, blessed Demetrio, that the men of our times want analysis, demonstration and algebraic calculations everywhere; I, as a man of good judgement, shall use that language and provide the theory with which to calculate the disposition and character of nations and men concerning the diverse ways of bowing. Let me explain myself. Let us consider the human body upon the ground as a line perpendicular to the horizon; I call this line *happiness*; let us consider the man lying upon the ground as parallel to the horizon; I call this line *misery*; the angle which these two lines form is, in fact, 90 degrees: that is, a right angle; now, I will show that all possible bows are found between these two terms; and I shall propose the solution of the nature of societies and men derived from the angle to which they are accustomed. I shall further show how the perpendicular signifies the distribution of goods and the horizontal their concentration; I shall then add a very exact table of the various angles that characterize the obeisance in the diverse degrees of latitude.²⁷⁶

Consequently, we can discern two main shortcomings of the literature concerning the Lombard geometric method. Firstly, this scholarship too often assumes that the geometric

²⁷⁴ Gerd Buchdahl, *The Image of Newton and Locke in the Age of Reason* (London/New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961), 2–3.

²⁷⁵ Alessandro Verri quoted in Maurizio Mamiani, “Newton in Lombardia,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. III, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 221.

²⁷⁶ Pietro Verri, “Le Riverenze,” in *Il Caffè*, 73–4: “Dite ai vostri scrittori del Caffè ch'io sto per pubblicare un'opera molto istruttiva, che avra per titolo Trattato matematicologico-politico sulle riverenze. Il titolo è pomposo, e spero di farvi brillare l'ingegno e l'erudizione. Voi sapete, o benedetto Demetrio che gli uomini del dl d'oggi vogliono dappertutto analisi, dimostrazione e cifre algebriche; io da uomo di giudizio mi serviro di questo linguaggio e daro la teoria per calcolare l'indole e i carattere delle nazioni e degli uomini sulla maniera diversa di far riverenze. Mi spiego. Considerisi il corpo umano come una linea perpendicolare all'orizzonte, questa linea la chiamo felicità; considerisi l'uomo disteso a terra parallelo all'orizzonte, questa linea la chiamo miseria; l'angolo che fanno queste due linee è appunto di gradi novanta, cioè angolo retto; ora, tutte le riverenze possibili io far vedere come siano comprese fra questi due termini; e proponno la soluzione della natura delle societa e degli uomini derivata dal grado dell'angolo a cui sono abituati. Farò inoltre vedere come la perpendicolare di noti divisione di beni e l'orizzontale coalescenza dei medesimi; quindi aggiungero una tavola esattissima de' diversi angoli che fansi nel salutare sotto diversi gradi di latitudine.”

method was employed by the Milanese Illuministi without any critical element or reflection and, in drawing attention to the stated objectives of Lombard reformers and their use of geometrical language, this outlook often neglects the discrepancy between the performance of geometry through language, style and metaphor, and actual attempts to use mathematical methods and calculations in economic and social questions. Secondly, the sources used to demonstrate the application of this method are exceedingly homogenous, usually texts on political economy written by the protagonists of the Milanese Enlightenment. With such a limited view, conclusions are constrained to the field of political economy, even though a broader selection of sources would help to illuminate how pervasive this geometric method was in practice. With this in mind, this research fully aligns itself with Maifreda's analysis of the shortcomings of the existing interpretations and his assessment of the *Il Caffè* group's acknowledgement of the limitations of the geometric method. However, while Maifreda has sought to find evidence in the economic writings of the *Il Caffè* group, this thesis will look at Cesare Beccaria's individual approach to this issue, not purely restricting itself to his economic writings but extending to his administrative papers and personal letters to understand the depth of this conclusion.

The Lombard Enlightenment as an *applied* and *pragmatic* Enlightenment

*It was this essentially pragmatic and applied character of Enlightenment thought in Italy that made it distinct from its French counterpart.*²⁷⁷

In addition to discussions regarding where the Lombard Enlightenment took place, which ideas it articulated and via which media, is the issue of who performed this enlightenment. As part of a wider trend in scholarship reinterpreting the Enlightenment as a set of communicative practices,²⁷⁸ is an increasing body of literature drawing attention to regional

²⁷⁷ Anna Maria Rao, "Enlightenment and Reform," in *Early Modern Italy, 1550-1796*, John A. Marino, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 239–40

²⁷⁸ See: Hans Erich Bödeker and Martin Gierl eds., *Jenseits der Diskurse: Aufklärungspraxis und Institutionenwelt in europäisch komparativer Perspektive* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007); Allen I. Macinnes, "Applied Enlightenment: Its Scottish limitations in the eighteenth century," in *The Enlightenment in Scotland: National and International Perspectives*, eds. Dunyach and Thomson; Peter Jones, *Agricultural Enlightenment: Knowledge, Technology, and Nature, 1750–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Carla Hesse, "Towards a New Topography of Enlightenment," *European Review of History/Revue Européenne d'histoire*, vol. 13, no. 3 (2006): 499–508; Dorothea E. von Mücke, *The Practices of the Enlightenment Aesthetics, Authorship, and the Public* (New York: Columbia University

experiences of Enlightenment as an applied, practical or civil enlightenment, carried out less by philosophers, than by bureaucrats, functionaries and technical experts.²⁷⁹ Carla Hesse has captured the ambitions of this approach thus:

By examining the Enlightenment as a series of communicative practices—translation, travel, information-collecting, opinion-making, ethno-geographic mapping, institution-building—rather than as a new way of thinking or as a new sociocultural formation, we are, at one level, left with a rather thin conception of the Enlightenment (it could be reduced to the following common denominators: tolerance versus orthodoxy, reason versus superstition, public good versus private interest, the Kantian maxim: *sapere aude*—dare to know, and not least, enlightenment in the verb form: *to enlighten* [to spread light]). Yet, if there is a conceptual thinning in this methodological move, at another level we come to know more about how the praxis of these aspirational ideals emerged through a series of geopolitical and cultural contingencies—in both time and place—and how it was incarnated in a series of highly mobile communicative practices.²⁸⁰

In recent years, much of this scholarship has focused on the “bureaucratic enlightenment” experienced in the Habsburg lands,²⁸¹ diverting attention away from Theresian and Josephinian reformist absolutism and towards the activities of mid and lower level officials – the agents of Enlightenment – who were responsible for ushering in practical change.²⁸²

Press, 2015); Matthew H. Edney, “Reconsidering Enlightenment Geography and Map-making: Reconnaissance, Mapping, Archive,” in *Geography and Enlightenment*, eds. David N. Livingstone and Charles Withers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

²⁷⁹ See: Jones, *Agricultural Enlightenment*; Macinnes, “Applied Enlightenment: Its Scottish limitations”.

²⁸⁰ Hesse, “Towards a New Topography of Enlightenment,” 499–508.

²⁸¹ Note that this is often referred to as the “bureaucratic revolution” or the “administrative revolution”. See: John-Francis Bosher, *French Finances 1770-1795: From Business to Bureaucracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); John Torrance, “Social Class and the Bureaucratic Innovation: The Commissioners for Examining the Public Accounts 1780–1787,” *Past and Present*, vol. 78, no. 1 (1978): 56-81.

²⁸² See for example: Iryna Vushko, *The Politics of Cultural Retreat: Imperial Bureaucracy in Austrian Galicia, 1772–1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Vushko, “Bureaucracy, Enlightenment, and Habsburg Central Europe,” *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 25, no. 4 (2011): 792–812; Vushko, “Enlightened Absolutism, Imperial Bureaucracy and Provincial Society: The Austrian Project to Transform Galicia, 1772-1815,” (Ph.D dissertation Yale University, 2008); Madalina-Valeria Veres, “Putting Transylvania on the Map: Cartography and Enlightened Absolutism in the Habsburg Monarchy,” *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 43 (2012): 141–64; Veres, “Redefining Imperial Borders: Marking the Eastern Border of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century,” in *History of Cartography. Lecture Notes in Geoinformation and Cartography*, eds. E. Liebenberg, P. Collier, Z. Török. Berlin, (Heidelberg: Springer, 2014); Veres, “Constructing Imperial Spaces: Habsburg Cartography in the Age of Enlightenment,” (Ph.D. dissertation University of Pittsburgh, 2015); Maria Julia Florutau, “Regional Enlightenment in Transylvania: The Educational Reforms of Bishop Petru Pavel Aron, Their Influences and Effects on the Uniate Society in Transylvania in the Age of Enlightenment,” *Slovo*, vol. 27, no. 1 (2015): 9–33; Ritchie Robertson, “Joseph Rohrer and the Bureaucratic Enlightenment,” in *Austrian Enlightenment and Its Aftermath*, eds. Ritchie Robertson and Edward Timms (Edinburgh: Edinburgh

In discussion of the Enlightenment in Habsburg Trieste, Lois C. Dubin has argued that there was a collaboration between Enlightenment and practical state-building which transformed the identity of the Enlightenment “to mean not only abstract ideas, but also the diffusion and practical influence of those ideas upon society and government.”²⁸³ It was thus enlightenment agents, be they functionaries, clerks, cartographers, technicians or magistrates, among many other administrative and public professions, who translated Enlightenment ideas into tangible reform programmes and who additionally provided a wealth of practical literature directed at a narrower audience, now considered to be a distinct genre of Enlightenment thought, though a traditionally non-intellectual source for subsequent historians of the period.²⁸⁴ Lombardy is easily situated within this growing literature. While Venturi focused on the reformist sentiment of famous Milanese reformers, as early as the 1950s, Schumpeter drew attention to the importance of the lesser “consultant administrators” in Italy – practitioners who wrote instructional treatises with practical aims.²⁸⁵ Consequently, a small body of literature exists which interprets the Lombard Enlightenment as an Enlightenment of administrators and of particular note are recent works which acknowledge Beccaria’s career as a civil servant or “civically engaged philosopher”,²⁸⁶ among which Gian Paolo Massetto’s article “Beccaria tra diritto penale ed economia pubblica” and Carlo Scognamiglio Pasini, *L’arte della ricchezza: Cesare Beccaria Economista* are especially important.

Focusing less on the people who carried out Enlightenment than those thinkers who espoused attitudes which were intended to effect social change, Dennis C. Rasmussen’s configuration of the “pragmatic Enlightenment” likewise helps to frame the ambitions of the protagonists of the Lombard Enlightenment. Although he focuses on the works of Hume, Smith, Montesquieu and Voltaire, Rasmussen identifies two different strands of liberalism, the latter more moderate and reformist of which, we similarly see in the outlook of the Milanese reformers: “the liberalism of some Enlightenment thinkers was highly

University Press, 1992).

²⁸³ Lois C. Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

²⁸⁴ See: Carlo Capra, “The Functionary,” in *Enlightenment Portraits*, ed. Michel Vovelle (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 347–8.

²⁸⁵ Schumpeter and Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*, 155.

²⁸⁶ Luigi Ferrajoli, “Two hundred and fifty years since the publication of *On Crimes and Punishments*: The currency of Cesare Beccaria’s thought,” *Punishment & Society*, vol. 16, no. 6 (2014): 512.

individualistic in conception, rooted in individual rights, choices, and interests, while that of the pragmatic strand of the Enlightenment was much more insistent on the social nature of human beings and concerned with the character of the community”.²⁸⁷ Rasmussen interprets the pragmatic Enlightenment as concerned with historical and cultural context, refuting blind faith in reason, recognising the central role of the sentiments in morality and politics, and seeking to unite people through the bonds of commerce, as he claims that:

Whereas the idealistic thinkers of the period sought to ground their moral, social, and political views in natural law, a priori reason, or some other abstract foundation, the members of the pragmatic Enlightenment sought to ground theirs in empirical observation, and whereas the idealists tended to seek a universally applicable standard of judgment, the pragmatists stressed the importance of institutional flexibility and sensitivity to historical and cultural context.²⁸⁸

Above all, Rasmussen interprets the pragmatic Enlightenment to be concerned with practical human concerns and to favour piecemeal, gradual reforms, shunning abstract and inflexible standards of right in favour of experience. As we shall see throughout this thesis, Beccaria and his colleagues likewise criticised the blind adherence to values without regard for context, likewise interpreted commerce to form the uniting bond within society and likewise took the sentiments and human nature as the source of politics. In their efforts to bring about domestic change they too exhibited the “pragmatic” outlook that Rasmussen aligns with the liberalism of these French and English figures, indicating once more that the Lombard Enlightenment, though focused internal reform was shaped by many composite intellectual trends coming from across the continent.

Discussion of the applied and pragmatic Enlightenment in the Habsburg lands leads us to consider the effects of cameralism on eighteenth-century Lombard administrative practices and science. Some scholars have made great strides in rebuilding Beccaria as a cameralist. Bernhard Harcourt for instance claims that “Beccaria the cameral economist has been lost and forgotten, buried under the more palatable reading of Beccaria the Enlightenment philosopher of measured punishment or Beccaria the rational choice economist”,²⁸⁹ and instead interprets Beccaria to have offered an “economic model of ‘police’ typified by the *police des grains*. Beccaria’s idea of “the progress we owe to the present enlightened century”

²⁸⁷ Denis C. Rasmussen, *The Pragmatic Enlightenment: Recovering the Liberalism of Hume, Smith, Montesquieu, and Voltaire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 9–10.

²⁸⁸ Rasmussen, *The Pragmatic Enlightenment*, 9–10.

²⁸⁹ Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets*, 65.

was not the liberalization of trade, but rather the intense administration of markets and commerce.”²⁹⁰ However, today, his is a rare perspective. Even so, the spectre of cameralism haunts in the background of this thesis, even though Beccaria’s activities and thought are at no point framed in cameralist terms. This decision is due to Beccaria’s incredibly complex relationship with cameralism. His activities, as we shall see in Chapters V and VI, often follow the lines of cameralist policy regarding medical services and, as we will see in Chapter IV, many of his reflections in the *Elementi di Economia pubblica* also appear distinctly cameral. Yet, we find little trace of Beccaria’s interest in the cornerstone texts of eighteenth-century cameralism and even less evidence that his ideas were interpreted as cameral by his peers. Furthermore, the unfortunate truth that we have lost the section on police and taxation in the *Elementi di economia pubblica* means that we can but speculate on Beccaria’s views on this crucial area of cameral science. At the same time, we cannot ignore the fact that Beccaria held the first chair of cameral science at the Palatine school in Milan.

The evolution of the *Elementi di economia pubblica* helps to demonstrate some of the issues with the cameralist label. In 1768, in preparation for his role as Chair of *Scienze Camerali*, Beccaria initially wrote a proposal entitled *Piano per la cattedra d’Economia pubblica, o sia di Scienze camerali*. However, when it came to drawing up the lesson plan for the course, the title was changed to remove cameral science, replacing it with “political economy” to become *Piano delle lezioni di Pubblica Economia che si danno nello spazio di due anni dal professore di questa scienza*. When it came to the inaugural lecture in 1769 though, the name had transformed once again, restoring cameral science to the title, *Prolusione nell’apertura della nuova cattedra di Scienze camerali*. Finally however, the lectures were collected under the title of *Elementi di economia pubblica e commercio* and all references to cameral science had been stripped from the text. In his remarks on Beccaria’s lectures, Joseph Sperges, representative of the department of Italian Affairs to the Habsburg court, clearly stated that: “The science that he is teaching is not merely Cameral, so it would seem that the name, science of public economy would better fit the subject.” Although he had already encouraged Beccaria to model his title and the structure of his lectures on Sonnenfels’ *Gründsetze*, Sperges still found Beccaria’s resulting proposal to be both too liberal and too directed towards the public good in its focus to be called cameral. Similarly, state Chancellor Prince Kaunitz

²⁹⁰ Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets*, 59.

wrote to Beccaria concerned about the proposed breadth of study and its direct concern with the public and proceeded to encourage Beccaria to put this new science to the more direct benefit of the Empress. Looking at Beccaria's various definitions of cameral science, can we see why Joseph Sperges and Kaunitz, clearly attuned to Sonnenfels' variation of cameralism, were unconvinced by his cameralist teachings. In the first paragraph of Beccaria's earliest *Piano per la cattedra d'Economia pubblica, o sia di Scienze camerali*, Beccaria defined *scienze camerali* thus:

By cameral science, is meant that part of the legislation and policy which serves to augment the opulence of the subject and the state, and which teaches the more just and more useful administration of the annuity of the public and the sovereign.... This science embraces four crucial elements: agriculture, commerce, manufacturing and finance."

In his inaugural lecture however, Beccaria claimed that the *scienze camerali* comprised "public economy and commerce: that is to say, those sciences which can indicate to us the means for conserving, increasing and exploiting to the full the wealth of the state".²⁹¹ In the actual lectures on *Elementi di Economia pubblica e commercio* Beccaria further clarified his views on public economy:

Public economy has been defined as the art of conserving and augmenting the riches in a nation, and putting them to best use. This wealth is not purely the abundance of necessary things, but also those which bring comfort and pleasure. Nations are made up of a multitude of people forced to live together in society to defend each other from external force, and to contribute to the common weal by each procuring their own good. Therefore, public economy will be the art of providing not only peace and security of necessary things, but also securing the comfort of this united multitude.²⁹²

While few scholars of cameralism today interpret cameral science as being directed solely towards the sovereign's service, the degree to which Beccaria emphasised the mutual

²⁹¹ Beccaria, "Piano d'istruzione per la cattedra d'Economia pubblica, o sia di Scienze camerali," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol.III p. 57: "Per scienze camerali si intende quella parte di legislazione e di politica che serve ad aumentare l'opulenza de' sudditi e dello stato, ed insegna la più giusta e più utile amministrazione delle rendite del pubblico e del sovrano. Egli è degno dell'augusta clemenza di chi ci governa il volere illuminare i sudditi su questa importantissima materia. In questa maniera verranno tolti i pregiudizi fatali che si oppongono qualche volta alle clementissime mire del sovrano ed alla docilità de' sudditi; si unirà la maggiore facilità di trovare soggetti capaci di servire e di secondare le paterne sollecite cure di chi per nostra felicità ci comanda e ci regge."

²⁹² Beccaria, "Elementi d'economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol.III, 99: "L'economia pubblica è stata definita l'arte di conservare ed accrescere le ricchezze in una nazione, e di farne il miglior uso. Le ricchezze altro non sono che l'abbondanza delle cose necessarie non solo, ma comode eziandio, ed aggradevoli. Le nazioni sono una moltitudine di uomini forzati a vivere in società per difendersi reciprocamente da ogni forza esteriore, e contribuire nell'interno al bene comune procurando il ben proprio. Dunque l'economia pubblica sarà l'arte di fornire con pace e sicurezza non solamente le cose necessarie, ma ancora le comode, alla moltitudine riunita."

benefit for individual and state, caused discomfort amongst his Habsburg superiors.²⁹³ However, while the Habsburg officials found Beccaria's various definitions of *Scienze camerali* unusual, his vision of a society where reasons of state could not be separated from reasons of individual and where "happiness" was best addressed in economic terms through the state's duty to promote industry, manufacture and commerce, aligns with recent, more generous interpretations of the cameralist tradition.

Still, it was not only Beccaria and the Habsburg authorities who struggled to classify his work; very few external commentators seemed to know how best to define Beccaria's lectures either. While recent histories have classified Beccaria as a cameralist, mercantilist and a physiocratic, depending on their focus (Pasquino even described Beccaria's title as "chair of political economy and science of the police")²⁹⁴ leading figures of all these doctrines repeatedly failed to determine where Beccaria sat on the spectrum of economic theory upon reading Beccaria's inaugural lecture and all, in turn, sharply criticised the content of his teaching. Although the news of Beccaria's appointment to the chair of *Scienze camerali* had provoked great excitement across the continent and the inaugural lecture was variously printed in the *Giornale d'Italia*, the *Critical Review* and the physiocrats' "Ephémérides du citoyen" amongst other journals, its content ultimately failed to have any great intellectual impact and was instead picked apart for its inconsistencies and unclear intellectual genealogy. This latter point caused significant contention. In his inaugural lecture, Beccaria presented a distinctly unfamiliar intellectual pedigree when outlining the history of commerce, mentioning a select few figures who he considered to have had a significant impact on economic thought. This eclectic group comprised Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Francis Bacon, Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban, Melon, Montesquieu, Ustariz, Ulloa, Hume and Antonio Genovesi. There is a clear absence of central "cameralist" writers here, as well a clear geographical bias with only France, Italy, Spain, England and Scotland represented. More significantly, the writers also demonstrate a variety of conflicting economic theories, from the broadly mercantilist thought of Colbert,

²⁹³ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 69: "Il professore cominica da una breve introduzione a questa scienza, esponendone la definizione, l'utilità e la necessità per tutti gli ordini di persone; e non solamente per il miglior servizio del sovrano, ma ancora per il vantaggio particolare di tutti e di ciascuno de' sudditi."

²⁹⁴ Pasquale Pasquino, "Theatrum Politicum: The Genealogy of Capital—Police and the State of Prosperity," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, eds. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 66.

Melon, Ustariz, Vauban and Ulloa, to the economic liberalism Hume, the political economy of Montesquieu and the *economia civile* of Antonio Genovesi, and finally to Francis Bacon who, according to Beccaria, “sowed the first seeds of this [cameral] science”. The complete absence of cameralist writers in Beccaria’s history of commerce is amplified if we examine Beccaria’s reading habits and library predominantly display an Italian political economy tradition, as well as mercantilist and physiocratic works. Beccaria did not even own Sonnenfels’, *Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft*, as Joseph Sperges had recommended he read in order to improve his lectures. While we shall see in the following chapters that Beccaria had extensive contact in his administrative career with cameralists such as Johann Peter Frank, author of *System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey* and Johann Joseph Von Wilczeck, indicating that Beccaria was more indirectly exposed to cameralist thought, values and practices. The thematic proportions of his library demonstrate that Beccaria’s focus was perhaps elsewhere. Most importantly for our discussion, we see that the literature on political economy in his possession was almost solely French and Italian, and can be divided between treatises discussing public happiness, such as Chastellux’s *De la félicité publique ou considérations sur le sort des hommes dans les différentes époques de l’histoire* and Giambattista Vasco’s *I contadini. La felicità pubblica considerata nei coltivatori di terre proprie* and monetary and commerce focused texts such as Genovesi’s *Lezioni del Comercio*, Gianrinaldo Carli’s *Osservazioni preventive al piano intorno alle monete di Milano* and Isaac de Pinto’s *Traité des fonds de commerce, ou Jeu d’actions précédé d’un extrait critique du politiques*. To be clear, the volume of French and Italian texts was not necessarily a question of language. Although Beccaria spoke neither German nor English, his collection is filled with French translations of English authors, sourced from regular booksellers based in France, the Swiss Confederation and the Dutch Republic, who were purposefully chosen for their diverse catalogues of publications often unavailable in Northern Italy. Furthermore, if we look at the structure of Beccaria’s correspondence network, to try and understand the dynamics of the exchange of ideas, we see a similar pattern. Geographically speaking, outside of his professional connections with Vienna, Beccaria’s connections with German-speaking lands are minimal. Besides the professional, administrative contacts in Vienna such as Kaunitz, Wilczeck and Firmian, French and Italian correspondents comprise the majority of his connections. Consequently, we see that the intellectual currents shaping Beccaria’s Milan were distinctly un-cameral in the formal sense and indicate a form cameralism more receptive to French and Italian political economy.

Although Beccaria's work was undoubtedly a product of the political situation brought about by Habsburg rule – the very existence of the chair of cameral science was directly attributable to Vienna's involvement in Lombardy – his interpretation was unfamiliar to those accustomed to the University tradition of *Kammeralwissenschaften*. Even when fashioned into the framework of much cameralist literature, divided between the signature fields of agronomy, arts and manufacture, commerce, and police, the tradition of Italian *economia pubblica* and *economia civile* derived from both the Neapolitan school of Genovesi and the Milanese economists resounded through Beccaria's writing, as did overtones of French political economy.

Yet, despite the knowledge on the Habsburg side that Beccaria's teaching was not strictly cameralist, Beccaria remained chair of cameral science, not of political economy nor of economics. It was perhaps due to more flexible perceptions of cameralism in Italy at this time, which we see reflected in the numerous ways in which the term cameralism itself was translated into Italian, with *scienze camerali* and *economia pubblica* often being used interchangeably. In 1768, for example, the Florentine "Notizie del Mondo", published news of Beccaria's appointment to the "Chair of Commerce" at the Palatine School. Similarly, Beccaria received a multitude of letters congratulating him on his award of various different positions, chair of commerce, political science, cameral science, public economy and economics. It suggests a regional understanding of cameralism which had an alternate intellectual heritage than the *Kammeralwissenschaften* of the Germanic Universities. Milan, already home to what is now considered to have been its own school of economic thought, was far more receptive to strains of political economy coming from elsewhere on the Italian Peninsula as well as from France and England and it is arguable that Beccaria did not see this as fundamentally opposing the cameralist university tradition. However, not only was Beccaria's cameralist intellectual heritage different, so were its ambitions. Beccaria saw cameral writings as being inherently practical. This was not intended to be a concern merely of the academe, but was a blueprint for practical application. Though Beccaria's teaching at the Palatine School was ostensibly theoretical, his later involvement in the Lombard administration illustrates that Beccaria attempted to apply this theory in practice. For Beccaria, economics was intended to be relevant and science was not to be relegated to the solitude of the private study: "lo studio di una scienza non rinchiusa nella

solitudine di un gabinetto”.²⁹⁵ This conclusion fits within the growing number of studies treating cameralism equally as a set of practices as a purely theoretical framework, as was the more common experience of cameralism outside of the German speaking lands.²⁹⁶ It consequently raises the question of whether Beccaria was *doing* cameralism but not necessarily *thinking* cameralism and, if so, whether the discussion over his identity as a cameralist truly matters as he contributes to the institutional history of cameralism nonetheless. It is not the intention of this thesis to classify whether Beccaria was a cameralist or not; however, this tension between cameralist theory and practice does arise at several moments throughout the following chapters and Beccaria’s administrative activities do undoubtedly contribute more widely to our understanding of cameralism as practice in the Habsburg territories.

Conclusion

This discussion of the historiographical pillars of the Lombard Enlightenment serves as a first step in recovering Beccaria’s identity as a philosopher. Most importantly, we can conclude that Beccaria was both a product and producer of a distinct Lombard Enlightenment, and by situating him within the political, economic and intellectual climate of late eighteenth-century Milan we see that this regional Enlightenment and Beccaria’s immediate environment were shaped both by issues and discussions which were often unique to the region’s specific social and political structure, as well as by a diverse range of Enlightenment ideas and practices coming from across Europe. In particular, we see that Beccaria’s drive towards reform was a response to the particular social and economic stagnation of the region and we can easily locate his attitude to reform – his focus on commerce, his belief in context specific reform, and even his own participation in the administration – in a wider Lombard tradition.

²⁹⁵ Beccaria, “Tentativo Analitico su i Contrabbandi,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 35.

²⁹⁶ See: Marten Seppel and Keith Tribe, eds., *Cameralism in Practice State Administration and Economy in Early Modern Europe* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2017, forthcoming); André Wakefield, *The Disordered Police State: German Cameralism As Science and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Daniela Sechel, “The Influence of Cameralism and Enlightenment upon the Sanitary Policy Promoted by the Habsburgs in Transylvania,” *Revista Bistriței*, vol. 17 (2003): 159–170.

– CHAPTER TWO –

The world from a distance

Locating Cesare Beccaria in the Republic of Letters

*Tout le monde me demande qui vous êtes, ce que vous faites, quel ages vous avés, si vous êtes laïque ou ecclésiastique, garçon ou marié, homme de robe ou militaire, ou simplement homme de lettres.*²⁹⁷

– André Morellet to Beccaria, 1766

A brilliant mind was not motivation enough to encourage Cesare Beccaria to put pen to paper. *Dei delitti e delle pene*, though a famously short treatise, had proved a laborious production, its author requiring the constant encouragement, help and pressure from colleagues Pietro and Alessandro Verri (albeit in Pietro Verri's own words). Beccaria, they despaired, was tragically cursed by laziness, loathe to subject himself to what he perceived as the inevitable tedium and irritation of the writing process.²⁹⁸ While his boyish energy might have been palpable in person – a pugnacious, vibrant young man, Beccaria embodied the zeal and vigour of the new generation of Milanese reformers, of the Accademia dei Pugni – this enthusiasm did not easily translate into the written word. Letters were similarly taxing.²⁹⁹ Those individuals who were honoured enough to receive a response to their correspondences more often than not opened letters prefaced by a gracious apology excusing Beccaria's late-reply. Many more, and not excluding even Beccaria's closest of friends, were frustrated by his silence, writing sometimes twice or three times to solicit any reply: “Chers amis, monsieur Reverdil m'a consolé en m'assurant de ton existence...”.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ André Morellet to Beccaria (con una postilla di d'Alembert) (Paris, 3 January 1766), letter 60 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 186.

²⁹⁸ Cosimo Amidei to Beccaria (Florence, 8 December 1768), letter 257 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 701.

²⁹⁹ Beccaria to Theresa Blasco (October 1760 – January 1761), letter 8 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 36: “Vi avverto che qualunque tardanza di lettere, qualunque disgrazia, in somma, non vi sgomenti, perché io non cangierò mai di parere e voglio esser vostro, se dovessi finir la vita o esser chiuso in un fondo di torre.”

³⁰⁰ Alfonso Longo to Beccaria and to his Milanese friends (Rome, 20 May 1766), letter 100 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 305: “Chers amis, monsieur Reverdil m'a consolé en m'assurant de ton existence. Il me demandat si j'avais reçû pour lui un exemplaire de la derniere edition de ton ouvrage. Je l'attendais en effet avec la plus vive impatience; mais soit retardement de l'imprimeur, du courrier, ou quelqu'autre cause, je n'ai rien reçû. Je t'avais prié en outre de m'envoyer la suite du

Yet, with the chance of response wavering at just 45 per cent, there was little guarantee of any reaction from the elusive Beccaria.³⁰¹

Whether through personal guilt, social pressure or the nagging reminder of the growing pile of unanswered letters,³⁰² Beccaria meekly acknowledged his slothful reputation, blaming much of his “aversion to writing” on the “cruel misanthropy” that had taken possession of his soul which, he claimed “was not the product of French friends, who had shown nothing but love and kindness, but from other Italians”.³⁰³ It was an allusion to the devastating argument, catalysed by Beccaria’s untimely departure from Paris, which had fractured his close friendship and collaboration with fellow *Il Caffè* founder Pietro Verri and left Beccaria in a state of emotional paralysis. Mortified by Beccaria’s behaviour in front of the Philosophes in Paris, Pietro and Alessandro Verri embarked upon a lengthy and draining exchange with Beccaria,³⁰⁴ fuelling a disagreement which had grave consequences for their academic circle and which generated a rift that would take years to mend. The gravity of this disagreement has prompted scholarship to, by and large, pin Beccaria’s resignation from the world of the savants, his decision to join the Lombard administration and ultimately his failure to produce another philosophical masterpiece on this argument with the Verri brothers and Beccaria’s departure from Paris is commonly taken as the turning point towards a period of disappointing intellectual inertia. It is not an unreasonable conclusion. The private letters of Beccaria and the Verris from these years paint an ugly picture of the in-fighting which devastated this once close group of friends and many remarked on a noticeable change in Beccaria’s outlook, as Pietro Verri highlighted in a letter to his brother in 1774:

Caffè. Il faut que tu l’ayes oublié, et j’espere que tu repareras bientôt ces oublis en m’envoyant l’un et l’autre.”

³⁰¹ We can trace Beccaria as having replied to only 45 per cent of his correspondents. This includes the known missing letters.

³⁰² Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 1 July 1767), letter 191 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 546: “quòi que je n’aye reçu aucune reponse à mes deux precedentes...”

³⁰³ Beccaria to André Morellet (Milan, November/December 1771), letter 398 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. V, 320: “non era prodotto dagli amici di Francia, dai quali non ho avuto che dimostrazioni di amore e di bontà, ma da altri d’Italia: ciò non ostante ho cominciato a neglìgentare ogni commercio di lettere, e una certa avversione a scrivere mi teneva in questo ingrato silenzio.”

³⁰⁴ Though anecdotally remarked upon as bitterly jealous of Beccaria’s fame.

You would surely no longer recognize the philosopher who had the suffrage of Europe in his hand, you would not find a man more proletarian and plebeian...he no longer reads any book, he no longer has any hint of enthusiasm.³⁰⁵

Though Verri was prone to sensationalism, Beccaria, it appeared, had truly lost his enthusiasm for the world, for justice and for learning. Fearing that the Republic of Letters was losing one of its brightest lights, Baron D'Holbach wrote to Beccaria in March 1767, reminding him, once over, of his formidable duty to mankind: "l'indolence ou l'amour du *sacro santo far niente* qui est sujet à gagner les Italiens... Au reste, j'espère que vous résisteriez à cette force d'inertie; vous le devez au genre humain, dont la philosophie doit toujours plaider la cause, vous le devez aux applaudissements que le public a donné à votre ouvrage."³⁰⁶ The correspondence from these years projects the angst of the Republic of Letters, the deterioration of friendships and a distinctly melancholic Beccaria. Taken alongside Beccaria's self-professed apathy towards the written word, the Paris incident consequently seems a fitting point at which to attribute the rupture in Beccaria's intellectual activities between the years of *Il Caffè* and his time in the Lombard state bureaucracy, therein dividing Beccaria's career into two distinct and disconnected periods. However, Beccaria's surviving correspondence does not align so easily with the conclusion that he abandoned the cosmopolitanism of the Republic of Letters to a state of academic lethargy and domestic myopia. Contrary to the tropes which see Beccaria's resignation from the public sphere as all-encompassing, his letters, if viewed as a whole, reveal that while the aftermath of 1766 was clearly a period of emotional preoccupation, his correspondence network significantly expanded both geographically (more than doubled) and in number of correspondents, post-1768. It raises questions as to whether we might not be better served by looking at Beccaria's career with a greater sense of cohesion as opposed to through strict chronological partitions. By doing so, we can question whether Beccaria's correspondence truly demonstrates that he had turned his back on the *Philosophe's* responsibilities and lost all interest in the pursuits of the European intellectual community or, whether his letter-writing practices simply confound traditional notions of cosmopolitanism and participation in the Republic of Letters and present us with an

³⁰⁵ Pietro Verri to Alessandro Verri (10 September 1774) in *Carteggio di Pietro e di Alessandro Verri*, vol. III, eds. F. Novati and E. Greppi, (Milan: Cogliati, 1911), 23: "Sicuramente non riconosceresti più il filosofo che aveva in pugno il suffragi dell'Europa, uomo più proletario e plebeo di lui non trovi... Non legge più un libro, non ha più alcun seme d'entusiasmo."

³⁰⁶ Baron D'Holbach to Beccaria (Paris, 15 March 1767), letter 180 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 527.

alternate picture of the workings and intentions of an eighteenth-century correspondence network. While Verri lamented the loss of the “uomo più proletario e plebeo,” this thesis will argue that it was only later in his career that Beccaria truly found this identity, recovering his philosophical spirit in his duty as an administrative official. His letters, as we shall see in this chapter, are the most explicit attestation to this conclusion.

Approaching Beccaria’s correspondence

Far more significant than epistolary torpor catalysed by his break with the philosophical community, is the reality that Beccaria was habitually late in replying to letters.³⁰⁷ Rather than any distinct reaction to events, Beccaria exhibited a continuous indifference towards letter writing which, I will argue, was a reflection of his utilitarian outlook on the purpose of his epistolary network. There are multiple aspects of the correspondence which suggest that Beccaria did not conform to many of the expected literary and social performances of the Republic of Letters. For one, unlike many citizens, Beccaria was far less embracing of the rhetoric of friendship and comradeship which permeated and perpetuated this type of scholarly communication. What is more, the correspondence displays Beccaria’s disinterest in common conceptions of cosmopolitanism and erudite participation. For Beccaria, neither remaining in Paris, nor visiting the intellectual hubs throughout the continent, nor fostering purely aesthetic epistolary exchanges, was a pre-requisite feature of citizenship in the Republic of Letters. Beccaria harboured no doubts as to whether he ought to have been better travelled, better connected or even more present in the epicentres of Enlightenment thought and there is no indication that he found his epistolary contact insufficient for his intellectual needs. Moreover, there is no sense that Beccaria’s fellow citizens considered his geographical isolation and minimal epistolary output to exclude him from this community. In fact, Beccaria’s lack of timely responses and disregard for letter-writing convention and physical absence appears to have had no real effect on the diversity and depth of his general correspondence. While we can see evident shifts in Beccaria’s letter writing patterns after the breakdown of *Il Caffè*, Beccaria’s particular use of his

³⁰⁷ Beccaria was renowned for his laziness even before the publication of *Dei delitti e delle pene*. A wonderful example is a letter from Beccaria to Pietro Verri (Gessate, 13 December 1764), letter 30 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 87, which opens with “la scrittura è di Visconti, ma le parole son del pigro Beccaria”.

correspondence network was in many ways consistent throughout his lifetime and demonstrates trends in geography and type of communication which suggest that he harboured a strategic attitude towards the Republic of Letters. Consequently, what we are presented with in the case of Beccaria is an epistolary network which reflects the sheer diversity of perceptions held of the Republic of Letters by its citizens during the late eighteenth century, the manifold ways in which citizens acceptably traversed this network of communication to their own ends, and the seemingly unlimited understandings of cosmopolitanism and philosophical duty that came with being a citizen of the Republic of Letters.

Beccaria maintained regular contact with a mere handful of close friends and family, and even many of these enjoyed but a short and intense period of frequent writing before disappearing from his correspondence altogether. The Verri brothers, Beccaria's first wife Teresa Blasco, his translator André Morellet, and his *Il Caffè* colleagues Giambattista Biffi and Alfonso Longo were among the chosen few with whom he nurtured more intimate epistolary relationships. However, if one is looking for a deep, revealing exchange of letters, as we see between the Verri brothers for instance, then Beccaria's is a remarkably dissatisfying collection. The piecemeal correspondence, greatly affected by both Beccaria's personal writing habits and the material inevitability of missing letters, prevents any individual relationships from being studied in great depth and this reality means that we must drastically rethink how we can productively use this collection. To date, Beccaria's letters have been predominantly used as biographical props, their content helping to elucidate the events and context surrounding his period of writing. However, taking individual letters as gospel and mining Beccaria's correspondence for referential value poses a great danger to historical accounts as this selective, anecdotal study potentially overlooks crucial conclusions brought to light by wider, non-textual trends.³⁰⁸ This criticism is not to say that Beccaria's letters are unrevealing in themselves. Close reading of the correspondence gives us a wonderful glimpse into Beccaria's personality, pointing to a man seriously engaged with the intellectual developments of his world from the comfort of

³⁰⁸ Mireille Bossis and Karen McPherson, "Methodological Journeys Through Correspondences," *Yale French Studies*, vol. 71 (1986): 65: "An author's correspondence is then treated as a gold mine of biographical information, the correspondence taking on a fixed and univocal referential value which does not necessarily contribute to a better understanding of the author's work although that work was responsible for drawing attention to the correspondence in the first place."

his hometown. Still, the use of letters as feelers to “get a sense of” a historical character, threatens to relegate them to the realms of supporting documents who receive a subjective, secondary treatment. Instead, through freeing the correspondence collection from these methodological boundaries, these letters can actively contribute to more than just biographical accounts of Beccaria: to his intellectual history and, on a broader scale, to the growing literature tracing the diverse dynamics and letter-writing practices of the Republic of Letters. The existing body of Beccaria literature lacks a quantitative analysis of Beccaria’s correspondence which approaches his letters as a complete and distinct element of his written corpus, rather than as an ancillary source to be used to thicken accounts of Beccaria’s life. With the rise of the digital humanities, we now have the tools with which to collate, visualise and analyse entire correspondence networks, often generating very different conclusions to those produced through micro-analyses of specific letters’ content. By shifting not only the value we place on correspondence as a source, but also the methods with which we assess it, we reveal new insights into Beccaria’s history, previously irretrievable without the advancements in visualisation and computational methods. While Beccaria disappointingly fostered few regular and intensive epistolary relationships, his correspondence is intriguing precisely due to this lack of qualitative, long-term content. In its absence we find a vast number of intermittent correspondents who, making up the bulk of the epistolary collection, form a wider and more diverse network of “lesser” correspondents or “weak ties”³⁰⁹ whose contribution is often overlooked when depth of correspondence is privileged above other factors. It is consequently from this network in its entirety that we can reveal long-term geographical and social trends which are not necessarily seen from close-reading alone and which arguably reveal more about Beccaria’s perception and intentions for his epistolary network than qualitative studies permit. After all, Beccaria’s epistolary network was organised by our protagonist in exactly this way. Material inevitabilities may have affected the flow of correspondence and their subsequent preservation, but ultimately the structure of the network was not so much organic as heavily determined by Beccaria’s personal decision to reply or not, to initiate communication or not, with which individuals and groups, and with which locations. Consequently, it is through looking structurally at this correspondence in total that we can begin to build a picture of how Cesare Beccaria used his network, how he adjusted it to

³⁰⁹ More on Mark Granovetter’s concept of the “strength of weak ties” later in the chapter.

better suit his needs and the various functions it played throughout his lifetime. We thus require methods of studying letters which examine alternative non-textual criteria, account for more material aspects, and which privilege non-personal, aggregate information such as location, profession and connection. One method used in this chapter is to map the correspondence across both space and time, layering it in terms of types of individual, group and forms of correspondence. This approach treats the collection uniformly without making judgements based on the more intuitive value of famous names and frequency of communication and it deviates from many of the existing methodologies used in interpreting epistolary networks. René Sigrist's threshold of "significant exchange" for example, although similarly analysing network structure to reveal relationship ties, determines the centrality of an ego-network through scales of intensity based upon quantity of letters, which would prove an impossible task in regards to Beccaria's collection.³¹⁰

As regards historical visualisations more generally, this approach is open to great scepticism. Does mapping Beccaria's correspondence network provide us with anything more substantial than just a new visual language with which to articulate old conclusions? Do quantitative approaches really yield results which could not be found through qualitative study? This project's criticism of the qualitative focus on Beccaria's correspondence does not preclude the possibility that a deeper contribution can be made by individual letters to questions regarding Beccaria's philosophy, quite the contrary. As we shall see in Chapters V and VI, there are many occasions in which the content of Beccaria's letters is exceedingly important. However, by prefacing this qualitative aspect with a quantitative, visual approach to Beccaria's network, we are presented with new queries regarding intention which only come to light by tracing patterns spanning across the entire body of correspondence. Digital tools thus offer us the opportunity to ask different

³¹⁰ René Sigrist, "Organizing a Scientific System: The Emerging Networks of Modern Chemistry (1680–1860)," *Archives des Sciences*, vol. 68 (2015): 4: "The threshold defining a significant exchange regardless of the content is of course difficult to determine, and it is obvious that scientific, literary and personal contents are inextricably mixed in most letters. To allow for comparison, a scale of intensity has nevertheless to be established. Its first degree – the threshold of significance – would be materialised by a stream of 10 letters addressed by one scholar to another. Further degrees of intensity would be determined by thresholds of 20, 50, 100, 200, 300, 500 and 1000 letters written on either side. The accumulation of these links, qualified by their intensity, can be used to define the degree of centrality or the 'importance' of an ego-network, and therefore of a given scientist. On that basis, it is possible to define the proportion of links established between scientists working in the same field, and therefore to have an idea of the approximate degrees of specialisation of various disciplines."

questions, to see connections we would previously not have discovered, to resurrect previously overlooked figures and to solicit new readings, therein complementing content-based, textual studies. This said, despite great advances in the digital humanities (more on its strengths and limits in the following section) studying Beccaria's correspondence remains problematic and warrants some brief reflection before using this collection as a central source. The letters pose numerous methodological difficulties before we even come to the theoretical challenges posed by digital tools. First and foremost, the vast number of missing letters, the majority of which are from Beccaria himself (there are at least 141 missing letters sent by Beccaria), results in an asymmetrical collection which disproportionately exhibits the letters written by Beccaria's correspondents as opposed to the protagonist himself and raises the question of whether such an incomplete, small correspondence can sufficiently and reliably present an accurate picture of Beccaria's network. Secondly, the lack of any epistolary relationships which span throughout Beccaria's lifetime and are extensive mutual exchanges, providing a yardstick as it were against which to measure more irregular communication, limits how we can speak about Beccaria's correspondence and what we can ultimately draw from it. Finally, as a comparatively small correspondence we need to take great care when using methods intended for large data sets and resist using this collection to make grander assumptions about other eighteenth-century networks.

Returning to the quote prefacing this chapter, we encounter the words of André Morellet writing to Beccaria in 1766 and the ongoing curiosity over who exactly was this mysterious Cesare Beccaria: "Tout le monde me demande qui vous êtes, ce que vous faites, quel ages vous avés, si vous êtes laïque ou ecclésiastique, garçon ou marié, homme de robe ou militaire, ou simplement homme de lettres".³¹¹ Was Beccaria simply an *homme de lettres* and, if so, what responsibilities were tied to such a title? Or, did Beccaria perhaps see himself as holding a different role in the Republic of Letters? Morellet's question is likewise our starting point for this chapter, which will attempt to decipher Beccaria's identity within the erudite community, as perceived by both his peers and he, himself. To do so, the following sections will situate Beccaria within the Republic of Letters, in terms of how he interpreted this network to function, how he manoeuvred within it and what identity he presented of

³¹¹ André Morellet to Beccaria (con una postilla di d'Alembert) (Paris, 3 January 1766), letter 60 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 186.

himself, as compared to the role his correspondents interpreted him to have played. Starting from a survey of the rich tapestry of literature tackling the concept of the Republic of Letters and especially, the visual and quantitative approaches directed towards reconstructing eighteenth-century correspondence networks and social networks, this chapter intends to comprehensively reassemble Beccaria's wider intellectual community in terms of its geographical scope, its actors and their professions, the institutions and groups it encompassed and the frequency and depth of Beccaria's involvement with these actors and institutions over time. This quantitative, visual approach gives us a long-term picture of how Beccaria used his network based upon measurable data which, being detached from the content of the letters, provide alternative conclusions to those founded on qualitative studies. By tracing the locations, types of correspondents and frequencies of correspondence within Beccaria's ego-network, several trends will become apparent, all indicating that this was not an unstructured or contingent pan-European circulation of news, information and knowledge, but rather a carefully constructed network that facilitated dedicated channels for purposeful communication – connecting those who ought to be connected, exchanging manuscripts deemed fit to be read by practitioners and enthusiasts, relaying necessary, practical information, requesting specific texts that were unavailable or illegal locally – all connections which inevitably shifted in priority over time based on immediate need, but which did not necessarily decrease in aggregate terms.

After mapping the measurable aspects of Beccaria's correspondence network, we can proceed to support these conclusions with qualitative reflections. This chapter will expand upon the physical dimensions of the network by proceeding to examine the brokers it included and the various actors who served as intermediaries between Beccaria's ego-network and the Republic of Letters more widely. This leads us to questions regarding why Beccaria used his network in the ways he did, what this tells us about his perception of his role as a citizen of the Republic of Letters and whether this persona differed from who his peers interpreted him to be and the responsibilities they believed the eighteenth-century *homme de lettres* to hold. Beyond the explicit information (dates, locations, names, receipts) presented to us in Beccaria's correspondence, we are privy, via name-dropping, references, citations and footnotes to what will be referred to here as Beccaria's "imagined network" or citation network (or co-occurrence network) – a crucial extension of the physical network of his correspondence into the realm of perception and identity. This

imagined network includes the persons, publications, events and locations which were perceived to be connected, or which ought to have been connected with Beccaria, by either himself or his correspondents, even if no tangible connection had, or ever would, exist. Far from misleading, this imagined network often reveals more about our author and his network than the concrete evidence we can extract from his correspondence, and greatly expands the existing epistolary network by underscoring the distinctly “imagined” element of the community of the Republic of Letters. Similar to self-fashioning within the Republic of Letters, this imagined network uncovers the aspirational element of Beccaria’s network, illustrating how Beccaria and his correspondents not only interpreted the network to be structured, but how it ideally should have been constructed if social, geographical and religious boundaries had not been so prominent, so as to maximise their ambitions of advancing the arts and sciences. Consequently, this chapter will examine Beccaria’s involvement in the Republic of Letters on three levels in order to give a fuller picture of the structure of Beccaria’s networks. Through quantitative study, this chapter will commence by reconstructing the dimensions of Beccaria’s traceable, epistolary network. It will then proceed to break down the dynamics of mediated information exchange and the circulation of texts within this reconstructed network in order to illustrate the practical functioning and choreography of Beccaria’s communication. Finally, the chapter will conclude by conceiving networks more abstractly, looking to the references within the correspondence which articulate how Beccaria and his peers interpreted their Republic of Letters. Reconstructing Beccaria’s correspondence network in this multileveled way helps us to posit three vital hypotheses which support the more general premise of this thesis: Firstly, that Beccaria remained involved in the Republic of Letters to a much higher degree than is often assumed; secondly, that his connections were more diverse than we might expect; and lastly, that trends in his use of his epistolary network suggest that Beccaria was not just interested in the duties of the *homme de lettres* but also in those of the *homme de robe*. While the dimensions of Beccaria’s correspondence network were ever-shifting, with connections with specific individuals, locations and groups of persons varying over the course of Beccaria’s life, what remains unwavering was Beccaria’s prolonged involvement in a scholarly community well beyond the physical and intellectual walls of the *gabinetto*. The wider network clearly demonstrates that Cesare Beccaria remained deeply committed to knowledge exchange through the Republic of Letters post-*Dei delitti e delle pene* and well into his career in the Milanese administration,

countering assumptions that his cosmopolitan involvement and intellectual awareness heavily declined upon his entrance into the state administration. Furthermore, by tracing Beccaria's network in this way we can begin to assess whether his use of letters and conception of the Republic of Letters was unusual. There was undoubtedly a rhetoric of "duty" to contribute to the promotion and circulation of information by the erudite for the "good of humankind", but did Beccaria use his network for the selfless advancement of the arts and sciences, or did he harbour more practical patriotic ambitions? Did shifts in the way he used his epistolary network mirror his political and social concerns as a statesman? In trying to recover the intentions of our protagonist within his correspondence network we can consequently begin to shed light on the practical focus of Beccaria's career. While his involvement in a pan-European circulation of news, information and knowledge does not necessarily indicate that Beccaria was practically-oriented, the strategic ways in which he moulded his network and selected his connections suggest that he may well have had concrete objectives in mind. Consequently, this chapter will argue that analysing Beccaria's epistolary network provides us with information that his words alone could not. Though an unorthodox source, Beccaria's correspondence contributes significantly to the intellectual history of Beccaria's thought and yields great results when read as an equal share of his opus.³¹²

The *Homme de Lettres* and the Republic of Letters

*La culture de l'amitié et de la littérature formant une occupation*³¹³

Returning to Morellet's letter, who was the *homme de lettres* that he was referring to?³¹⁴ What was his role, his duties, and what distinguished him from other erudite individuals? Turning to the *Encyclopédie* offers some insight into these questions. Defined as a descendant of the

³¹² See Mary Terrall, "Biography as Cultural History of Science," *Isis*, vol. 97, no. 2 (2006): 306–313.

³¹³ Joseph Albert to Beccaria (Lyon, 26 September 1767), letter 207 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 587.

³¹⁴ It is worth noting that only a few years later, in discussions concerning the erection of a statue of Voltaire, Morellet would espouse an unusually restricted definition of the *gens des lettres*, ostensibly reducing them to *auteurs* and *écrivains*. See: André Morellet and Pierre-Edouard Lemontey, *Mémoires inédits de l'abbé Morellet, de l'Académie française: sur le dix-huitième siècle et sur la révolution: précédés de l'éloge de l'abbé Morellet, par M. Lémontey* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1822); and Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), chapter 5.

classical grammarians of ancient Greece and Rome, the *homme de lettres* from Voltaire's entry *gens de lettres*, possessed a vast range of competences:

Gens de Lettres, (*Philosophie & Littérat.*) ce mot répond précisément à celui de *grammairiens*: chez les Grecs & les Romains: on entendoit par *grammairien*, non seulement un homme versé dans la Grammaire proprement dite, qui est la base de toutes les connoissances, mais un homme qui n'étoit pas étranger dans la Géométrie, dans la Philosophie, dans l'Histoire générale & particuliere; qui sur - tout faisoit son étude de la Poésie & de l'Eloquence: c'est ce que sont nos *gens de lettres* aujourd'hui... on n'exige pas qu'un *homme de lettres* approfondisse toutes ces matieres; la science universelle n'est plus à la portée de l'homme: mais les véritables *gens de lettres* se mettent en état de porter leurs pas dans ces différens terrains, s'ils ne peuvent les cultiver tous.³¹⁵

Mapping the evolution of the *homme de lettres*, Voltaire claimed that, after breaking away from the critical spirit of the classical grammarians that had resulted in the dictionaries, correct editions and commentaries of the classical period, the *homme de lettres* had developed a distinctly philosophical spirit in its place. It was this philosophical spirit that defined the *homme de lettres* and, when joined by "bon goût, il forme un littérateur accompli."³¹⁶ Most crucially, this philosophical spirit determined the role of the *gens des lettres* in society, which was to serve the state through their independence of mind and their depth of reason, dispelling the superstition and false knowledge that infected the public. Beyond their characteristic philosophical spirit and wide-ranging aptitude, the *gens de lettres* are greatly refined by accounting for that which the *homme de lettres* was not, as Voltaire continued, initially distinguishing the *homme de lettres* from the *bel esprit*:

Un *homme de lettres* n'est pas ce qu'on appelle un *bel esprit*: le bel esprit seul suppose moins de culture, moins d'étude, & n'exige nulle philosophie; il consiste principalement dans l'imagination brillante, dans les agrémens de la conversation, aidés d'une lecture commune. Un bel esprit peut aisément ne point mériter le titre d'*homme de lettres*; & l'*homme de lettres* peut ne point prétendre au brillant du bel esprit.³¹⁷

Negative space resounds throughout Voltaire's entry. Already separated from the *bel esprit*, the *homme de lettres* is further defined as neither he who cultivates only a single discipline, nor he who has attempted to write a book or play without having studied the genre first, nor he who lacks the command of non-classical languages such as Italian, Spanish and

³¹⁵ Voltaire, "Gens de Lettres (Philosophie et Littérature)," in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project, 2016), eds. Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe, available at <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/> 7: 599.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

English.³¹⁸ Above all, the *gens de lettres* are not knowledge producers, but critics, broadly versed in sufficient branches of knowledge in order to lend a critical generalist's eye to all manner of specialisms.

Morellet's question regarding whether Beccaria was an "homme de robe ou militaire, ou simplement homme de lettres?" indicates that these were potentially compatible identities and that one could comfortably be both a man of letters and a military figure or a professional such as a magistrate. However, there was significant reflection over the multiple social roles the *gens de lettres* could and should simultaneously hold, above all concerning whether professional duties and employment were compatible with the worldly responsibilities of the *gens de lettres* for the *genre humain*. Connected to this, was the question of whether the *gens de lettres* were required to publish in order to be considered *gens de lettres*, and if so, what type of publications. Were they *auteurs* or *écrivains*? D'Alembert set out the distinction between these two figures in the *Encyclopédie*, both of which were titles that could be applied to the *gens de lettres*:

ECRIVAIN, AUTEUR: Ces deux mots s'appliquent aux gens de lettres, qui donnent au public des ouvrages de leur composition. Le premier ne se dit que de ceux qui ont donné des ouvrages de belles lettres, ou du moins il ne se dit que par rapport au style: le second s'applique à tout genre d'écrire indifféremment; il a plus de rapport au fond de l'ouvrage qu'à la forme; de plus, il peut se joindre par la particule de aux noms des ouvrages. Racine, M. de Voltaire, sont d'excellens écrivains, Corneille est un excellent auteur; Descartes & Newton sont des auteurs célèbres; l'auteur de la Recherche de la vérité, est un écrivain du premier ordre.³¹⁹

The writer, as compared to the author, was one who had produced works of *belles lettres*, defined by literary style, while the author, such as Descartes and Newton, produced works which were valued in terms of content rather than style. Louis-Sébastien Mercier similarly distinguished between the writer and the author, though with a more critical view of the author, which he claimed was a title awarded to even he who has produced but a single

³¹⁸ Voltaire, "Gens de Lettres," 7: 599: "aujourd'hui l'homme de lettres ajoute souvent à l'étude du grec & du latin celle de l'italien, de l'espagnol, & sur - tout de l'anglois. La carrière de l'Histoire est cent fois plus immense qu'elle ne l'étoit pour les anciens; & l'Histoire naturelle s'est accrue à proportion de celle des peuples".

³¹⁹ Jean le Rond d'Alembert, "Ecrivain, Auteur (Grammaire)," in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project, 2016), eds. Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe, available at <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/>, 5: 372.

pamphlet in his entire life.³²⁰ Voltaire similarly saw this division as hierarchical and claimed that a vital component of the *homme de lettres*' identity was that, if anything (it was better to be absolutely free of any profession), he should be an *écrivain* and not an *auteur*.³²¹ This division was the result of Voltaire's concern surrounding patronage, as he saw only the writer as being free from the bonds of private patronage, the demands of the literary audience, and the shackles of the booktrade.³²² In his famous *Essai sur la société des gens de lettres et des grands*, D'Alembert presented a similar call for the freeing of the *gens de lettres* and the Republic of Letters more generally from the patronage of nobles, claiming that the esteem of fellow men of letters and the public who they served was more important. Constantly seeking the approval of the nobility prevented the *gens de lettres* from pursuing the arts and sciences to their utmost and D'Alembert argued that the nobility ought to have a higher respect for the *gens de lettres*.³²³ Others were far less positive about the potential contribution of the *hommes de lettres* to society. Rousseau painted a very different picture of the *gens de lettres*, who served little, or no purpose in his interpretation of civilisation as unnatural and corrupted. While Voltaire and Diderot had also criticised the *homme de lettres* for their pride and susceptibility to flattery, they ultimately saw this social category as being a civilising force, which ought to be strengthened so as to better contribute to society as a whole.

The concern for whether the *auteur* could truly be an *homme de lettres*, extended to other professions whose employment rendered them dependent, therein curbing their independent and philosophic spirit. In part fuelled by parallel debates regarding the division between the *belles lettres* and the sciences, discussion pivoted in particular around whether the man of science or the *savant* could similarly be a man of letters. While Voltaire

³²⁰ Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *De J.-J. Rousseau considéré comme l'un des premiers auteurs de la Révolution*, vol.I, (Buisson: Paris, 1791).

³²¹ Robert Darnton, "The Facts of Literary Life in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Political Culture of the Old Regime*, ed. Keith Michael Baker, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1991), 264: "a broad definition of the man of letters, since anyone who had published anything (not necessarily a book) was listed in the publication."

³²² Voltaire, "Gens de Lettres," in *Encyclopédie*, 7: 599: "Il y a beaucoup de *gens de lettres* qui ne sont point auteurs, & ce sont probablement les plus heureux; ils sont à l'abri des dégoûts que la profession d'auteur entraîne quelquefois, des querelles que la rivalité fait naître, des animosités de parti, & des faux jugemens; ils sont plus unis entre eux; ils jouissent plus de la société; ils sont juges, & les autres sont jugés."

³²³ D'Alembert, "Essai sur la société des gens de lettres et des grands, sur la réputation, sur les mécènes, et sur les récompense littéraires," in *Ouvres Complètes* (Paris, 1832).

considered men of science to be *hommes instruits* – a category which was inseparable from the *hommes de lettres* – others such as D’Alembert argued that those engaged with the exact sciences were *savants*: a subcategory of the *homme de lettres* who could not achieve the same heights as *érudits*.³²⁴ This distinction between *Philosophe* and *savant* will be addressed in greater detail later in this chapter; however, it is worth underlining now the extent to which individuals increasingly struggled to delineate between the *homme de lettres* and the professions, especially as, in practice, by the late eighteenth century, many men of letters, Beccaria included, maintained professional positions, above all as university professors, *hommes de robe*, *hommes d’Etat* and functionaries. The rise of the *homme d’Etat* or *philosophe homme d’Etat* is a crucial juncture in the identity of the *gens des lettres*, reflecting what many have interpreted as the precarious position of the *philosophes* and the *lumières* come the later part of the eighteenth century.³²⁵ However, there is a distinct geographical difference in the role of *gens de lettres* as functionaries. In the Habsburg lands, Bourbon Spain and the German and Italian states, there was no tension between these two identities, as demonstrated by the administrative positions of the likes of Kant, Herder, Beccaria, Verri, Sonnenfels and Jovellanos.³²⁶

There is much conflation of the *homme de lettres* with other Enlightenment identities, above all the *Philosophe*, *savant*, *hommes instruits* and the *érudits*. This is partly historical. As Jean-Pierre Schandler has claimed, before Voltaire’s classification in the *Encyclopédie*, the expression *gens de lettres* incorporated:

Les littérateurs, érudits, doctes, savants, c’est-à-dire tous ceux qui cultivent le savoir, aussi bien les sciences que la littérature. Sans remonter aussi loin que le Dictionnaire de Furetière qui range la Physique, la Géométrie, et les sciences solides parmi les ‘vraies belles lettres’ il faut relever que le sens du terme dans le dictionnaire de l’Académie française conserve une remarquable stabilité de sa première édition en 1694 jusqu’en 1855 exclusivement: ‘Se dit au pluriel, de toute sorte de science et de doctrine’.³²⁷

Even with the *Encyclopédie* definition however, there remains a degree of interchangeability of these terms, for example between the *homme de lettres* and the *philosophe*, who is defined

³²⁴ D’Alembert, “Essai sur la société des gens de lettres et des grands, sur la réputation, sur les mécènes, et sur les récompenses littéraires,” in *Ouvres Complètes* (Paris, 1832).

³²⁵ Jean-Jacques Tatin-Gourier and Thierry Belleguic, *De l’homme de lettres au philosophe des Lumières: du sens de la mission au doute* (Paris: Éditions le Manuscrit, 2011).

³²⁶ See Carlo Capra, “The Functionary,” in *Enlightenment Portraits*, 347–8.

³²⁷ Jean-Pierre Schandler, “République des sciences ou fractures de la République des lettres?,” *Dix-huitième siècle*, vol. 40, no. 1 (2008): 315–332.

thus:

La raison est à l'égard du philosophe, ce que la grace est à l'égard du chrétien. La grace détermine le chrétien à agir; la raison détermine le philosophe [...] Le philosophe est donc un honnête homme qui agit en tout par raison, & qui joint à un esprit de réflexion & de justesse les moeurs & les qualités sociable.³²⁸

While the *philosophe* is more strictly defined by his guidance by pure reason, there are many fundamental similarities between the two identities: freedom of thought, the philosophic spirit, making oneself useful to society, and love for mankind, which inherently entwine the two categories. In addition, many modern examples of this conflation rest upon the perceived temporality of the *homme de lettres*. Some scholars see the *homme de lettres* of the Renaissance and early Enlightenment as the predecessor of the later *philosopher*, rather than as coterminous characters. In *Le concept d'homme de lettres, en France à l'époque de l'Encyclopédie*, Michel Gaulin recalls the evolution of the *homme de lettres*, arguing that the *érudit* of the Renaissance transformed into the *savant*, then the *bel esprit*, and finally into the *philosophe*, making it only logical that the *philosophe* should be aligned with the *homme de lettres*.³²⁹ It is a simplified genealogy; nonetheless Gaulin is not alone in aligning the *homme de lettres* with the *philosophe*. More recently, Daniel Brewer has made a similar assertion, interpreting the *philosophe* as “the privileged figure of the eighteenth-century *homme de lettres*”.³³⁰ However, other scholars interpret the *gens de lettres* as a social category based upon norms of sociability unique to the eighteenth century and radically detached from its fifteenth-century origins. Gregory Brown, for instance, has argued that in the seventeenth century, the *gens de lettres* “was an epithet used by self-styled gentlemen, or *honnêtes hommes*, at court to disparage those who sought to make a status [*état*] of writing,” before transforming, due to the expansion of French court culture to *le monde*, into a term denoting acculturation, distinct from title or wealth.³³¹ Most importantly, Brown argues that the *gens de lettres* was a “contested construct, the result of individual, strategic self-representations by individual writers in response to the experience of having status and identity ascribed to them by

³²⁸ “Philosophe,” in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert (Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project, 2016), eds. Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe, available at <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/> 12: 509.

³²⁹ Michel Gaulin, *Le Concept d'homme de lettres, en France, à l'époque de l'Encyclopédie*, *Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. 25, no. 1 (1993): 606–607.

³³⁰ Daniel Brewer, *The Enlightenment Past: Reconstructing Eighteenth-Century French Thought*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 54.

³³¹ Gregory Brown, *A Field of Honor: Court Culture and Public Theater in French Literary Life from Racine to the Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

more prominent social elites”.³³² Thus, to varying degrees, the ideal of the *homme de lettres* can be defined by his philosophical spirit, the variety of his competences, the high level of his style, his independence from financial patronage and noble flattery, his conscious cultivation of his image and his dedication to the *genre humain*, and is often synonymous with the *philosophe*.

A less disputed facet of the *homme de lettres*' identity was his active participation in a wider community of literary and erudite individuals, namely the Republic of Letters. To date, interpretations have somewhat uniformly envisioned the ethos of the Republic of Letters, painting it in various incarnations as a supranational and supra-confessional, independent and egalitarian community, which demanded allegiance above all other traditional ties. Various descriptions include “Europe’s first egalitarian society”,³³³ a “supranational European community of scholars”,³³⁴ a “fictitious community – without a territory or clear-cut geographical or social border – with ideas and moral rules instead of a legal system, with idols instead of a government”,³³⁵ “an egalitarian world amongst themselves [scholars], where views could be expressed without the rancor of national, religious, or other barriers to their exchanges”,³³⁶ “a virtual community not of those who shared beliefs, but of those who differed”,³³⁷ “a flexible, self-regulating and international conglomerate of networks spanning the whole of Europe”,³³⁸ “an elite confraternity distinguished by merit in literature, scholarship, science; by near total freedom of expression, by equality among members, in defiance of rank and birth; and by tolerance”,³³⁹ scholarship has produced a rich examination of the Republic of Letters, *ideal*. That this vision appears defiantly hopeful however, has not escaped criticism and in stark contrast, discussions regarding the actual

³³² Brown, *A Field of Honor*.

³³³ Anthony Grafton, *Worlds made by words: scholarship and community in the modern West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 9.

³³⁴ Hans Bots and Françoise Wacquet, *La République des lettres* (Paris: Belin, 1997).

³³⁵ Franz Mauelshagen, “Networks of Trust and Imagined Community of the Learned,” *Medieval History Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2003): 1–32.

³³⁶ Robert Mayhew, “British Geography’s Republic of Letters: Mapping an Imagined Community, 1600–1800,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 65, no. 2 (2004): 251–276.

³³⁷ Anthony Grafton, “A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters,” *Republics of Letters*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2009): 11–18.

³³⁸ Dirk van Miert, “What was the Republic of Letters? A brief introduction to a long history,” *Groniek*, 204/205, (2007), 269–287.

³³⁹ Lorraine Daston, “The Ideal and Reality of the Republic of Letters in the Enlightenment,” *Science in Context*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1991): 374–5.

workings of this Republic are far from reaching any consensus as to its defining characteristics. As a consequence, untangling the structure of the Republic of Letters has and continues to catalyse a formidable body of scholarship, with disagreements including, but not limited to, such fundamental aspects as its duration, geography (or lack thereof), political (dis)engagement, media (letters only?), participation requirements (professions etc.), degrees of cosmopolitanism and etiquette.³⁴⁰

Deciphering the real from the imagined Republic of Letters has consequently become something of a *bête noire* in recent scholarship. As the real Republic and its machinations, locations and structure, was ultimately of lesser importance to its citizens than its ideal, which arguably served as an inspirational antidote to the intellectual restrictions of eighteenth-century continental war, religious oppression, and geographical and political impediments, the preservation of this ideal generated a heavy rhetoric, perpetuated by dedicated men and women of letters, thick with references to the Republic of Letters, the *gens des lettres* and their supranational ethos. As a result, a significant impediment to the issue of definition today lies in the vagueness and hackneyed depictions of the Republic circulated by its own citizens. To decipher the exact meanings of this term, as insinuated by its advocates, risks the assumption that these figures had themselves, beyond their waxing lyrical, a clear, mutual understanding of the particularities of the Republic of Letters. This would be a simplistic reading of affairs. As Dan Edelstein has argued, the term *République des Lettres* had, by the Enlightenment period, been truly annexed from its origins, becoming a commonplace expression to describe the scholarly community at large.³⁴¹ It carried with it centuries worth of meaning, yet the more terminological baggage it held, the less identifiable character it could have – a vicious circle that its citizens sought to counter through their repeated assertions that it was alive and flourishing. It connects to debates concerning the duration of the Republic of Letter’s existence. While some scholars have argued that the Republic was fundamentally a sixteenth and seventeenth-century phenomenon, much in decline by the eighteenth century – Kathleen Keet has defiantly

³⁴⁰ See Jeanine de Landtsheer and Henk Nellen, eds., *Between Scylla and Charybdis: Learned Letter Writers Navigating the Reefs of Religious and Political Controversy in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Anselm Schubert, “Kommunikation und Konkurrenz: Gelehrtenrepublik und Konfession im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Interkonfessionalität, Transkonfessionalität, binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität: Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese*, eds. Kaspar von Greyerz et al. (Heidelberg: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003), 105–31.

³⁴¹ Dan Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 83–4.

claimed that the “Republic of Letters was destroyed by 1788”³⁴² – others, such as Laurence Brockliss have concluded that it continued to flourish well into the revolutionary period.³⁴³ Beccaria’s correspondence occurs towards the tail-end of the more generous interpretations of the Republic of Letters’ existence and we need to acknowledge that the Republic had significantly changed since its conception in the fifteenth century. This chronology ties into discussions regarding the relationship between Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters, which query whether the former was merely a moment within the latter,³⁴⁴ or whether they were inherently antagonistic. Was the old Republic inwards looking and conservative, while the Enlightenment stood to break free of its chains?³⁴⁵ Or was the Enlightenment merely a product of this centuries-old community? Much of this debate rests on the equally fraught discussion regarding what, when, where and who constituted the Enlightenment(s). Nonetheless, for those such as Beccaria, whose points of self-reference were both the age of Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters, these phenomena need not be mutually exclusive.

In conjunction with shifts in interpretations of the Enlightenment(s) more broadly, several key trends regarding the Republic of Letters are pertinent for this research. Most importantly, questions surrounding the geography of the Republic of Letters, as well as conceptions of place and distance, have stimulated new interpretations of this community. As much as its citizens protested to the contrary, the Republic of Letters was, in practice, comprised of individuals who could not be so easily torn from the realities and bonds of geographical boundaries and national dynamics. Though intended to counter the intellectual stagnation and insularity intensified by distance and space, fostering instead a cosmopolitan spirit, the Republic of Letters was ultimately a community bounded by

³⁴² Kathleen Kete, *Making Way for Genius: The Aspiring Self in France from the Old Regime to the New* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 9.

³⁴³ Brockliss has argued for the Republic of Letters into the French Revolution. Laurence Brockliss, *Calvet’s Web: Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

³⁴⁴ Dena Goodman has interpreted the Enlightenment as a moment in the Republic of Letters’ history. Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Charles Withers has called for the Enlightenment to be seen as a Republic of Letters, see Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically About the Age of Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 45–6.

³⁴⁵ This view is mainly espoused by Anne Goldgar. *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1995).

geographical limits. On a practical level, intellectual exchanges were limited by geographical and geopolitical events, not to mention by technologies and laws which could not boast such cosmopolitan tendencies. Delivery times and routes, national censorship regulations and illegality indexes, linguistic diversity and the decline of Latin as the *Lingua franca* – all somewhat geopolitically determined impediments – directly shaped the dimensions of circulation and exchange across the Republic of Letters. More abstractly, the complexities of individuals’ national identities and allegiances could not be so simply forgotten. Domestic commitments such as career, family and religion were also borne by the *gens des lettres*, making absolute commitment to the non-national Republic of Letters impossible. By the eighteenth century many scholars had even begun to reflect on the possible coexistence of national and cosmopolitan sentiments. The multiple proposals throughout the century to create a centralised governing body for the Republic of Letters, further suggests that citizens were conscious of the physical dimensions of their community. This is not to view the ambitious republican project with cynicism. That the Republic of Letters hoped and protested to exist on a non-national plane is clear. Nonetheless, geography and place were inevitable factors in both the Republic’s basic functioning and, more abstractly, as foundational elements which individuals could not shake in their entirety from their outlooks and mentalities. Consequently, alongside the “spatial turn” in Enlightenment studies, as articulated by publications such as David Livingstone’s *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge*, Miles Ogborn and Withers’ *Geographies of the Book* and Withers’ *Placing the Enlightenment*,³⁴⁶ as well the rise of the digital humanities in Enlightenment studies more widely, these geographical and spatial aspects of the Republic of Letters have recently received much attention.³⁴⁷ The works of Charles W.J Withers and Robert Mayhew have been groundbreaking in this respect, highlighting the “pronounced geography” of the Republic of Letters, whose very existence as a Republic, Mayhew argues, “presupposes a geography”.³⁴⁸ Their research has offered both new conceptions of the Republic of Letters and new methods, which deeply

³⁴⁶ David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment*; Miles Ogborn and Charles W.J. Withers, eds., *Geographies of the Book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), xiv and 302.

³⁴⁷ Charles W. J. Withers, “Place and the ‘Spatial Turn’ in Geography and in History,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 70, no. 4 (2009): 655: “Once historians and philosophers and others debated the ‘what’, ‘who’, ‘when’, and ‘why’ of the Enlightenment – and postmodern critics its ‘so what’. Attention has now turned to the ‘where’ of the Enlightenment”.

³⁴⁸ Mayhew, “British Geography’s Republic of Letters,” 273.

problematise the common image of the cosmopolitan Republic of Letters. Mayhew's study of citation patterns, for example, highlights the shifting historical geographies within Republic of Letters, draws attention to the parochialism of frequently assumed 'cosmopolitan' figures, and turns the traditional rhetoric of cosmopolitanism on its head, while Withers emphasises the importance of geographic scale and language in 'placing' the Enlightenment, giving what is commonly understood as conceptual space an actual geography defined by practices, languages and networks. By interpreting place as "not simply a location or locale, but a site in wider networks", Withers argues that "place making embraces the capacity to undertake and disseminate local histories and local geographies in ways which speak, variously, to the recovery of subaltern meaning, to contested place identity and to larger-scale historical and geographical processes as they are realized and constituted in given settings".³⁴⁹ Françoise Waquet's work on intellectual geography in the Republic of Letters has likewise been responsible for the shift towards spatial interpretations,³⁵⁰ which have been followed by scholars such as Charles Van Den Heuvel who has similarly argued that "it might be more useful to reconstruct the spatial distribution of actors and of (non-)textual documents in virtual networks of knowledge."³⁵¹

In this vein, increasing numbers of studies have employed cartographic methods to map overlapping strata (both real and imagined elements) within the Republic of Letters. Philip J. Ethington's, *Placing the Past: groundwork for a spatial theory of history*, offers a manifesto for rethinking history in mapping terms: "Knowledge of the past, therefore, is literally cartographic: a mapping of the places of history indexed to the coordinates of spacetime... Mapping is the form of interpretation that historians practice. Their hermeneutic operation is intrinsically cartographic, or possibly choreographic, for all life is

³⁴⁹ Withers, "Place and the 'Spatial Turn'," 650.

³⁵⁰ Françoise Waquet, "L'espace de la République des Lettres," in *Commercium Litterarium, 1600–1750: La communication dans la République des Lettres (Conférences des colloques tenus à Paris 1992 et à Nimègue 1993)*, eds. Johannes A.H. Bots and Françoise Waquet (Amsterdam: Maarssen, 1994), 175–189.

³⁵¹ Charles Van Den Heuvel, "Mapping Knowledge Exchange in Early Modern Europe: Intellectual and Technical Geographies and Network Representations," *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2015): 95–114.

movement.”³⁵² Paired with new digital tools such as GIS, this cartographic perception of history has resulted in many attempts to physically map the Republic of Letters, through platforms such as Mapping the Republic of Letters and Reassembling the Republic of Letters, which present spatial visualisations of this conglomerate of epistolary networks. Advancing upon this cartographic technology, many scholars have criticised the mere mapping of locations and have proposed methods of historical mapping which include greater contextualisation. David Bodenhamer for example has proposed using “deep maps”, which layer GIS with multimedia artefacts, therein creating a multi-dimensional, contextual cartography which blends perspectives together.³⁵³ The project NOMOB (A Research Map on Noblemen’s mobility in the Austrian Netherlands) which investigates the mobility of the eighteenth-century cartographer Joseph de Ferraris, similarly uses both textual and cartographic analysis from Ferraris’ private correspondence and maps, overlapping a current topographic map, aerial maps, historical survey maps of the Habsburg Empire, a semantic vector layer with data from textual analysis and finally a landscape vector layer with the suggested roads, allowing the viewer to access correspondence excerpts while investigating the geography of Ferraris’ itineraries.³⁵⁴ Beyond cartographic methods proper, are histories which use maps more figuratively, such as Giulio Pancaldi’s investigation into the work of Alessandro Volta, which employs a map metaphor to highlight Volta’s participation in three different but overlapping communities, those of the expert electrician, the enlightened lay person and the civil servant.³⁵⁵ By distinguishing between the various cartographies of Volta’s world, Pancaldi demonstrates how the border, capitals and hierarchy of countries differed depending on Volta’s engagements, interests and ambitions, and throughout the course of his career. This approach has great resonance with this thesis, in particular as Pancaldi highlights how, much like Beccaria, Volta was able to maintain the multiple identities of professional, man of letters and civil servant, which can be clearly distinguished through the demographic topography of his network.

³⁵² Philip J. Ethington, “Placing the Past: Groundwork for a Spatial Theory of History,” *Rethinking History*, vol. 11, no. 4 (2007): 648-9.

³⁵³ David J. Bodenhamer, “The potential of spatial humanities,” in *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, eds. David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan and Trevor M. Harris (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

³⁵⁴ Available at <http://geoweb.ugent.be/project-en/56b300773004c06e6f468c38?r=cartogis>

³⁵⁵ Giuliano Pancaldi, *Volta: Science and Culture in the Age of Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 174–5.

The spatial element of the Republic of Letters has also provoked more conceptual reflections on the nature of distance, in particular as a tool for constructing identity and authority: “Distance lends enchantment: the more distant in social space or time is the locus of creation of knowledge the more certain it is.”³⁵⁶ Distance, rather than necessarily something to be countered, became productive, essential to the legitimation of knowledge claims and lending prestige to those most touched by its effects. Mario Biagioli has reflected at length on the connection between distance and knowledge claims in his monograph *Galileo’s Instruments of Credit: Telescopes, Images, Secrecy*, arguing that scientific authority was partially generated by the effect of negotiation carried out at distance, with delays, absences, brokered connections, partiality, gaps and differences helping to construct perceptions. Knowledge, rather than conquering distance, travelling from centre to periphery, or vice versa, is conversely constituted through “a range of distance-based partial perceptions” generated by the transactions between distant places.³⁵⁷ Distance was thus an essential factor in generating the prestige and illusion of the Republic of Letters. The very act of engaging with like-minded individuals, thousands of miles away, whom one would never meet, both encouraged free speech and augmented the status of the Republic and its citizens, granting the Republic of Letters the intellectual freedom and intellectual standing which so defined its ethos. Distance was similarly a historical phenomenon, as John Brewer and Silvia Sebastiani have addressed in their introduction to the “Forum: Closeness and distance in the Age of Enlightenment”.³⁵⁸ It is arguable that without this concept of distance, the Republic of Letters could not exist at all. As we shall see in the final section of this chapter, which focuses on the stylistic practices used to counter the effects of distance in Beccaria’s own network, distance was not necessarily a destructive force, nor were the effects of mediated communication, as ultimately correspondents compensated for the gaps in their networks by consciously simulating proximity. While the rhetoric of the Republic of Letters as an imagined community was an antidote to the effects of distance, other tools were similarly used to counterbalance this space, which Callisen and Adkins

³⁵⁶ H. M. Collins, *Changing Order: Replication and Induction in Scientific Practice* (London: Sage Publications, 1985), 45.

³⁵⁷ Mario Biagioli, *Galileo’s Instruments of Credit: Telescopes, Images, Secrecy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 26.

³⁵⁸ John Brewer and Silvia Sebastiani, “Forum: Closeness and Distance in the Age of Enlightenment. Introduction,” *Modern Intellectual History*, vol. 11, no. 3 (2014): 604–5.

have referred to as “techniques of virtuality”.³⁵⁹ Literary elements like the reference of previous letters, or reports on one’s health or everyday activities, helped to minimise distance by mimicking conversation dynamics, therein invoking physical proximity.³⁶⁰ This could also include visual elements of ritual and simulation, such as handwriting and types of wax seal, the exchange of gifts, or artefacts, which in extending an element of the author’s individuality across time and space, provided a token of co-location compensating for physical absence.³⁶¹

An Italian homme de lettres? The Republic of Letters in the Accademia dei Pugni

The discussion of geography and place in the Republic of Letters leads us to address the divergent national understandings of the Republic of Letters and the *gens des lettres*, and the subsequently diverse attitudes towards the responsibility of its citizens. The predominantly French model of the *homme de lettres* just explored was not uniformly shared across the continent and we do not necessarily see this interpretation transplanted unadulterated into the Milanese context. While Beccaria would have recognised this identity and its overarching philosophical ideal when Morellet identified him as an *homme de lettres*, this reference could have signified a different set of responsibilities. As has been explored above, despite the professed statelessness of the Republic of Letters, regional distinctions can be noted regarding the nature of participation. In his excellent portrait of the man of letters, Roger Chartier actively addressed the differences between the French and Italian context, highlighting three characteristic variations which derived from the differing social composition of these two regions, many of which we see mirrored in Beccaria’s epistolary network. Writing in Italy, Chartier argues, was a privilege of the aristocratic class and, in comparison with France, included a higher number of religious figures.³⁶² In particular, the suppression of religious orders in the late eighteenth century had provoked many members

³⁵⁹ Callisen, Christian T. and Barbara A. Adkins, “The old face of ‘new’ social networks: the republic of letters as a virtual community,” in *IR11.0: Sustainability, Participation, Action, the 11th Annual Conference for the Association of Internet Researchers*, 21-23 Oct. 2010, Gothenburg, Sweden (unpublished).

³⁶⁰ See: Bruno Capaci, *Modelli e occasioni epistolari del settecento* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2011), 79.

³⁶¹ See also: Mauelshagen, “Networks of Trust,” 1–32; Sarah Pearsall, *Atlantic Families, Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

³⁶² Roger Chartier, “The Man of Letters,” in *Enlightenment Portraits*, ed. Michel Vovelle (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), 151.

of the clergy and orders to find occupation in publishing, translating, bookselling, journals and periodicals, such as Beccaria's correspondent Fortunato Bartolomeo De Felice, who had left the Franciscans to become a publisher in Protestant Yverdon. As we shall see later, Beccaria's epistolary connections with religious figures comprised 10 percent of his correspondence, a significantly higher proportion than his communication with other social groups, such as members of academic societies for example, who would appear more likely contacts for a man of letters. Most crucially, Chartier continues, Italy had few professional men of letters as was the ideal perpetuated by Voltaire and D'Alembert. As we clearly see in the case of Beccaria and his Milanese coterie, those who were writing usually did so in addition to their primary career, often as administrators, teachers, or in other educated professions, as they were unable to support themselves by their participation as men of letters alone.³⁶³ This split allegiance consequently altered the sense of responsibility Italian citizens of the Republic of Letters had towards the duties of the *homme de lettres*. While Italian rhetoric regarding the philosophical spirit of the man of letters and his role in dispelling superstition often echoed that of their French counterparts,³⁶⁴ the practicalities of living a non-national existence and contributing solely to the advancement of humankind did not always align comfortably with domestic professional duties. However, the inability to become a professional man of letters was also a result of the often considered more oppressive pattern of censorship in the Italian peninsula. Beccaria himself had proclaimed that he feared becoming a Galileo after the publication of *Dei delitti e delle pene*,³⁶⁵ due to the fierce intellectual persecution caused by the Index. The extent to which the booktrade was affected by the Index resulted in a particular dynamic in the Italian peninsula, which rendered its men of letters more dependent on the informal circulation of information and publications via the Republic of Letters. This consequently raises questions as to whether

³⁶³ Chartier, "The Man of Letters," 151.

³⁶⁴ See: Luigi Gonzaga di Castiglione, *Il Letterato buon cittadino: Discorso filosofico e politico* (Rome: Benedetto Francesi, 1776); Daniello Bartoli, *L'uomo di lettere difeso ed emendato*, 1645 (earliest treatise specifically on man of letters). Chartier, "The Man of Letters", 169–170: "If the status of the man of letters was defined by his active membership in the various institutions and sociabilities of the society of literary people, it was also defined by the many and contradictory discourses that gave it objective expression... The most traditional one had an undercurrent of moral and pedagogical intent. Its roots lay in the earliest work explicitly dedicated to the man of letters, the *Dell'uomo di lettere di difeso e emendato. parti due* by a Jesuit, Daniello Bartoli." Ibid., 170: "The work stresses the dignity of the career of letters against all detractors, and it draws a close connection between intellectual activity and absolute disinterest, proposing to the man of letters that he take as a model the sage of classical antiquity, and to the powerful, the model of the patron."

³⁶⁵ Beccaria to André Morellet (Milan, 26 January 1766), letter 68 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 221.

this circulation was considered to be a greater duty of the Italian man of letters, than the more traditional obligations of cultivating large epistolary networks, producing works of *belles lettres*, or working actively towards the good of humankind through debates.

With Chartier's dissection of the Italian social context in mind, if we turn to Beccaria's correspondence and the *Il Caffè* journal, we find some revealing glimpses of how language connected to the *homme de lettres* and the Republic of Letters was used, and the connotations these terms bore within this Milanese milieu. Both the *Repubblica letteraria* and the *République des Lettres* were present in the day-to-day exchanges of Beccaria's ego-network, as were related incarnations such as the *Repubblica di Filosofi, repubblica degl'ingegni*³⁶⁶ and the *République des belles lettres*³⁶⁷ which, being used synonymously, speak volumes about both the high level to which the Republic of Letters provided a frame of reference for these correspondents and the extent to which this concept relied on intuitive understanding. While we find few references to the single *homme de lettres*, the plural *gens de lettres, uomini di lettere* and *letterati*, occur frequently. Additionally, we find similar but not identical terms reserved for lettered or sage men who are likewise seen as partaking in the Republic of Letters, including: *gens instruits, hommes d'esprit, hommes éclairés, hommes raisonnables, hommes savans, uomo insigne, uomo ragionevole, uomini saggi, uomo dotto, uomini illuminati and uomo filosofo*. Beccaria and his correspondents were entirely conscious and referential of the Republic of Letters and its citizens and while their musings on its structure and ambition were often more poetic or polemic than conclusive, they were insistent in referring to a single Republic of Letters in which they themselves partook. Even though no formal definition is ever offered, there exists an implicit and loose, shared understanding of what the Republic was, who its citizens were and which virtues it extolled, and its reference remains a term of shared identity as well as an epistolary custom. However, acknowledging that they were part of the Republic of Letters did not mean that Beccaria and his peers were uncritical of its workings. At many points, the Republic of Letters is an object of ridicule, for example in the article "Agli scrittori del Caffè". Here, an anonymous fictional correspondent presents the *Il Caffè* writers with his dilemma: "Io son un uomo che non ha mai stampato cosa

³⁶⁶ Alessandro Verri, "Dei difetti della letteratura e di alcune loro cagioni," in *Il Caffè*, 552: "Ma succede dappoi che questi corpi pubblici della letteratura, che questi senati delle scienze acquistano di mano in mano uno spirito parziale di corpo che si oppone all'universale libertà della repubblica degl'ingegni."

³⁶⁷ Sacco to Beccaria (Lyon, 25 October 1766), letter 158 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 459.

alcuna, e vorrei coll'aiuto vostro passar matricolato autore a diventare un membro della repubblica letteraria". Desperate to become a citizen of the Republic of Letters, the contributor despairs that so many, less knowledgeable than himself, are given the honour of seeing their work in print and proceeds to give the writers advice concerning the overly serious tone of their journal:³⁶⁸ advice which he considers sage enough to be printed, thus providing his absurd request with an equally absurd solution. Its mocking tone aside, the brief entry criticises the hackneyed perceptions held of the Republic of Letters and the common perception, contrary to the image projected by Voltaire, that one had to be a writer to enter the Republic. Some articles are more scathing however, such as Pietro Verri's "Dell'onore che ottiensi dai veri Uomini di lettere", which demonstrates how the divide between the ideal and the real Republic of Letters was of great concern. Criticising the Republic of Letters for its failure to live up to its own professed values, Verri proceeds to divide the Republic into two classes, the *nobili letterati* and the *letterati plebei*: the first smaller group comprising those genuinely dedicated to the advancement of human knowledge, the latter, those merely preferring a sedentary life.³⁶⁹ While the *nobili letterati* are celebrated by sovereigns across Europe for their enlightenment of the public and dissemination of useful truths, the rabble of *letterati plebei* denounces the injustices of the century and the decay of Letters.³⁷⁰ It is a sentiment echoed in Alessandro Verri's later article, "Voti sinceri agli onesti Letterati", in which he criticises the erudite community and the perversion of the *letterati* away from their dedication to the instruction and perfection of the human race. The propensity of the *letterati* to jealously guard their work and instinctively insult those who attempted to contribute to the good of the human intellect, bore little hope for any growth in the mass of human knowledge. In their articles, both Alessandro and Pietro present a vision of a corrupted Republic of Letters, infested by arrogance, competition and revenge, yet both clearly envision a Republic which ought to be based on a spirit of community, the love of knowledge and reason, and a "certain

³⁶⁸ People, he states, desire laughter more than instruction.

³⁶⁹ Pietro Verri, "Dell'onore che ottiensi dai veri uomini di lettere," in *Il Caffè*, 284: "la prima classe è quella de' pochi, i quali dalla natura felicemente disposti e dalla educazione preparati a coltivar le cognizioni umane, tratti da una spinta interna e da un amore del vero o della gloria, coltivano il sapere e comunicano talvolta al pubblico le idee che vanno rischiarando; la seconda classe è di que' molti, i quali o per inerzia di preferire un mestiere sedentario ad uno più faticoso, ovvero per una vana lusinga di credere importanti quelle frivole cognizioni che per una sventurata educazione hanno preferite alle altre, prendon la penna in mano e vi sporcano fogli, quinterni e risme di carta noiosissimamente. La prima classe è dei nobili letterati, quei della seconda sono i letterati plebei."

³⁷⁰ Pietro Verri, "Dell'onore che ottiensi dai veri uomini di lettere," in *Il Caffè*, 286.

modesty". It was not the first time the brothers had criticised the Republic. Writing to his brothers in 1766, Pietro claimed: "questa Repubblica di Filosofi ha, per quanto mi pare, molto dell'indole de' Romani, molto fanatismo per la Patria e per la libertà propria e altrui, e con questi principi non è libera forse nel suo interno e opprime gli esteri che non vogliono entrare in aleanza."³⁷¹ The fanaticism of the Republic of Letters for the patria and liberty, Pietro argued, stifled any internal liberty and provoked it to oppress those outside the Republic. In fact, Pietro would consolidate his criticism of *patriotismo* in the *Modo di terminare le dispute* in 1797:

Questo vocabolo significa un disinteressato e costante amore della patria. Nelle rivoluzioni politiche i faziosi, e turbolenti ne in alberano la insegna e con questa maschera cercano di farsi valere. Ma chi serve a una fazione, chi sconvolge l'ordine sociale, chi eccita la guerra civile, chi calpesta la morale, chi non paga i suoi debiti, chi individiosamente attenta alle proprietà, non è un Patriota, ma bensì un Catilinario, un ipocrita, uno scellerato. Volete voi conoscere un buon patriota? Fatevi render conto di quanto ha fatto la Patria.

Writing to his wife during his trip to Paris, Beccaria too reflected at some length on the *uomini di lettere*, disappointed by the difference between the Parisians and the Milanese:

Tutti questi uomini di lettere mi hanno ricevuto colle braccia aperte; tante sono le cose che si dicono e si fanno in mio favore che vi sarebbe di che far girare la testa a più d'uno. Spero che questo fenomeno non mi accaderà. La semplicità nelle maniere, la somma decenza e politezza, la libertà, i riguardi reciproci e tutta la libertà nello stesso tempo si trova nelle loro conversazioni. Non trovasi in loro quella bassa gelosia nazionale, quella ostentazione di primato di cui sono infettati tanti uomini anche di sommo ingegno in Italia.³⁷²

Beccaria's embarrassment at the Italian tendency for national jealousy in comparison to the decency and liberty of the Parisians underlines the stark division in his impression of the man of letters between Paris and Italy. The image of the Parisian men of letters that Beccaria espouses is remarkably similar to the ideal model described in the *Encyclopédie*, while the domestic situation confirms Pietro Verri's assertion that the love of the *Patria* had tainted the actual state of the Republic of Letters. Beccaria similarly remarked on the avarice pervading the Republic of Letters in "De' fogli periodici", criticising those who "cedendo all'ambizione di divenire dittatori della liberissima repubblica delle lettere," again

³⁷¹ Pietro to his brothers (Milano, 26 October 1766) in Carlo Casati, ed. and Alessandro Verri. *Lettere E Scritti Inediti Di Pietro E Di Alessandro Verri, Annotati E Pubblicati Dal Dottor C. Casati*, vol. 1, (Milano, 1879), 317.

³⁷² Beccaria to Teresa Blasco Beccaria (Paris, 25 October 1766), letter 157 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 457.

drawing attention to the corruption of the ideal of the Republic of Letters. It would suggest that Cesare Beccaria shared the idyllic vision of the *homme de lettres*' responsibilities however he maintained a sizeable reluctance to remove himself altogether from the active political sphere. Stressing that “non picciolo vantaggio può arrecare lo studio di una scienza non rinchiusa nella solitudine di un gabinetto”, Beccaria contradicted Chartier's description of the men of letters, as “men dedicated to study, to reading, and to their *cabinet*”,³⁷³ implying that his understanding of the man of letters was one which combined both active participation in governance and the liberty of mind central to the *homme de lettres*.

The potential contribution of the men of letters to society is addressed at multiple points throughout *Il Caffè*. Addressing the issue of literary disputes within the Republic of Letters, Verri argues in “Pensieri sullo spirito della letteratura d'Italia” that while such quarrels could benefit the advancement of humankind's knowledge, they are often rendered futile by being vitriolic and personal attacks as opposed to honest and peaceful searches for truth. Claiming that the disputes between La Motte and Dacier, and Voltaire and D'Alembert epitomised this decent and productive style of disagreement, Verri states that insults and bitter scholasticism were the outlet of unfortunate writers, who had better heed the warning of the fable of the snake and the file: “We may meet our match”.³⁷⁴ Thus, Verri argues that the *uomini di lettere* have much to contribute to society, provided that they do not let the voices of fools distract them from their purpose.³⁷⁵ Comparing the “aristotelici delle lettere” – so common in Italy – to book collectors, whose preference for the elegance of the binding over the content of the work would result in them choosing the works of Gomez bound in calf skin over the history of De Thou bound in parchment, Verri demonstrates how the misguided interests of the men of letters hinders the development of thought. Similarly, Verri interprets the *uomo dotto* to also serve to augment the nation. Possessing a philosophical spirit similar to that of the *Encyclopédie*'s *homme de lettres*, Verri claims that the title of *uomo dotto* has greatly evolved over the centuries and the philosophical spirit has expanded due to the refinement of the human heart and sensibility

³⁷³ Chartier, “The Man of Letters,” 142.

³⁷⁴ Aesop: A snake, in a fix, tried a File/For a dinner. “’Tis not worth your while,”/ Said the steel, “Don't mistake; /I'm accustomed to *take*;/ To *give*'s not the way of a File.” *We may meet our match*.

³⁷⁵ Pietro Verri, “Pensieri sullo spirito della letteratura d'Italia,” in *Il Caffè*, 221.

beyond the confines of physics, to include eloquence, poetry, history and fine art.³⁷⁶ Placing the *uomo dotto* in contrast to the *uomo filosofo* “who examines before forming opinion, who weighs objects independently of sentiment”,³⁷⁷ Verri concludes that the *uomo dotto* has adopted a new social role directed towards the advancement of knowledge and the nation. Verri claims that Italy is slowly escaping from the pedantry of words and the obscurity of the scared who write the lowest forms of literature, and he interprets this progress as proof of the power of the philosophical spirit in raising Italy to be among the cultured nations of Europe. In fact, in Alessandro Verri’s “Voti sinceri agli onesti letterati” we see that the *letterato*, whose patria was the universe, is considered to be the safest protector of the nation itself.

Se desidera ogni buon cittadino che le case della sua patria sieno ben fabbricate, i campi ben coltivati, i giudici incorrotti, le leggi santissime, il vero letterato, la di cui patria è l’universo, molto più deve avere fra i suoi voti che i suoi concittadini non svilipendano sì augusta professione; che le leggi ed il sistema di questa gran repubblica sieno giuste e sagrosante, e che non sia riposta al luogo di una onesta libertà, di una ragionevole indipendenza, una licenza enorme ed una scandalosa e dannosissima anarchia.³⁷⁸

It is reminiscent of D’Alembert’s argument that the *gens de lettres*, once completely independent of patronage and pride, would be able to transform the Republic of Letters from a sociable into a true community, which would in turn wield independent political power. As Dena Goodman has claimed, “When men of letters sought to establish themselves as the arbiters of public opinion, they did so because they recognised its power”,³⁷⁹ and it is this same sentiment that Verri had espoused, touting the potential of the *letterato* in reforming the nation precisely through his distance from the patria. However, his article demonstrates that patriotism and cosmopolitanism are not necessarily antagonistic and it reflects the different perception of participation in the Republic of Letters shared among the *Il Caffè* group. While Beccaria admired the Parisian *gens des lettres*, he and his colleagues hesitated at the prospect of total detachment from domestic politics. This was no blind patriotism, which was fervently criticised as being in opposition to true liberty, nor was it a rejection of the cosmopolitan responsibilities of French *homme de lettres*. Rather, through their staunch criticism of the actual state of the Republic of letters as compared to

³⁷⁶ Pietro Verri, “Pensieri sullo spirito della letteratura d’Italia,” in *Il Caffè*, 217.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Alessandro Verri, “Voti sinceri agli onesti letterati,” in *Il Caffè*, 571.

³⁷⁹ Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 40.

its ideal, the group revealed their dedication to its ethos and, drawing attention to how the introspection of the Republic of Letters led to the perversion of its own ideas, the group articulated a more practical vision of the Republic of Letters where cosmopolitanism and patriotism were not mutually exclusive, but symbiotically served to counterbalance each other.

Rethinking letters and the Republic of Letters

Despite the apparent centrality of correspondence to the Republic of Letters, letters are often sidelined in preference of canon texts. Gian Paolo Romagnani's chapter in the excellent collection *Le Carte Vive: epistolari e carteggi nel settecento*,³⁸⁰ directly addresses this issue, identifying three trends in traditional approaches to correspondence which minimise the potential of letters to significantly contribute to historical scholarship: the use of letters as anecdotal sources to provide biographical colour; isolated literary interpretations which take little account of the context of the writing and finally, historical treatments lacking reflections on stylistic elements vital to correct interpretation.³⁸¹ In their place, Romagnani offers three ways of using correspondence to enrich historical study which echo strongly throughout this research. Firstly, Romagnani argues that letters should contribute to traditional intellectual histories and political-diplomatic history, alongside key texts. Secondly, correspondence could be studied quantitatively using databases as per Annales school methodologies of the seventies and eighties, in order to investigate the attitudes of social groups, professions and genders. Finally, he claims that correspondence networks could be interpreted qualitatively to contribute to socio-cultural histories, aimed at reconstructing everyday practices and attitudes towards these practices.³⁸² Romagnani is not alone in calling for the restoration of letters to the intellectual corpus. Brigitte Diaz has similarly critiqued the biographical annexing of correspondence, claiming that the marginalisation of the epistolary genre, detaching it from the author's greater oeuvre, prevents the adequate exploration of larger questions.³⁸³ Arguing that letters oscillate

³⁸⁰ Corrado Viola, ed., *Le carte vive: Epistolari e carteggi nel settecento* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2011).

³⁸¹ Gian Paolo Romagnani, "Epistolare e carteggi nella storiografia italiana ed europea sul settecento," in *Le carte vive*, 12–13.

³⁸² Romagnani, "Epistolare e carteggi," 13.

³⁸³ Brigitte Diaz, "État des études épistolaires en France," in *Le carte vive*, 100: "Parce qu'elles sont l'interface entre l'auteur, sa vie, son oeuvre, les correspondances constituent des postes

between the private and the public, the familiar and the literary, the intimate and the social, Diaz argues that these hybrid sources demand a more diverse set of approaches and calls for the literary rehabilitation of correspondence.³⁸⁴ Letter writing, she states is not only a practice, but a literary hypergenre. Looking to the Italian peninsula more specifically, we see that correspondence and epistolary practices in Enlightenment Italy have received significant attention from cultural historians and historians of the book and reading.³⁸⁵ Generating an extensive corpus rigorously dissecting the nature of Italian letter-writing styles and traditions, and providing methodologies best suited to this study, this scholarship is detached from discussions regarding the Republic of Letters, focusing more on stylistic and social aspects of letter-writing practices. There are several important characteristics that have come to light through this focused study which bear relevance to this thesis. Above all, the eighteenth-century Italian letter saw a transformation in style. Along with a growing expression of familiarity in terms of content – (health, occupations, everyday life, intimacy, sexuality), the language used by correspondents became significantly more “amichevole”, most clearly demonstrated through the frequent replacement of the formal “Lei” or “voi” with the informal “tu”.³⁸⁶ In addition, despite the rise of vernacular print across the continent throughout the eighteenth century, this period simultaneously witnessed the rise of French language in Italian epistolary culture. Partly due to the increasing connections between French and Italian individuals and the international prestige of French as the language of reason, French, as we see in Beccaria’s own collection, became a crucial language of communication, even amongst fellow native Italian speakers.³⁸⁷ However, come the second half of the century, the use of French became a point of consternation and a distinctly anti-French rhetoric pervades later

d’observation particulièrement intéressants pour saisir les réalités multiples de la vie littéraire à un moment historique et culturel donné. Il est donc difficile de considérer les correspondances d’écrivains comme une simple annexe biographique, ou comme un ensemble autonome d’écrits seconds et subalternes, quand, au contraire, elles semblent irriguer et dynamier toute la machine d’écriture. C’est bien de l’intérieur et non des marges, que la lettre explore et questionne la littérature, ses formes, ses pratiques, ses mythologies.”

³⁸⁴ Diaz, “État des études épistolaires en France,” 91–2.

³⁸⁵ Under the influence of Henri-Jean Martin, Francois Furet, Daniel Roche, Roger Chartier, Claude Labrosse, Robert Darnton, Lynn Hunt, Elisabeth Eisenstein, R. Engelsing, and Paul Goetsch. Mario Infelise, “L’utile e il piacevole. Alla ricerca dei lettori italiani del secondo ’700,” in *Gli spazi del libro nell’Europa del XVIII secolo*, eds. M.G. Tavoni and F. Waquet (Bologna: Pàtron Quarto Inferiore, 1997).

³⁸⁶ Romagnani, “Epistolare e carteggi,” 16–17.

³⁸⁷ See Mariarosa Bricchi, “La questione della lingua dal Settecento all’Ottocento,” in *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, vol. 3, eds. Sergio Luzzatto and Gabriele Pedullà (Turin: Einaudi, 2012).

writing, alongside an impassioned discourse calling for a modern Italian language unrestrained by the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, as lobbied for by the the *Il Caffè* journal. Finally, with sharp increases in literacy,³⁸⁸ including amongst women, and with the improvement of postal services, numbers of potential correspondents grew dramatically, further perpetuating epistolary culture. Expanding beyond the realm of the purely elite, Italian letter-writing became less refined and less erudite, so as to include a wider crosssection of the now literate public, increasingly able to partake in more functional, informal and cheaper epistolary practices.³⁸⁹

However, while the ethos of the Republic of Letters has been heavily romanticised, the early modern letter has been similarly praised for ushering in profound intellectual and social change, freeing savants from the stifling ties of patronage and geography. Epistolary communication is commonly seen as the backbone of European scholarly exchange, facilitating an unprecedented circulation of knowledge amongst an otherwise untenable community. While few would refute the power of epistolary communication to effect intellectual change, there is growing dissatisfaction with the veneration and sanctity of letters as the sole vectors of the Republic of Letters. Traditional scholarship has stressed the importance of reciprocity as a fundamental principle of this Republic. It was a community whose very existence relied on individuals' strict dedication to regular correspondence and whose members saw the constant circulation of letters as a moral duty above all else.³⁹⁰ Some interpretations even go so far as to assert that individuals could not be considered as citizens of the Republic if they did not establish sufficient epistolary networks, pinpointing that participation valued correspondence networks over all other intellectual contributions.³⁹¹ Recently however, questions have been raised regarding whether letters were as essential a form of membership within this community

³⁸⁸ See Elena Brambilla, "La misura dell'alfabetizzazione nella Lombardia del primo Ottocento: primi risultati e prospettive di ricerca," in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, CX (1984), 366–374.

³⁸⁹ See Fabio Forner, "Per una storia dell'epistolografia nel settecento," in *Le carte vive*, 41–5.

³⁹⁰ Grafton, *A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent*, 9: "The constant writing and sending of letters was more than a system for collecting and exchanging information. The citizens of the Republic saw it as a moral duty: at once the only way to show their sympathy and affection for those from whom political and religious borders separated them and the only way to enter into a regular relationship with the greats who glittered far away."

³⁹¹ Van Miert, "What was the Republic of Letters?," 2: "People became part of this community by the very act of writing letters: those scholars who failed or refused to establish sustained lines of communication, could not be reckoned as citizens of this Republic".

as has been previously suggested. Did one truly have to be an active letter-writer to be part of this Republic of Letters or were there other means of inclusion? The name alone would suggest the former, yet the limited correspondence of characters such as Cesare Beccaria indicate a more sophisticated outlook on participation. With the evolution of the Republic of Letters over the centuries, it is arguable that epistolary connections were not necessarily the most central aspect of the Republic come the latter half of the eighteenth century. As already addressed, the transformation of the term Republic of Letters to come to mean a broader community of scholarly individuals, diverts focus away from correspondence, suggesting that participation relied more on the perceived intellectual endeavours of an individual and their potential contribution to the corpus of republican scholarship, than on the prestige generated by their active enrichment of their epistolary network. In addition, with the rise of material histories, attention has been drawn towards the reality that it was not just letters which were being exchanged within this community, but also objects, gifts, technical drawings, documents, maps, manuscripts and sketches, amongst other items.³⁹² In Beccaria's correspondence for example, we see that he is part of the circulation of far more than just letters, including scholarly items such as books and manuscripts (which will be discussed at length in the following chapter), objects of scientific value and curiosity such as seeds, as well as commodities like fabric and watches. In these cases, it is hard to definitively distinguish between intellectual exchange and more modest goods exchange, and we see that this epistolary network served a multitude of circulation purposes, often very much entangled. The Republic of Letters on a grander scale similarly comprised a multitude of overlapping networks of various forms of knowledge exchange and consequently letters need to be placed in relation to other circulating media. While members of the Republic of Letters did send letters, this was not the only factor determining their involvement in this community, nor was it the exclusive propeller driving this network of exchange come the late eighteenth century.

³⁹² As Mauelshagen observed, all kinds of objects were exchanged in the Republic of Letters: "An exchange of objects was directly associated with the interactive potential of correspondence networks. Even though many objects of exchange did not belong to letters or to the text of a letter, they have to be looked upon as an essential part of correspondence". Franz Mauelshagen, "Networks of Trust and Imagined Community of the Learned," *Medieval History Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2003): 1–32. See also, Daniel Roche *Les Républicains des Lettres Lettres: Gens de culture et Lumières au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1988).

By interpreting the Republic of Letters as a series of networks of knowledge exchange, we transform the role of the letter altogether. In this interpretation, the epistolary network becomes one of multiple channels of communication and exchange propagated by enlightened men and women of letters. Removing letters from their isolated pedestal as the sole driving force of the Republic of Letters thus enables us to recontextualise correspondence in the wider circulation of knowledge in the Enlightenment. These reflections are vital to our account of Beccaria’s involvement in the Republic of Letters as, compared to many of his peers, Beccaria maintained a modest correspondence. In contrast to the prolific exchanges of citizens such as Voltaire and Benjamin Franklin, Beccaria’s existing collection – well below the 1000 letter mark – pales in comparison. If we determined levels of cosmopolitanism and participation in the Republic of Letters by depth of correspondence alone, it would be arguable that Beccaria lay very much on the fringes of the Republic of Letters, a conclusion which not only contradicts the recent scholarship highlighted above, but also the role Beccaria himself and his peers perceived him to have held within this community, and ultimately diminishes the value of Beccaria’s correspondence as a historical source. Reframing the Republic of Letters as a structure, as opposed to an ideology or set of letter-writing practices, has been the focus of much recent literature. Of particular influence in this thesis is René Sigrist’s method of “ego-réseaux épistolaires”. Sigrist sets out three methods which can be used in the study of correspondence:³⁹³

1. Counting the number of letters: this method emphasises the total quantity of information exchanged without distinguishing between the nature or type or correspondence or correspondent.
2. Considering all individuals involved in the network: this method focuses on the size of the network without necessarily taking into account the nature or type of correspondence or correspondent.

³⁹³ René Sigrist, “Correspondances scientifiques du 18e siècle: présentation d’une méthode de comparaison,” *Schweizerische Zeitschrift Für Geschichte*, vol. 58, no. 2 (2008), 155–7: “Méthode I... revient à mettre l’accent sur la *quantité totale d’informations échangées*, sans introduire aucune distinction de nature ou de niveau entre correspondants... méthode II revient à effectuer un décompte en termes de personnes impliquées... Cette façon de comptabiliser en fonction des correspondants pris de manière indistincte me davantage l’accent sur la variété ou sur l’*étendue du réseau*... Méthode III s’efforce quant à elle de décrire l’orientations géographique d’un réseau scientifique en ne retenant que les correspondances significatives... Cette comptabilité sélective met l’accent, potentiellement au moins, sur l’*importance des contenus* scientifiques échangés, même si ces contenus on souvent un caractère plus ‘logistique’ ou social que proprement intellectuel.”

3. Considering only those individuals of particular scientific importance: this method lays selective emphasis on the scientific content perceived as important or the individuals considered significant.

Crucially, these approaches are not mutually exclusive, but can be used together to provide a more comprehensive account of the correspondence network under scrutiny. Consequently, this chapter will employ all three of Sigrist's methods, whilst additionally drawing upon Bruno Latour's, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* and the works of David S. Lux and Harold J. Cook, and Mark Granovetter regarding the importance of weak ties within networks.³⁹⁴ Granovetter, who first rejected the priority of strong ties in network studies in his seminal article "The Strength of Weak Ties", has argued for focus to be redirected towards weak ties within networks, which are "indispensable to individuals' opportunities and to their integration into communities; strong ties, breeding social cohesion, lead to overall fragmentation".³⁹⁵ Addressing the debate as to whether ego networks should comprise only direct contacts or "contacts of his contacts, and/or others", Granovetter states that ego networks should be made up of:

Strong and nonbridging weak ties on the one hand, and that of bridging weak ties on the other" as "such ties are then of importance not only in ego's manipulation of networks, but also in that they are the channels through which ideas, influences, or information socially distant from ego may reach him. The fewer indirect contact one has the more encapsulated he will be in terms of knowledge and the world beyond his own friendship circle; thus, bridging weak ties (and the consequent indirect contacts) are important in both ways."³⁹⁶

Following on from both Granovetter's work and Latour's network theory which breaks through closed circles to reveal the diversity of actors, both human and non-human in the production of knowledge, Lux and Cook reject the concepts of circles and classes in their study of seventeenth-century scientific communication to conclude that the "success of the new philosophy depended on the proliferation of weak ties, which could be robust exactly because they were inclusive and pluralistic."³⁹⁷ In addition, Stanford's *Mapping the Republic of Letters* project, which traces worldwide correspondence amongst key individuals and

³⁹⁴ Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–1380; David S. Lux and Harold J. Cook, "Closed Circles or Open Networks?: Communicating at a Distance During the Scientific Revolution," *History of Science*, vol. 36 (1998): 179–211.

³⁹⁵ Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," 1378.

³⁹⁶ Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," 1370–1.

³⁹⁷ Lux and Cook, "Closed Circles or Open Networks?," 181–202.

Philosophes between 1700 and 1750, has inspired this research to use maps to illustrate the geographical range of Beccaria's correspondence, alongside the quantity of letters sent to these locations and the number of correspondents located there. This methodological tool helps to introduce a wider scale to this research, as it draws attention to the geographical span of Beccaria's network across the Republic of Letters, providing a clear, visual resource through which to illustrate his entangled networks and articulate the "who" with, "what type" and "where" questions arising from Beccaria's correspondence.

Mapping Beccaria's Epistolary Network

Intellectual history and digital history

Historians have recently turned towards the digital humanities with great enthusiasm. Long term projects such as Stanford's *Mapping the Republic of Letters*, Western Sydney University's *Mapping Print, Charting Enlightenment, Six Degrees of Francis Bacon*, Harvard's *Visualizing Historical Networks, Reassembling the Republic of Letters*, EMLO and *Cultures of Knowledge: Networking the Republic of Letters 1550–1750; Circulation of Knowledge and Learned Practices in the 17th-century Dutch Republic* amongst additional ongoing digitisation programmes such as EEBO and Electronic Enlightenment, linked data collaborations such as Europeana, and many other rich sources have begun to yield significant results, inspiring and shaping a younger generation of digital platforms like the NULab for Texts, Maps, and Networks at Northeastern University's, *Viral Texts: Mapping Networks of Reprinting in 19th-Century Newspaper and Magazines* and University of North Texas and Stanford University's *Mapping Texts*. These ambitious digital projects have embraced spatial and textual analysis, engaged with bibliometrics and text-mining, explored network analysis and have even inspired new history-specific digital platforms, such as *Papermachines*, to be developed by historians with purely historical questions in mind, all with the intention of generating large-scale quantitative results to be visualised, analysed and ever-enhanced through open-access and project collaboration. And the digital humanities are being explored in more than just digital forms. Recent publications such as Jo Guldi and David Armitage's *The History Manifesto* and Peter de Bolla's *The Architecture of Concepts: The Historical Formation of Human Rights* have been battle cries calling for new approaches synthesising the digital humanities

with intellectual histories,³⁹⁸ translating the data from these digital platforms into solid historical studies.

Of direct relevance to this work, we have seen the success of digital tools in studies on the early modern period, above all using network visualisations and historical mapping. These tools have captured the imagination of historians working on the Enlightenment, the Republic of Letters and early modern correspondence, and digital history has formed the backbone to recent publications in a diverse range of subfields, among them, intellectual biography, prosopography and book history. However, there still remains a limited number of intellectual histories embracing digital history and “big data”. Even though projects such as EEBO and ECCO are crucial databases for intellectual historians working on the Enlightenment, digital tools are, by and large, seen as supporting rather than shaping conclusions. Yet, the digital does not have to threaten the sanctity of the text as the staple of intellectual history, nor is it incompatible with the dominant methodological approaches of much of today’s intellectual history, Cambridge School contextualism and *Begriffsgeschichte* included. On the contrary, this thesis posits that digital tools are particularly suited to intellectual history, provided we are willing to experiment with the initial boundary of what makes intellectual history. The ability to generate, converge and mine quantitative contextual information regarding extended intellectual networks, reading patterns, geographical trends, the evolution of concepts, and information exchange, all aspects which are frequently used in more modest quantity to ground intellectual thought into its time and place, can only advance traditional intellectual histories. This thesis thus intends to contribute to the growing collection of intellectual histories encouraging the compatibility of digital history with traditional contextual approaches such as Mark J. Hill’s “Invisible interpretations: reflections on the digital humanities and intellectual history”;³⁹⁹ Jennifer A. London’s “Re-imagining the Cambridge School in the Age of Digital Humanities”;⁴⁰⁰ Arianna Betti and Hein van den Berg’s “Modelling the History of Ideas”;⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁸ Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge, United Kingdom : Cambridge University Press, 2015); Peter De Bolla, *The Architecture of Concepts: The Historical Formation of Human Rights* (New York : Fordham University Press, 2013).

³⁹⁹ Mark J. Hill, “Invisible interpretations: reflections on the digital humanities and intellectual history,” *Global Intellectual History*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2016): 130–150.

⁴⁰⁰ Jennifer A. London, “Re-imagining the Cambridge School in the Age of Digital Humanities,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 19 (2016): 351–373.

⁴⁰¹ Arianna Betti and Hein van den Berg, “Modelling the History of Ideas,” *British Journal for the*

Marie Leca-Tsiomi's "The Use and Abuse of the Digital Humanities in the History of Ideas: How to Study the Encyclopédie";⁴⁰² and finally the collaborative publication "Historical Research in a Digital Age: Reflections from the Mapping the Republic of Letters Project".⁴⁰³ Still, despite our growing awareness of its limitations and dangers, studies embracing the digital humanities are often viewed as exploratory ventures into an unknown field. Paddy Bullard and Erik Malcolm Champion have both criticised many current digital history projects, above all for focusing predominantly on the digitisation of texts, without making sufficient use of their digital archive to ask new questions or present new conclusions.⁴⁰⁴

This thesis is not a digital history in terms of providing an online, participatory platform with data which the reader can freely access, explore, mine and interpret. Rather, digital tools have provided the means from which to make substantive conclusions in parallel with and complementing the wider intellectual history written here. Above all, this primary segment seeks to articulate, through using digital tools and quantitative analysis, how Beccaria's correspondence reflects a more extensive and geographically diverse involvement in the Republic of Letters with a diversity of intellectual and professional groups, than is commonly assumed. Aligning digital with analog historical study brings not only an important analytical and interpretative layer to digital history, but also serves to aid and, in this case, complicate traditional textual scholarly approaches. There are caveats to this approach. To quote Dan Edelstein, "numbers are not final: they are there to suggest general patterns and to solicit interpretations".⁴⁰⁵ This rightfully articulates the mantra for historians engaging with digital forms. Any conclusions from digital approaches must be condensed into the analyses and narratives of qualitative research. Digital tools are there to "amplify and augment" close reading and analysis: they provide conclusions about data,

History of Philosophy, vol. 22, no. 4 (2014): 812–835.

⁴⁰² Marie Leca-Tsiomis, "The Use and Abuse of the Digital Humanities in the History of Ideas: How to Study the Encyclopédie," *History of European Ideas*, vol. 39, no. 4 (2013): 467–476.

⁴⁰³ Dan Edelstein, Paula Findlen, Giovanna Ceserani, Caroline Winterer and Nicole Coleman; "Historical Research in a Digital Age: Reflections from the Mapping the Republic of Letters Project," *American Historical Review*, vol. 122, no. 2 (2017): 400–424.

⁴⁰⁴ See: Paddy Bullard, "Digital Humanities and Electronic Resources in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Literature Compass*, vol. 10, no. 10 (2013): 749–760; Erik Malcolm Champion, "Digital Humanities is Text Heavy, Visualization Light, and Simulation Poor," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, vol. 32, supplement 1 (2017): i25–i32.

⁴⁰⁵ Dan Edelstein, "Intellectual History and Digital Humanities," *Modern Intellectual History*, vol. 13, no.1, 237–246.

whilst the historian makes conclusions about history.⁴⁰⁶ We must proceed with caution, but proceed we must.

Cesare Beccaria's correspondence network: An overview

As networks are dynamic bodies, fluctuating and evolving over time, the most valuable way of exploring Beccaria's epistolary connections is by employing a visual approach which maps the networks he was involved in, geographically, socially and chronologically. To do so, it is necessary to begin with the complete collection of letters preserved in the *Edizione Nazionale*, which provides us with the largest, most inclusive picture of Beccaria's network of correspondents, before then scaling this collection down to investigate in greater detail the chronological, geographical and thematic elements of this network and changes in the network's structure. The correspondence indicates that Beccaria maintained an exceedingly wide network of recurrent and itinerant contacts throughout the period 1758–1794 and, when grouped together, these correspondents display a diverse range of professions, nationalities and geographical locations. Arranging Beccaria's contacts by profession and location helps us to reveal the particular types of people and institutions with whom he was in regular communication and the geographical loci of certain professions such as booksellers, publishers, scientific and *belles lettres* academies. Cesare Beccaria's existing correspondence includes 599 letters from a total of 219 correspondents between the years 1758–1794. If we divide these between the years of Beccaria's early career and the period after the split of *Il Caffè* where Beccaria enters the state service, first as the Chair Cameral Science and then as a functionary proper, we see that there are 260 letters between 1758–1768 and 335 letters between 1769–1794. Sadly, this collection is just a fraction of the number of letters sent and received by Beccaria throughout his lifetime. It is possible to calculate through direct references in the correspondence that, at the very least, 168 letters are missing from the edition, an unfortunate 142 of which are letters from Beccaria himself – almost 50 percent of the total number of letters we know Beccaria wrote for sure. We cannot hazard a guess at how many more letters might be missing, but considering Beccaria's fame at the height of *Dei delitti e delle pene's* success and his many years within the Lombard administration it seems likely that even a reluctant letter-writer such as Beccaria

⁴⁰⁶ Justin Grimmer and Brandon M. Stewart, "Text as Data: The Promise and Pitfalls of Automatic Content Analysis Methods for Political Texts," *Political Analysis*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2013): 267–297.

might well have had a larger body of correspondence than we have left today. The whereabouts of these missing letters has provoked great speculation and intrigue. Stendhal reportedly claimed that Francesco Reina had shown him a number of Beccaria's letters in 1816.⁴⁰⁷ Yet, there has been little success in exhuming this precious body of correspondence and speculation on the location of Beccaria's missing correspondence yields few results. In our attempts to recover Beccaria's philosophy and in our preoccupation with the realm of ideas it is easy to forget that letters are ultimately material, perishable objects which were rarely intended to end up in the historian's hands. Consequently, we need to embrace this material dimension when reconstructing Beccaria's epistolary network. That Beccaria was himself phlegmatic about preserving his collection of correspondence,⁴⁰⁸ that his fame made his letters highly covetable in the immediate period after his death, that without proper conservation technologies eighteenth-century paper is subject to wear and tear, and, most simply, that more than 250 years have passed since many of these letters were written, are all crucial material aspects that account for some of the gaps in Beccaria's correspondence and we must take this into consideration and alter our approaches accordingly. Letters are but tangible objects and where they are missing there can be no possible way to reconstruct Beccaria's complete epistolary network. Our methods must thus be sympathetic to this reality. Any network we restore will only ever help us lean towards an understanding of Beccaria's original network – we cannot produce a complete representation but solely an abstraction of this community.⁴⁰⁹ Still, if we can acknowledge the inherently abstracted nature of our reconstructed network then the remaining letters prove sufficient in revealing the basic working of Beccaria's network, provided we remain mindful of its limitations. We are not trying to photograph the “social reality” but simply, as Claire Lemerrier states, “visualize properties that are difficult to describe with words, or to navigate scales, as a graph is particularly suited to both allow the

⁴⁰⁷ In *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. V, 731.

⁴⁰⁸ Quote from Verri, *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. V, 730.

⁴⁰⁹ See Claire Lemerrier, “Formal Network Methods in History: Why and How?,” in *Rural History in Europe, vol. 11: Social Networks, Political Institutions, and Rural Societies*, ed. G. Fertig (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2015): “the aim is [not] to describe, or map, all the ties that exist around one actor, or between a set of actors. Here lies the fundamental ambiguity of network studies, that has too often been maintained by network specialists themselves, commenting on graphs as if they were maps or photographs of ‘all the ties that exist here’... we do not find any complete representation of reality... our aim is not to ‘map social reality’ generally, but to understand the patterns of precisely defined ties, by deliberately abstracting them in order to carefully consider their effects, their origins... their changes in response to external events and their consequences.”

identification of individual position, of meso-scale patterns and of a global shape.”⁴¹⁰

Of greater concern are the implications of working with fragmented, asymmetric epistolary exchanges. As the remaining correspondence is disproportionately comprised of letters to, as opposed to from Beccaria, we face significant methodological and conceptual challenges when recreating Beccaria’s network, especially with regards to understanding the strength of relationship ties. When we have no trace of any reply from Beccaria to a correspondent, or we have a selection of letters where all responses from Beccaria are missing, then interpreting this relationship becomes increasingly challenging and we have to avoid preemptively making assumptions explaining why these letters are missing. Rather than fill these gaps with speculation it is far more fruitful to accept the asymmetry of the correspondence and reflect instead upon the nature of communication asymmetry as a phenomenon in itself. Material considerations aside, there are several contextual reasons that help explain the asymmetry of the correspondence and two often-linked models of asymmetry are particularly worth noting in Beccaria’s case: social asymmetry and information asymmetry. Regarding this first asymmetry, asymmetrical correspondence is often considered to be a telling indicator of social ties and hierarchies.⁴¹¹ The direction of the heavier correspondence flow can underscore a skewed power dynamic between two actors, where the socially superior individual can be identified by their lowered obligation to reply or initiate communication. Asymmetric correspondence can subsequently bring to light power relationships and the social hierarchy that two actors perceived to exist between one another, which is not always conveyed through textual settings. Thus, by examining the asymmetry of letter exchanges we can re-evaluate our understanding of social and intellectual hierarchies within Beccaria’s network. If, for example, two individuals who are formally of the same rank display a social asymmetry in their correspondence, thereby suggesting that there is a perceived power imbalance sensed by these individuals, this alters our understanding of how the social dynamics of this epistolary network. Social hierarchies exist not just in society at large, but also on smaller scales within networks and analysing social asymmetry consequently helps us to decipher these more

⁴¹⁰ Lemerrier, “Formal Network Methods in History”.

⁴¹¹ See Nora Gädeke, “Leibniz lässt sich informieren – Asymmetrien in seinen Korrespondenzbeziehungen,” in *Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Klaus-Dieter Herbst and Stefan Kratochwil (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2009), 40: “Der Informationsfluss als Indikator sozialer Beziehung”.

idiosyncratic hierarchies between individuals, revealing much about the identity that peers and acquaintances perceived of one another. In addition, social asymmetry often ties into what is referred to as information asymmetry (note that this is not the information asymmetry of formal economics). In this particular asymmetry, actors who are disadvantaged in terms of access to information experience a similar power imbalance as those engaged in social asymmetry and, as a consequence, are more likely to be the active party in correspondence exchange due to their pursuit of information. While this does not necessarily imply a social divide between the actors, there is frequently a correlation between access to information and social status, indicating that one individual is pressing the other for information which has been denied them due to the social stratification of much information exchange. However, even where there is, formally speaking, a social balance between correspondents, information asymmetry can skew this equilibrium in one individual's favour, altering the conduct of one correspondent towards the other as they are pursuing desired information. Consequently, when we study Beccaria's epistolary network we need to bear in mind that asymmetrical correspondence may have been a conscious endeavour. As opposed to the purely material result of lost letters over time, one individual could have felt no obligation to enter into mutual communication, whilst the other was committed to soliciting a response. Asymmetry consequently offers us great insight into Beccaria's network. While visualisation alone shows relationship ties, this asymmetry allows us to make conclusions regarding the organisation of these ties.⁴¹²

If we rebuild Beccaria's traceable correspondence network from surviving letters between 1758 and 1794, differentiating between the correspondents to whom Beccaria wrote and we have no existing response; those correspondents with whom Beccaria had mutual exchanges; and the correspondents who wrote to Beccaria but who have no existing replies from Beccaria, we see a startling asymmetry. From the total 219 correspondents, 163 of these individuals wrote to Beccaria either without receiving any reply or whose responses from Beccaria have since been lost. In stark contrast, the reverse situation occurs with only 21 correspondents from whom we have no existing reply to Beccaria's letters. The

⁴¹² Lemerrier, "Formal Network Methods in History": "Using a network vocabulary –and, when data are available, methodology– is therefore only interesting if we are prepared to say something precise about our 'network': not only that ties matter, but that they are organized in a significant way, that this or that individual has an interesting position in terms of his or her ties."

remaining 35 correspondents are those precious few whose mutual exchanges with Beccaria still remain. This network is particularly disproportionate, with those who received no response from Beccaria representing almost 75 percent of the entire collection. However, if we remove the accountable asymmetry from the collection (the letters we are certain are missing), we see a different pattern. By tracing the surveyable details (name, date, location) of any identifiable (through direct references in extant letters) lost letters in the collection we can restore a more precise ratio of sent to received letters, giving a more accurate depiction of the flow of Beccaria's network. The configuration of the network changes drastically when we insert these individuals (Fig. 1). Moving clockwise from the top left of the network, we see, respectively, the correspondents to whom Beccaria wrote and we have no existing response (green), the correspondents who wrote to Beccaria but who have no existing replies from Beccaria (blue), and finally those correspondents with whom Beccaria had mutual exchanges (turquoise). While the number of correspondents does not rise considerably (226 as compared to 219, note that new correspondents are marked with an asterisk*), the direction and distribution of the communication flow and the nature of the asymmetry shifts substantially, while the density of correspondence increases significantly. In this new network the number of correspondents who received no response from Beccaria drops to 113, the number of contacts with mutual exchanges rises from 35 to 92, and the number of individuals who did not reply to Beccaria remains the same at 21, while the density of correspondence with the correspondents who had the most exchanges with Beccaria (Giuseppe Aubert, Teresa Blasco, Barthélemy Chirol, Count Firmian, Alfonso Longo, Joseph Sperges and Pietro Verri) significantly increases.

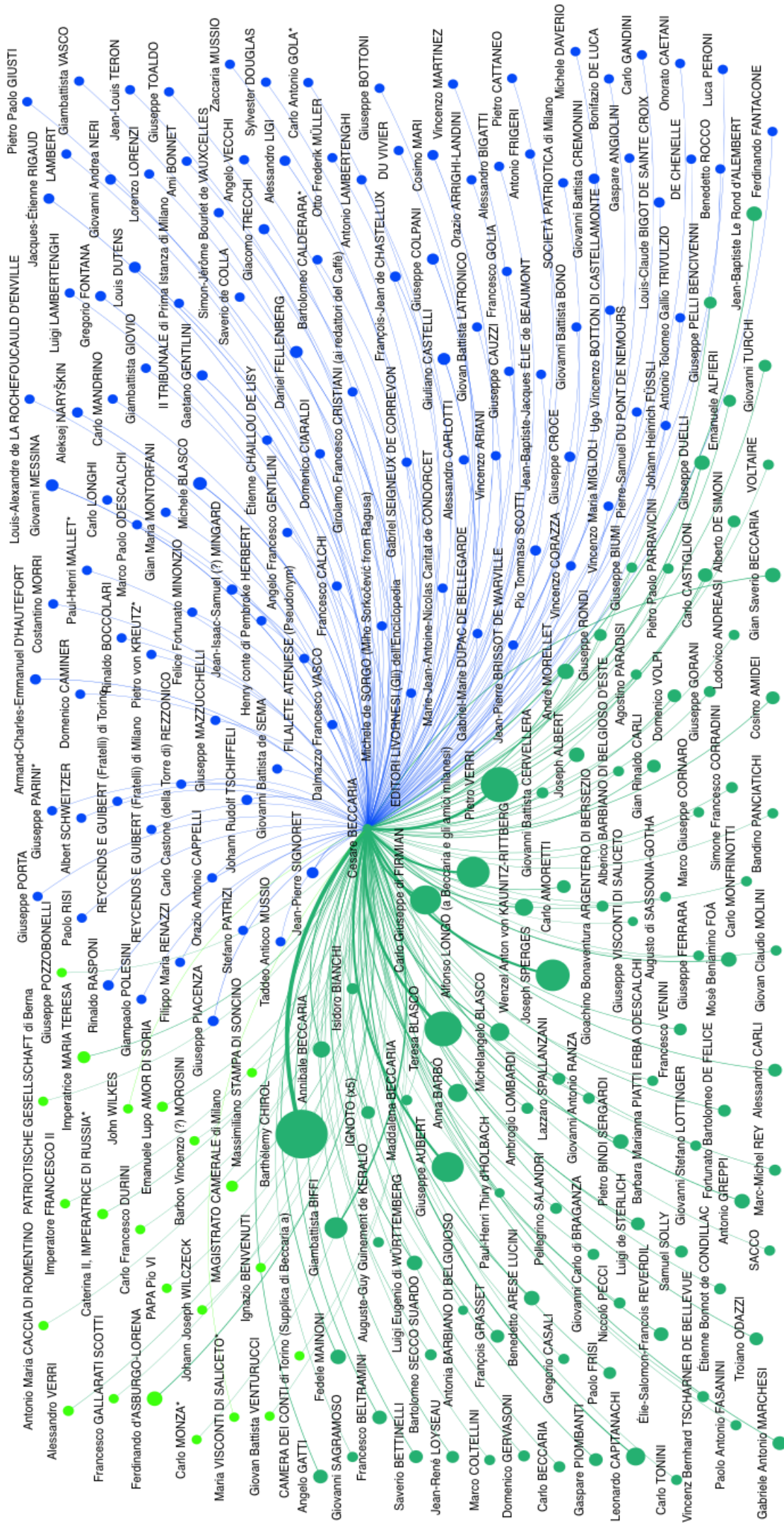


Fig. 1) Density of correspondence showing all of Beccaria's correspondents (* indicates traceable correspondents whose letters have been lost)

If we start by examining the group who have no traceable responses to Beccaria's letters, we can use this asymmetry to reflect on where Beccaria appears to have stood in the social hierarchy of the Republic of Letters. From this group we can extract particularly important political figures such as Pope Pius VI, Catherine the Great, Empress Maria Theresa, Emperor Francis II and Ferdinand of Habsburg Lorraine, whose lack of response to Beccaria seems unsurprising given their clear social status. Their presence in this group helps to indicate that asymmetry within the collection is not necessarily the material result of the passage of time, but rather a tangible effect of social asymmetry. These were figures who had no social obligation to respond to Beccaria's letters and it is notable that no individual of a comparable social position features in the group of 113 correspondents who have no traceable response to their letters from Beccaria. Within this latter strata however, there are important Philosophes whose presence would seem to refute any argument for social asymmetry. Individuals such as François-Jean de Chastellux, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, Gabriel Seigneux de Correvon and Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas Caritat de Condorcet stand out in particular, provoking us to question why these famous Philosophes received no (existing) reply from Beccaria while equally renowned counterparts such as Voltaire and Jean-Baptiste Le Rond d'Alembert enjoyed reciprocal correspondence. Naturally, there are endless reasons why correspondents may not have replied to a letter: perhaps simply no reply was needed, or they met in person before a response could be written (this is a particularly important factor when considering Beccaria's Milanese contacts, many of whom resided within a square mile of one another), no doubt sometimes correspondents merely forgot. Yet, Beccaria's correspondence reveals that there is a strong possibility that the asymmetry in these cases was a reflection of a particular etiquette within the Republic of Letters: the expectation to introduce oneself and congratulate a like-minded man of letters for their contribution to the erudition of mankind – a regard that did not necessarily warrant any written acknowledgement by the recipient. These letters, as will be addressed in greater detail later in this chapter, were attempts to forge a connection between individuals who believed they ought to be connected, based upon perceived mutual interests and common goals. Although the correspondents were "significant individuals" on the social and intellectual spectrum, they were subject to an inverted power relation due to Beccaria's novelty and the calculations of his future social worth within the Republic of Letters. In offering their commendations, these individuals consequently placed themselves at a lower social status in the communication exchange and thus we see

that Beccaria was regarded as holding an important place within the Republic of Letters, to the extent that central figures attempted to both draw him deeper into the Republic and draw themselves closer to him, perceiving him as a vital node in this scholarly network. We can advance this conclusion further by comparing these unanswered introductions to the letters of Voltaire and D'Alembert, both of whom fostered mutual correspondence with Cesare Beccaria. Unlike those Philosophes offering introductions and commendations, we see that the nature of their correspondence was more substantive and consequently required an exchange of letters.

While this is not an exhaustive analysis of the asymmetry in Beccaria's network, these cases help demonstrate that asymmetry can be a conscious, rather than purely accidental aspect of epistolary relationships. By using asymmetry productively, rather than casting it aside, we can question authorial intentions and identities within Beccaria's network, asking why Beccaria and his correspondents chose to initiate, nurture or neglect epistolary connections with particular individuals, and what their behaviour indicates about their perceptions of their own and others' status and social value in the wider Republic of Letters. The lenses of social and information asymmetry, based upon the equation of higher status lowering a correspondent's obligation to respond, consequently reveal that Beccaria enjoyed a privileged position within his epistolary network, especially among the Philosophes and savants, many of whom actively sought to draw Beccaria into their midst, clearly perceiving him to be of great intellectual and social value. In addition, by including known missing letters in Beccaria's epistolary network we further strengthen the proposition that some asymmetry is deliberate. While accounting for the traceable material asymmetry of the collection is intended to restore balance to particular epistolary relationships, we see on some occasions that despite restoring these additional letters, asymmetry was still present in some exchanges.

With regards to formal network analysis methodology, while this network does illustrate all the retrievable connections that exist around our protagonist, it must be repeated that this remains an abstraction rather than any comprehensive representation of Beccaria's epistolary network. Nonetheless, this (in)complete network visualisation gives us a clear indication of how many intermittent correspondents were in Beccaria's epistolary network and these individuals will help us in widening our quantitative study to illustrate the

geographical and professional scope of Beccaria's contacts. Consequently, while the correspondence collection does exhibit a significant decrease in the number of letters exchanged post-*Dei delitti e delle pene* and the *Il Caffè* journal (an average of 36 letters per year between 1758–1768 compared to an average of 16 letters a year between 1769–1794, this chapter sets out to assess whether this tally comparing before and after necessarily indicates Beccaria's declining involvement in the Republic of Letters, questioning whether factors other than disinterest and myopia could have resulted in this discrepancy. If we preference alternate elements such as the geographical span of the correspondence network and the types of people within the network over the sheer volume of correspondence, do these features likewise imply that Beccaria had retreated from the philosophical community? Or, is it possible that frequency of letter-writing, and depth of contact with 'significant individuals' are not the only adequate measures with which to assess the depth and breadth of Beccaria's network and his involvement in the Republic of Letters? Reflecting on Beccaria's letters, the "Nota al Testo e Lettere Perdute" in the *Edizione Nazionale* states that from the 1770s, in parallel with his entrance into the Habsburg administration, Beccaria's correspondence presents an image of a man far removed from the interests of his youth,⁴¹³ however the following sections will address the factors of geography and profession, as measures of cosmopolitanism, in order to establish whether these dimensions of Beccaria's network did indeed shrink later in his career in correlation with the decreased frequency of letter exchange. Before doing so, a quick note on terminology is needed. This chapter has referred interchangeably to Beccaria's network, ego-network and epistolary network, but it is worth explaining with the use of formal network analysis terminology, why this synonymy is possible. Primarily, the networks here are ego-centric, being defined from a single actor's perspective. They are also epistolary networks because the names generated are from one source – written correspondence – and they do not account for any relationship ties which are not articulated through this medium. To reconstruct Beccaria's fuller network we would have to include names generated from alternate sources such as memoranda, diaries and official documents, including those of other actors connected to Beccaria. As ego-epistolary networks, these visualisations demonstrate neither the relational

⁴¹³ "Nota al Testo e Lettere Perdute," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. V, 729–30: "A partire dai primi anni settanta, quanto rimane dell'epistolare beccariano ci presenta l'immagine di un uomo ormai lontano dai giovanili interessi scientifici e letterati, segno di quel distacco anche psicologico dall'età dell'Accademia dei Pugni che coincide con l'ingresso negli alti ranghi dell'amministrazione asburgica e con la contemporanea accelerazione del moto riformatore in Lombardia."

ties between all actors involved, nor the density of the network (the total number of relational ties divided by the total possible number of relational ties), as is common to socio-centric networks or dense ego-networks, but instead show the strength of relational ties between the *ego* and his *alters* based on the existence or absence of mutual letter-exchange. This is the factor that transforms these visualisations into networks proper. Stepping beyond purely a reconstruction of all the individuals surrounding a given actor, these ego-epistolary networks help to determine the strength of relationship ties from within this structure. While these networks cannot claim to illustrate connectivity, subgroups or centrality (prominent actors who have the most relationship ties), as is the objective of much network analysis, they can still be defined as networks, due to this illustration of relationship strengths. Hence, the networks here are just that, networks, but ego-epistolary networks.

The social and geographical dimensions of Beccaria's correspondence network

The following maps give an overview of where Beccaria was receiving letters from,⁴¹⁴ as well as documenting the number of correspondents writing from these locations (as opposed to the number of letters received).⁴¹⁵ Even from the beginning of Cesare Beccaria's career, his was not a localised epistolary network. Stretching far across Europe, the collection shows that between 1758–1794 Beccaria received letters from 78 different locations,⁴¹⁶ with the highest numbers of contacts based in Milan, Paris, Venice, Vienna and Naples, closely followed by Turin and Livorno (Fig. 2).⁴¹⁷ Beccaria's correspondents span approximately 4,423 km from west to east and 2,798 km from north to south, from Saint Petersburg to Copenhagen, London, Lisbon and Palermo.⁴¹⁸ Overall, the maps underline

⁴¹⁴ Provided the letters have recorded places of origin. For more on the creation of the maps see Appendix (i).

⁴¹⁵ Note that this could be the same correspondent in multiple locations, hence the numbers of locations and correspondents do not necessarily match.

⁴¹⁶ Note that this is minus the letters which have no location stated and does not include locations from the traceable missing letters. Also, this does not include Beccaria's locations – only the locations from which he received letters.

⁴¹⁷ It must be stressed that the number of letters from each correspondent is not taken into account here, but merely the number of persons in each location. Some individuals also wrote letters from multiple locations.

⁴¹⁸ Note that there is a discrepancy between the number of people in the network and those on the map as this includes only the locations of letters sent to Beccaria. We do not have the locations of where Beccaria was necessarily sending letters to.

that many fundamental elements of Beccaria's correspondence network remained consistent throughout his career, and that the geographical diversity of his network dramatically increased post-1768. We can make three initial remarks upon the geography of Beccaria's correspondence. Firstly, we see that across Beccaria's lifetime the majority of correspondent locations are distributed throughout Italy, particularly Northern Italy, and the Swiss Confederation, followed by France and the Dutch Republic. By contrast, Beccaria appears to have had minimal communication with German-speaking lands, outside of the cities of Vienna, Aachen and Gotha. For a man who had extensive communication with academies, professors and savants (as we shall see in greater detail in the following section), and with Enlightenment centres such as Paris, one would perhaps expect Beccaria to have had correspondents in Prussia in particular, especially considering the popularity of his treatise in this region. Finally, we can remark on the European nature of the correspondence. Despite having family ties to Brazil and correspondence with individuals who fostered global connections, Beccaria has no traceable connections to the Atlantic world, which is again remarkable considering the impact of his treatise on a succession of American presidents, including George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, as well as founding fathers such as Benjamin Rush and James Wilson.⁴¹⁹ Dividing Beccaria's correspondence into two periods, 1758–1768 and 1769–1794, we witness a significant and more illuminating evolution in the geographical distribution of his correspondents. The earlier period (Fig. 3) has a distinctly local character, with a total of 33 correspondent cities, the majority of which are distributed in Northern Italy and the Swiss territories, with the additional locations of Lisbon, Paris, Vienna, Lyon, Copenhagen and Saint Petersburg. The density of correspondents by location follows this local pattern, but we also find Vienna, Paris and Lyon among the cities which host the highest numbers of correspondents.⁴²⁰ Consequently, we can differentiate

⁴¹⁹ See: John D. Bessler, "The Italian Enlightenment and the American Revolution: Cesare Beccaria's Forgotten Influence on American Law," *Mitchell Hamline Law Journal of Public Policy and Practice*, vol. 37, no. 1 (2016): 1–184.

⁴²⁰ Milan (11), Paris (7), Venice (4), Turin (4), Bern (3), Florence (3), Lyon (3), Pisa (3), Parma (3) and Vienna (3).



Fig. 2) Correspondent locations 1758–1794

between intense correspondence as demonstrated by higher numbers of correspondents in one city and regional intensity as indicated by higher numbers of correspondent locations in a particular area. For this early period, we see that the two intensities do not perfectly align, as the cities with the highest numbers of correspondents do not follow the same regional intensity of correspondent locations. This is mirrored in the later period 1769–1794 (Fig. 4). Despite having a larger and more geographically diverse collection of correspondent locations compared to the years 1758–1768, with a total of 68 locations, 45 of which do not feature in the earlier correspondence, within this period Northern Italy and the Swiss territories still maintained the greatest number of correspondent locations. This does not reduce the significance of the geographical expansion. Beccaria forged new connections with individuals based further south in Italy, including Rome, Naples, Cosenza, Policoro, Chieti and Lanciano; with additional locations in France, such as Bordeaux, Marseille and Nice; as well as with entirely new states such as the Dutch

Republic, Spain, England and the German-speaking lands of the Holy Roman Empire, namely Gotha, in Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg and the free imperial city of Aachen. However, the cities with the highest number of correspondents in the later period almost entirely mirror the highest-correspondent cities from 1758–1768: Milan (27), Paris (9), Naples (10), Vienna (10), Venice (8), Livorno (6) and Turin (5) and while the number of correspondents in these cities has increased since the earlier period, the increase is proportional to the general increase in correspondents. The two exceptions to this pattern are Naples and Livorno, which are particularly striking when we consider the nature of Beccaria's correspondence with these two cities: Beccaria's connections with Naples are mostly administrative officials and jurists, while his correspondents in Livorno are editors, publishers and members of the Livorno *Encyclopédie*. This last group in particular contradicts conclusions that Beccaria retired from the intellectual sphere, as while the percentage of booksellers in Beccaria's correspondence reduces slightly in the later period, it becomes geographically denser, indicating that Beccaria was still sourcing books at a similar frequency, if from fewer sellers. This comparison shows that while Beccaria's network grew both in size and span (the number of correspondent locations almost doubles between the early and later part of Beccaria's life), it maintained a level of continuity throughout his lifetime regarding the most central regions and cities of contact, indicating that Beccaria's existing network and patterns of correspondence were merely enlarged over time, rather than radically shifting in composition, or even shrinking in size and scope as is often assumed. Beccaria's new correspondents did not replace or lessen Beccaria's contact with existing locations but merely introduced new areas into his existing network, which consequently raises questions as to the intentions Beccaria held for his correspondence.

We can build upon these geographical patterns by reconstructing the various professional communities that Beccaria was a part of and mapping whether his involvement with certain groups changed over time or in location. This raises new questions regarding why some professions were better represented within the correspondence than others, what this tells us about Beccaria's interests and motivations, and the possible reasons behind shifts in Beccaria's commitment to these groups throughout his lifetime. To do so, Beccaria's correspondents have been divided into ten groups: representatives of academic societies: Beccaria's close intellectual circle (Accademia dei Pugni and *Il Caffè*); political figures,



Fig. 3) Correspondent locations 1758–1768



Fig. 4) Correspondent locations 1769–1794

representatives of administrative and government bodies, jurists, diplomatic and military persons; booksellers, publishers, editors, intermediaries, merchants; religious figures; university professors, scholars, doctors, savants; family; nobility and important families; Philosophes or noted intellectuals; and miscellaneous. These categories derive from trends within Beccaria's correspondence, but they are ultimately arbitrary categorisations. Correspondents could easily belong to multiple groups at the same time: being a practising lawyer did not preclude being a poet, a religious figure was often also a savant, as were many nobles. The functionaries of the Milanese administration were likewise savants, Beccaria included. Many individuals within the correspondence were involved in multiple professional and intellectual spheres either at the same time or at various points during their lifetime. Louis-Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld D'Enville, Duke of Anville, for example, whilst a noble in our schema, was also a member of the Académie des Sciences and connected to the *Philosophes* and to American thinkers. Likewise, Giuseppe Visconti di Saliceto, a member of Beccaria's intellectual circle, was also Beccaria's cousin; Miho Sorkočević (Michele de Sorgo), senator to the Republic of Ragusa, was also a contributor to Caminer's *Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico*. Consequently, the classification of individual correspondents has relied, where possible, on determining the capacity in which correspondents were writing to Beccaria. Some, though few, correspondents can be intuitively placed within categories such as family; nobility; *Il Caffè* and the Accademia dei Pugni; and booksellers, publishers, editors, intermediaries, merchants. However, in less clear cases where the individual's relationship with Beccaria is neither as close or as well-documented the classification has tried to decipher the identity which they presented within their letters to Beccaria, as opposed to relying on standard biographical information. Where this is not possible however, for instance where only a single letter survives, individuals have been classified by their most common biographical attributes.

Definitions from the *Encyclopédie* have helped to inform, but not ultimately define, the boundaries between the three categories of university professors, scholars, doctors, savants; political figures, representatives of administrative and government bodies, jurists, diplomatic and military persons; and Philosophes or noted intellectuals. Above all, the distinction made between *savant* and *habile*,⁴²¹ has resulted in the separation of the arguably

⁴²¹ Louis de Jaucourt, "Savant," in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*,

“experience based” professions of political figures, representatives of administrative and government bodies, jurists, diplomatic and military persons, from the professions of university professors, scholars, doctors, savants which are predominantly based upon study and reflection. For instance, based upon this division between experience and erudition, practising lawyers are included in the former category, while professors of law fall into the latter. Likewise, medical doctors fall into this latter category, while charlatans, apothecaries and surgeons fall into the former. Separating the Philosophes and noted intellectuals from the experience and erudition categories is admittedly more anachronistic. The *Encyclopédie*'s entry here is more ideological than definitive and so this category consequently relies on retrospective understandings which consider the *Philosophes* to comprise the French *Encyclopédistes*, as well as those individuals, or “noted intellectuals” who maintained a distinct air of intellectual celebrity within the Republic of Letters comparable to that of the *Encyclopédistes*.⁴²² In short, what separates these individuals is their fame within the Republic of Letters and the clear esteem Beccaria holds for these characters. Finally, within the miscellaneous category are: anonymous correspondents; those writing under unidentifiable pseudonyms; those whose professions or relationship to Beccaria we cannot recover; those whose relationship to Beccaria was purely friendship; admirers; students; landowners; a surveyor; and a criminal in jail.

Looking at the entire collection between 1758 and 1794, we see that the largest portion of the correspondents are from the political and administrative class (27 percent).⁴²³

eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project, 2016), eds. Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe, available at <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>, 14: 706: “SAVANT, Docte, Habile, (*Synon.*) les connoissances qui se réduisent en pratique rendent *habile*. Celles qui ne demandent que de la spéculation font le *savant*. Celles qui remplissent la mémoire font l'homme *docte*. On dit du prédicateur & de l'avocat qu'ils sont *habiles*; du philosophe & du mathématicien, qu'ils sont *savants*; de l'historien & du jurisconsulte, qu'ils sont *doctes*. L'*habile* semble plus entendu; le *savant* plus profond, & le *docte* plus universel. Nous devenons *habiles* par l'expérience; *savants* par la méditation; *doctes* par la lecture. On peut être fort *savant* ou fort *docte* sans être *habile*, mais on ne peut guère être très *habile*, sans être *savant*.”

⁴²² The following fall into the category of Philosophes and noted intellectuals, of whom, André Morellet, Voltaire, Paul-Henri Thiry D'Holbach, Jean-Baptiste Le Rond d'Alembert, were *Encyclopédistes*. Plus, Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, François-Jean de Chastellux, Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas Caritat de Condorcet, Pierre-Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, Gabriel Seigneux de Correvon. The use of the modern term “noted intellectuals” serves only to distinguish within this category between those considered Philosophes and those who were not, but still maintained a comparable public “intellectual” persona.

⁴²³ Note that percentages have been rounded up to the nearest whole number. For the more accurate percentage see Appendix (ii).

Considering Beccaria's lengthy career in the Lombard administration, it seems fitting that the greatest portion of his correspondents should align with this dimension of his professional life. Other proportions are similarly intuitive. His 5 percent communication with his intellectual circle, for instance, mirrors the importance we know that this very select group of individuals had upon his early intellectual formation, as does his 5 percent of family correspondents. However, there are some less predictable results. Beccaria's connections to university professors, scholars, doctors and savants, who form the second largest correspondent group throughout his career (17 percent), are particularly striking. Likewise, it seems unusual that Beccaria's contact with Philosophes and noted intellectuals amounts to only 4 percent, especially considering that he had met many of these individuals in person during his trip to Paris and that he was renowned within this community. Furthermore, that one in ten correspondents is from the group booksellers, publishers, editors, appears to be a very high proportion for a man considered to have turned his back on intellectual pursuits upon entering the administration. At even first glance, these percentages draw our perceptions of Beccaria's intellectual milieu into question. In particular, not only does the importance of famous figures within the Republic of Letters appear to be diminished, but the role of university professors, scholars, doctors and savants is greatly augmented, a group who have rarely featured in Beccaria scholarship. Although both groups were part of the Republic of Letters, it is significant that Beccaria maintained a greater correspondence with the "lesser" figures in this community, whose institutional employment and intellectual framework often differed greatly from that of the professional men of letters, above all situated within the university disciplines of mathematics, natural history, metaphysics and philosophy. Breaking the correspondence down chronologically between 1758–68 and 1769–94, shifts these initial percentages dramatically (Fig. 6) and helps to account for the perception that Beccaria became consumed by the administration in his later career. Most noticeably, we see the steep increase in the percentage of communication with the political and administrative class, which rises from 14.5 percent to 32.9 percent.

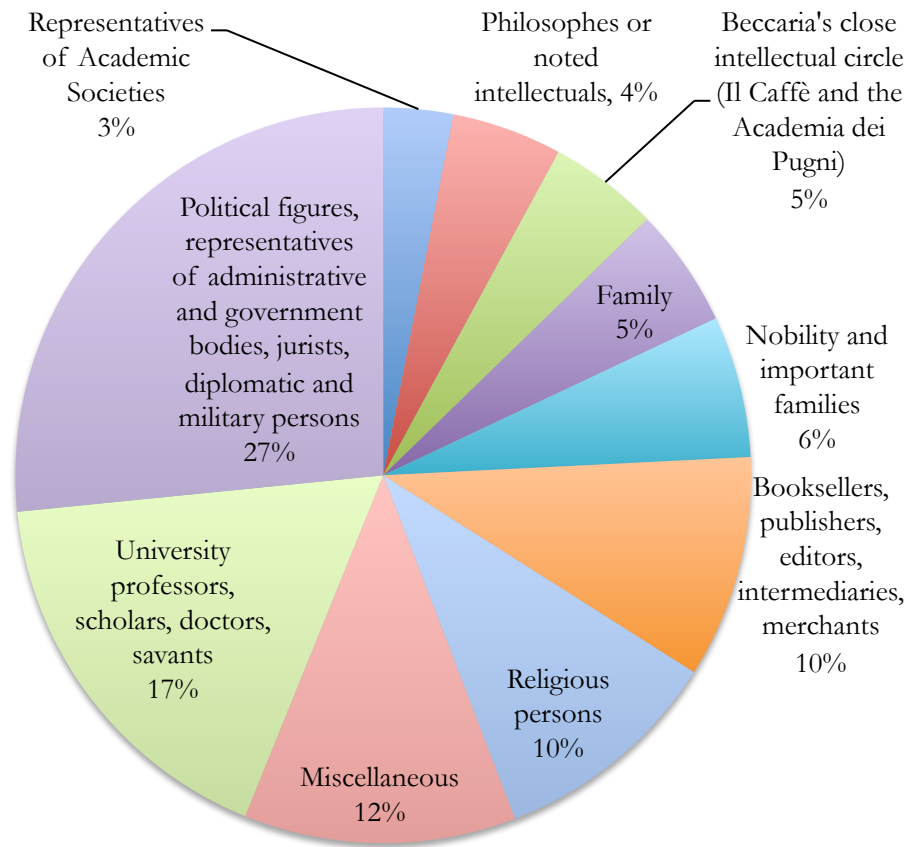


Fig. 5) Types of correspondent 1758–1794

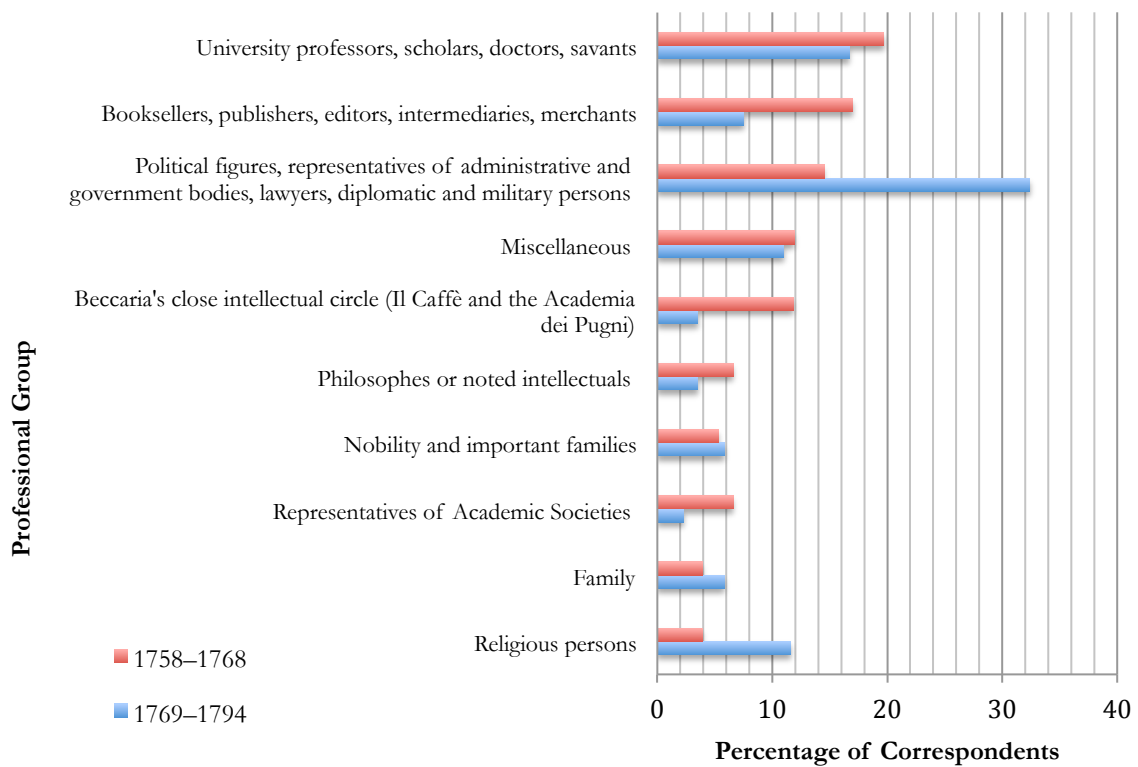


Fig. 6) Correspondent groups, as proportion of periods 1758–1768 and 1769–1794

Again, considering Beccaria's entrance into the Lombard administration after the years surrounding *Dei delitti e delle pene*, this increase is unsurprising and mirrors the changing day-to-day epistolary communication that formed much of Beccaria's later correspondence. If paired with Beccaria's diminishing contact with booksellers, intermediaries and merchants across the years, which falls from 17 percent to 7.5 percent, these observations would appear to provide substantial evidence to support conclusions that Beccaria had indeed retreated from the Republic of Letters, with administrative engagements taking precedence over participation in the philosophical community. Yet, this percentage comparison distorts the realities of Beccaria's correspondence and demonstrates the dangers of breaking Beccaria's career into distinct phases.⁴²⁴ While the percentages have changed, the total number of booksellers in Beccaria's network, for example, remains stable at 13 individuals across the two periods. The same occurs for other groups, such as Philosophes and noted intellectuals, who although decreasing as a percentage of all correspondents in the later period, actually increase in real terms (Appendix (ii)). In fact, only two correspondent groups actually decrease in number: Beccaria's close intellectual circle (Accademia dei Pugni and *Il Caffè*) and Representatives of Academic Societies, but this latter group only decreases by one correspondent and the former group (despite these constellations no longer existing post-*Dei delitti e delle pene*), maintains a high level of continuity with four correspondents appearing in both the early and late period.⁴²⁵

Thus, with the knowledge that Beccaria's network increased in nine out of ten categories and comprised a different social makeup than we have previously appreciated, we can examine these social trends alongside the geographical results from Beccaria's correspondence in order to refine our understanding of this network functioned and how Beccaria used it to his own advantage. Several patterns come to light through visualising the geographic distribution of professional groups. We can find clear patterns among the majority of cities with the highest numbers of correspondents.⁴²⁶ Communication with Paris for example, is predominantly with either Philosophes and noted intellectuals,⁴²⁷ or Beccaria's *Il Caffè* colleagues partaking in Parisian intellectual life, whereas most letters

⁴²⁴ However, only this proportional analysis accounts for the increase in the volume of correspondence in the later period.

⁴²⁵ Giuseppe Colpani, Pietro Verri, Giambattista Biffi and Gianrinaldo Carli.

⁴²⁶ Milan, Paris, Venice, Vienna, Naples, Turin, Livorno, Florence, Pisa and Rome, respectively.

⁴²⁷ D'Alembert, Condorcet, Du Pont du Nemours, d'Holbach, Morellet and Chastellux.

coming from Swiss towns are from booksellers sourcing Beccaria's reading requests. Letters from Vienna, from individuals such as Count Firmian, plenipotentiary of Lombardy and Wenzel Kaunitz-Rietberg, Chancellor of State for Empress Maria Theresa, predominantly address political or administrative matters.⁴²⁸ In Naples we see a high percentage of jurists;⁴²⁹ Turin is home to a number of intermediaries and booksellers;⁴³⁰ Livorno similarly hosts many editors and publishers;⁴³¹ correspondents in Pisa are mostly administrative and political figures;⁴³² and correspondents in Rome are mostly university professors and savants,⁴³³ as are correspondents in Florence.⁴³⁴ However, Milan and Venice hold a more diverse range of correspondent types. While Milan, as Beccaria's home and thus the locus of his everyday life, is less surprising in its diversity, Venice is striking as here we see a diverse range of correspondents, few of whom are native Venetians, such as Élie-Salomon-Francois Reverdil, Professor of Mathematics at the Academy of Copenhagen and Miho Sorkočević, senator of the Ragusan Republic.

Refining our maps of all correspondents for the periods 1758–1768 and 1769–1794 by social group (Fig. 7) and Fig. 8)), we immediately see the changing social makeup of Beccaria's correspondence articulated through the higher volume of red, dark blue and purple markers representing, respectively, the increased number of correspondents in the groups: political figures, representatives of administrative and government bodies, jurists, diplomatic and military persons; university professors, scholars, doctors, savants; and religious figures or members of religious orders. However, we also witness distinct geographical shifts. Along with the overall growth of this first correspondent category, we see that this group expands geographically in the later part of Beccaria's career. Not only does contact with crucial political and administrative locations such as Milan and Vienna increase, but we see entirely new cities and regions represented within the correspondence

⁴²⁸ Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rittberg, Giovanni Stefano Lottinger, Gaspare Piombanti, Joseph Sperges, Domenico Volpi, Niccolò Pecci and Count Firmian.

⁴²⁹ Orazio Antonio Cappelli, Domenico Ciaraldi, Giovan Battista Latronico and Stefano Patrizi.

⁴³⁰ Fratelli Reycends e Guibert, Jacques-Étienne Rigaud and Jean-Pierre Signoret.

⁴³¹ Giuseppe Aubert, the editors of the Livorno edition of the *Encyclopédie*, and Fedele Mainoni.











⁴³² Pietro Bindi Sergardi, Cosimo Mari and Bandino Panciatichi.

⁴³³ Onorato Caetani, Élie-Salomon-Francois Reverdil and Alfonso Longo.

⁴³⁴ Cosimo Amidei, Lorenzo Lorenzi and Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni.

both within and outside the Italian peninsula.⁴³⁵ Such expansion no doubt results from Beccaria's increasing responsibility within the Lombard administration. However, other categories display similar geographical growth which cannot be so directly accounted for. Beccaria's correspondence with southern Italian cities for instance, also increases among religious figures as well as university professors, scholars, doctors, savants.⁴³⁶ In fact, we see an increase and geographical expansion of communication with religious figures more generally and, for the first time, even outside of Italy,⁴³⁷ as Beccaria initiates communication with 21 religious figures in the later period alone.⁴³⁸ To be clear, this correspondence was rarely religious in nature, but reflected the extent to which the religious class in Italy were integrated into political, cultural and intellectual matters.

Legend for Fig. 7) and Fig. 8)

	RED - Political figures, representatives of administrative and government bodies, jurists, diplomatic and military persons
	DARK BLUE - University professors, scholars, doctors, savants
	YELLOW - Miscellaneous
	GREEN - Booksellers, publishers, editors, intermediaries, merchants
	PURPLE - Religious figures or members of religious orders
	ORANGE - Nobility and important families
	TURQUOISE - Representatives of academic societies
	LIGHT BLUE - Beccaria's close intellectual circle
	BLACK - Philosophes or noted intellectuals
	WHITE - Family

⁴³⁵ Such as Paris: Jean-Baptiste-Jacques Elie de Beaumont and Lambert; Aachen: Aleksej Naryškin; Madrid: Pietro Paolo Giusti; London: Sylvester Douglas; Rome: Filippo Maria Renazzi; Naples: Giovan Battista Latronico, Stefano Patrizi, Vincenzo Ariani, Orazio Antonio Cappelli and Domenico Ciaraldi; Policoro in the province of Matera: Bonifazio de Luca; and Cosenza in Calabria: Francesco Golia).

⁴³⁶ In this latter group, we find Isidoro Bianchi in Palermo, Luigi de Sterlich in Chieti, and Onorato Caetani in Rome, and we find religious figures like Ferdinando Fantacone and Benedetto Rocco in Naples; Domenico Gervasoni in Lanciano in Abruzzo; and Angelo Vecchi in Palermo.

⁴³⁷ Alessandro Ligi writes from both Paris and Yverdon.

⁴³⁸ In the early period, we find Giovan Battista Venturucci and Carlo Francesco Durini. In the later period there is Carlo Amoretti; Alessandro Bigatti; Carlo Castiglioni; Michele Daverio; Ferdinando Fantacone; Francesco Gallarati Scotti; Angelo Francesco Gentilini; Gaetano Gentilini; Domenico Gervasoni; Alessandro Ligi; Vincenzo Maria Miglioli; Costantino Morri; Papa Pio VI; Giuseppe Pozzobonelli; Benedetto Rocco; Pio Tommaso Scotti; Angelo Vecchi; Antonio Lambertenghi; and Dalmazzo Francesco Vasco.



Fig. 8) Correspondents by professional group 1758-68



Fig. 7) Correspondents by professional group 1769-94

We find other regional and national trends. The Swiss territories in particular are a vital source for Beccaria's book purchases and on top of maintaining longer-term correspondence with booksellers like Barthélemy Chirol, François Grasset and Jean-Louis Teron, Beccaria also expanded his communication with Swiss towns in the later period of his career.⁴³⁹ France too saw a small increase in booksellers,⁴⁴⁰ however, as we will see in the following chapter Beccaria's choice of Swiss booksellers is of great significance regarding the types of books he was seeking, many of which could not be purchased in Italy due to censorship laws and which subsequently give some insight into his reading interests. However, Beccaria's Swiss correspondence was not purely reserved to booksellers, but also incorporated representatives of academic societies,⁴⁴¹ savants,⁴⁴² jurists,⁴⁴³ administrative figures,⁴⁴⁴ and doctors.⁴⁴⁵ Although disparate, what draws these individuals together is their beliefs in social and economic reform, and to a lesser extent, strong criticism of the Catholic Church, all of which echoed Beccaria's reformist sentiments as laid down in *Dei delitti e delle pene* and the *Elementi di economia pubblica*. For example, Beccaria maintained correspondence with the likes of Jean-Pierre Brissot de Warville, who like Beccaria had written in favour of penal reform, as well as campaigning for the abolition of slavery and eventually becoming a girondist; Fortunato Bartolomeo de Felice founder of the Typographic Society of Bern, the *l'Estratto de la europea letteratura* (seen as the successor to *Il Caffè*) and the *Encyclopédie d'Yverdon*, as well as an educational institute in Yverdon; and the jurist Daniel Fellenberg, republican and founder of the Bern patriotic society. We also find letters exchanged with Vincenz Bernhard Tscharner de Bellevue and Johann Rudolf Tschiffeli, respectively founders of the Société des citoyens and the Ökonomischen Gesellschaft Bern; the painter Johann Heinrich Füssli who became increasingly involved in the radical British scene; and the reformer Gabriel Seigneux de Correvon who, like Beccaria had taken up the issue of the ineffectiveness of torture.

⁴³⁹ In addition to Bern, Geneva, Lausanne and Yverdon, in the period 1769–1794 correspondents are also located in Chanteloup, Neuchâtel, Nyon and Zurich.

⁴⁴⁰ Such as Giovan Claudio Molini in Paris and Jean-Isaac-Samuel (?) Mingard in Bordeaux.

⁴⁴¹ Vincenz Bernhard Tscharner de Bellevue, founder of the Société des citoyens and Johann Rudolf Tschiffeli, founder of the Ökonomischen Gesellschaft Bern.

⁴⁴² Fortunato Bartolomeo de Felice, Daniel Fellenberg, Johann Heinrich Füssli.

⁴⁴³ Jean-Pierre Brissot de Warville.

⁴⁴⁴ Gabriel Seigneux de Correvon.

⁴⁴⁵ Angelo Gatti.

Other geographic areas provide far less evidence for speculation but are nonetheless noteworthy. Beccaria's increased connections with Northern Europe in the later period, for instance, are particularly diverse, with correspondents yielding from the administrative, savant and bookseller groups. We see few social trends,⁴⁴⁶ still the expansion of Beccaria's communication into these areas reflects the opening up of his network to areas beyond his linguistic, cultural and political familiarity in a way we do not see in his earlier network. Although we cannot situate Beccaria within any of the intellectual or cultural trends arising from these areas, we can remark on Beccaria's increasing willingness to look beyond his existing areas of correspondence to discover new views on the world and to approach his correspondence with a more generous spirit regarding the lessons to be learned from the least likely of places. In stark contrast, we see distinct patterns in Northern Italy.⁴⁴⁷ Alongside the overall increase in the later period in correspondents from the groups, political figures, representatives of administrative and government bodies, jurists, diplomatic and military persons; nobility and important families; and religious figures or members of religious orders, we see that these groups also become less localised, spreading throughout the northern and central Italian territories, all of which documents Beccaria's widening gaze away from Milan.⁴⁴⁸ However, the most striking pattern in Northern Italy is the continuity of Beccaria's local ties despite significant shifts in the individuals who formed these ties. Returning to the booksellers category, for instance, we see that their presence in this region remains relatively stable across the two periods. Yet, this continuity is not due to career-long connections with local traders as only three of the booksellers from the earlier period feature in the later correspondence, the rest having been replaced by colleagues located in the same areas, mainly in the cities of Turin, Livorno and Milan. We consequently see that alongside his continued use of Swiss booksellers, Beccaria maintained correspondence with local booksellers throughout the duration of his life, albeit from different traders. While these changes in individual sellers were no doubt due to

⁴⁴⁶ In Aachen, we see the Russian senator, diplomat and man of letters Aleksej Naryškin; in Wiltshire, Henry Herbert, Count of Pembroke and famous Grand Tour chronicler; and the cavalry officer, Gabriel-Marie Dupac de Bellegarde in Utrecht. In Amsterdam, we see the bookseller Marc-Michel Rey; Sylvester Douglas, jurist and later King's council in London; and the Enlightenment patron, Prince August of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg in Gotha.

⁴⁴⁷ See maps in Appendix (iii) and (iv).

⁴⁴⁸ Correspondence with Genoa, Milan, Pavia and Venice increases, while connections with Turin and the Piedmont region appear to decrease. Correspondence with Tuscany and the cities of Bologna, Modena and Parma however, remains stable across the two periods.

pragmatic reasons of availability and price, we can remark on the continued importance of local sellers and the continuity in Beccaria's correspondence patterns.

The significant change in the individuals in Beccaria's network is found throughout the correspondent categories. While the number of correspondents in most groups does not decrease, the majority of correspondents themselves change over time, with altogether only 24 individuals featuring in both periods of Beccaria's correspondence. Consequently, we can remark that while the general social trends in Beccaria's correspondence remain constant, there are significant changes within these trends, indicating that while the social group did not lose importance or prominence over time, particular individuals within it did and were replaced by more pertinent correspondents for that particular time. In particular, we see this occurring in the two largest groups where the majority of individual correspondents change over the two periods. Within the university professors and savants category, only five correspondents out of forty feature in both periods of Beccaria's correspondence,⁴⁴⁹ and only six individuals out of the sixty political figures and representatives from the administration feature across the two periods.⁴⁵⁰ Such a drastic change in composition indicates that while Beccaria's individual connections waxed and waned with his changing needs, his ties to these social and professional groups remained important. By contrast, there is more consistency, not only in number but also in individuals, in the group Philosophes and noted intellectuals, with five correspondents in the earlier period and six in the later period, and with D'Alembert and Morellet occurring in both.⁴⁵¹ We find a similar pattern among the group representatives of academic societies, which stays stable with five correspondents in the early period and four in the later period, two of whom, Pellegrino Salandri (Secretary Reale Accademia di Scienze e Belle Lettere Mantova) and Johann Rudolf Tschiffeli, occur in both periods.⁴⁵² They are undoubtedly more personal connections, based not only upon Beccaria's intellectual interests but also

⁴⁴⁹ Isidoro Bianchi, Giuseppe Piacenza, Giambattista Vasco, Fortunato Bartolomeo de Felice, Daniel Fellenberg.

⁴⁵⁰ These include high-ranking Habsburg officials like Count Firmian, Prince Kaunitz and Joseph Sperges, as well as the Habsburg-Lombard functionaries Antonio Greppi and Giuliano Castelli, and finally, Jean-René Loyseau, lawyer at the Parliament of Lyon.

⁴⁵¹ In the early period we, additionally, find Voltaire, Holbach and Condillac, and in the later period we see Chastellux, Condorcet, du Pont de Nemours and Seigneux de Correvon.

⁴⁵² In the early period we find the Patriotische Gesellschaft di Berna; Vincenz Bernhard Tscharner de Bellevue; Albert Schweitzer (Member Patriotische Gesellschaft di Berna). In the later period: Gioachino Bonaventura Argentero di Bersezio and La Società Patriotica di Milano.

upon the friendships he forged with these individuals. Unlike his connections with university professors which, as the following chapter will illustrate, were particularly practical and concerned with the exchange of useful manuscripts, Beccaria's relationships with savants, whose worlds had little impact on his daily activities as an administrator, were not so urgent and thus not so disposable.

Returning to Beccaria's local connections, what is most striking is that Beccaria's correspondence with university professors, scholars, doctors and savants is predominantly reserved to Northern Italy. Despite growing in number, this category does not expand geographically across the continent to any noticeable degree and instead remains localised in this region. Appendix (v) visualises all of Beccaria's correspondents from this group from 1758–1794, from which we see that only eight members of this group are outside the Italian peninsula.⁴⁵³ The remaining correspondents are located in Northern Italy and the city of Palermo (Isidoro Bianchi), with twelve of the eighteen locations between 1758 and 1768 and twenty-one of twenty-nine locations between 1769 and 1794, located in this region.⁴⁵⁴ We have already seen that the later period sees this group almost double in number. However, groups with similar increases in correspondents also display distinct geographical growth, thus raising questions regarding whether the distinctly local distribution of these correspondents indicates anything about the nature of Beccaria's connections to this group. Examining the individuals themselves, we are able to roughly divide this group of correspondents further into three: savants, men of letters, poets, dilettantes and writers; medical doctors; and university professors and practitioners from the fields and subfields of engineering, mechanics, mathematics, astronomy and natural history. In this first subgroup, we see some of the brightest stars of the Italian literary and arts world: Saverio Bettinelli, celebrated writer of the *Lettere Virgiliane*; Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, director of the Uffizi gallery and successor to Giovanni Lami as director of the *Novelle letterarie*; Alessandro Carli, author and participant in Voltaire's theatrical circle at Ferney; Agostino Paradisi, economist, writer, poet, and successor to Pellegrino Sallandri as secretary of the Reale Accademia di Mantova; and Luigi de Sterlich, collaborator in the

⁴⁵³ Bern (Daniel Fellenberg); Chanteloup (Angelo Gatti); Copenhagen (Otto Frederik Müller); Paris (John Wilkes, Étienne Chaillou de Lisy); Utrecht (Gabriel-Marie Dupac de Bellegarde); Yverdon (Fortunato Bartolomeo De Felice); and Zurich (Johann Heinrich Füssli).

⁴⁵⁴ Above all in the cities of Florence, Bologna, Cremona, Milan, Parma, Pavia, Rome, Turin, Venice and Verona.

Novelle letterarie and a central figure in the rebirth of Abruzzian culture. Of particular relevance to Chapter VI, amongst the medical doctors we see Carlo Tonini and Carlo Gandini, both of whom were strong advocates of smallpox inoculation. Tonini was the secretary of the Accademia dei Fisiocritici di Siena, which published in their first *Atti della Accademia dei Fisiocritici in Siena* the essay “Storia generale degl’innesti del vajuolo fatti in Siena. Dall’anno 1758, fino a tutto il 1760”, promoting the benefits of inoculation. Carlo Gandini was likewise an outspoken supporter of inoculation, which led to his being ostracised from the Genoese medical community. As a professor of practical medicine at the University of Siena, Tonini also links to the final subgroup. Here we see mathematicians like Élie-Salomon-François Reverdil, Professor of Mathematics at the Academy of Copenhagen; Gregorio Fontana, successor to Ruđer Josip Bošković as chair of “calcolo sublime” at the University of Pavia, Auguste-Guy Guinement de Keralio, secretary to Condorcet and translator of many mathematical texts; and Isidoro Bianchi, professor of mathematics and philosophy. We encounter the naturalists Lorenzo Lorenzi and Lazzaro Spallanzani, chair of Natural History at the University of Pavia. There are the engineers Girolamo Francesco Cristiani; Gregorio Casali, the first person to apply differential calculus to mechanics; and Giuseppe Duelli, as well as Giuseppe Toaldo, the astronomer and meteorologist; and the architect Giuseppe Piacenza. There are two important outliers to this schema however: Giuseppe Cauzzi, the attributed author of *La Felicità pubblica considerata nei coltivatori di terre proprie*, the 1769 treatise on public utility written for the Economic Society of Saint Petersburg, which was in fact the work of the second outlier, Giambattista Vasco, Professor of theology at the University of Cagliari, and economist and student of Turgot and Smith who was persecuted for his liberal ideas.

The disproportionate percentage of correspondents from Northern Italy in this category raises questions as to why this group, more than other correspondent categories, remained so localised across the two periods. While some groups such as booksellers are constant in both correspondent numbers and geographical distribution, the categories which see a rise in correspondents in the later period, similar to that of the savants group, also display a geographical expansion which is altogether missing in this case. Unlike other individuals from this period, who internationalised their scientific networks in order to become

familiar with different national systems,⁴⁵⁵ Beccaria's correspondence remained national and we can posit that this regionalism was due to the purpose of Beccaria's communication with this group. These correspondents were often from disciplines which had great potential for the administration. Medicine, engineering and meteorology, among others, had infinite potential in matters of public health, agronomy and sanitation, and consequently formed an informal source of information for issues pertaining to the Lombard administration. As we shall see in greater detail in the following chapters, Beccaria perceived "vernacular" knowledge to be vital to the treatment of vernacular problems and consequently, these local individuals were more adept in addressing matters of public utility. However, these correspondents were neither administrative representatives, nor were they experts employed by the state, indicating that Beccaria's correspondence with these individuals was not in an official capacity, but rather stemmed from personal convictions regarding the potential utility of these disciplines – their expertise and knowledge – outside of the Academy. This was ultimately a pragmatic correspondent group who had much to offer Beccaria as an administrator. If we examine the contents of the correspondence more closely, we see that Beccaria's connections with this group increases after his award of the position of the Chair of Cameral Science. These individuals were not praising his work, as had occurred with many correspondents after the publication of *Dei delitti e delle pene*, but were instead forging connections with an individual they perceived as one of their own.

This is confirmed by the exceptions to the rule. The individuals from this group located outside of Northern Italy follow a similar pattern in terms of professions. From the world of arts and letters we encounter Fortunato Bartolomeo De Felice who was a professor of metaphysics and geometry in Naples before co-founding the Typographic Society of Bern, the printing house responsible for translating the works of Charles Bonnet, Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, Albrecht von Haller, Descartes, d'Alembert, Maupertuis and Newton amongst others; Gabriel-Marie Dupac de Bellegarde, a cavalry officer deeply involved in discussions on political economy and Physiocracy; the painter and writer Johann Heinrich Füssli; and John Wilkes, politician and frequent guest of both Madame Geoffrin and Baron D'Holbach's salons. We also see the celebrated doctor and inoculation advocate, Angelo

⁴⁵⁵ Much has been written on Alexander Humboldt's internationalization of his correspondence, for instance.

Gatti, who we will meet in greater detail later; and the naturalist Otto Frederik Müller. Additionally, we see the jurists Daniel Fellenberg, Jean-Pierre Brissot de Warville and Étienne Chaillou de Lisy. Fellenberg, a Swiss politician and Professor of Law at the Bern Academy, was a member of both the Société Helvétique and the Société des Citoyens and author of *Jurisprudentia antiqua continens opuscula et dissertationes quibus leges antiquae praesertim mosaicae, graecae, et romanae illustrantur*. Étienne Chaillou de Lisy, had translated *Dei delitti e delle pene* into French in 1773 (seven years after Morellet's version) in what was a far truer rendering of the text, and which was then included in Brissot de Warville's *Bibliothèque philosophique du législateur* in 1782.⁴⁵⁶

While Beccaria's correspondence with university professors, scholars, doctors and savants was never as substantial in absolute terms as with the administrative and political class, his dedication to the Lombard administration far from weakened his bonds with this intellectual community, which in fact increased in number in the later period of his life. Paired with Beccaria's limited correspondence with Philosophes and noted intellectuals, this conclusion suggests that we need to reconsider the extent to which Beccaria was part of the core debates and smaller "celebrity" networks at the heart of the Republic of Letters and the extent to which he perceived his work to contribute to and interact with the intellectual activities of this community. Beccaria's philosophy, as Chapter IV will clarify, is situated within philosophical traditions surrounding individuals like Hobbes, Locke, Helvétius and Condillac. However, while this intellectual genealogy is irrefutable, the correspondence casts doubt over whether Beccaria, who, despite having ample opportunity to nurture relationships with these individuals themselves, often chose not to, interpreted his thought as contributing to these discussions above all. He appears to instead have had greater interest in communicating with more humble Enlightenment thinkers and we are left to question whether this pattern complicates where we situate Beccaria's work in relation to the debates of the period. Does it lie best within the more strictly philosophical traditions, as associated with Locke and Helvétius, or is it better considered among approaches concerned less with the nature of public utility, than with how to obtain it? This scepticism is vital not only in reassessing the intellectual intentions of Beccaria's writings, but also to understanding Beccaria's approach to practical administration. As later

⁴⁵⁶ Brissot de Warville sends Beccaria a copy in July 1782; letter 541 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. V, 631.

chapters will highlight, Beccaria interpreted the administration to be a laboratory site for testing the means of preserving public utility and the social contract. Philosophy was ultimately meant to be useful and Beccaria used these connections with university professors and professional “men of science” in particular, to collect useful methods, approaches, knowledge and ultimately people themselves, deemed to have potential for the successful management of the public good. Beccaria continued to preserve communication channels with more “intellectual” groups and this behaviour shapes how we interpret Beccaria’s administrative career, which cannot be seen as distinct from the discussions, individuals and groups with whom Beccaria was also actively involved at the time. The constant communication with booksellers similarly illustrates the extent to which Beccaria remained intellectually active during his time in the administration. His continued contact with Swiss and Northern Italian booksellers as a group indicates that he never truly abandoned thought in preference of practice, and his frequently changing use of different individual booksellers documents that Beccaria continued to seek specific works, as opposed to merely acquiring the newest publications. As we shall see in the following chapter, this conclusion adjusts our perception of the intellectual climate of Beccaria’s thought, which was certainly not limited to the influence of works of the 1740s, 50s and early 60s, which had shaped *Dei delitti e delle pene*, but rather evolved across his lifetime. Conversely, we can query the extent to which Beccaria’s administrative career augmented his correspondence with other professional groups. The increased communication with university professors, savants and doctors for example can possibly be attributed to Beccaria’s desire to reach out to those who were of use to him in his administrative activities. It again attests to the substantial overlap of different layers of Beccaria’s professional identity. Philosopher, man of letters, university lecturer, administrator – the trappings of all these roles interacted throughout Beccaria’s career and we can consequently produce a more subtle account of his interests and intentions by acknowledging that each informed the other. Furthermore, Beccaria’s administrative ambitions link to the dual local and cosmopolitan nature of his correspondence. This combination, characteristic of the Lombard Enlightenment, has wider implications for how we interpret Beccaria’s understanding of the purpose of his network and his own work. Beccaria’s cultivation of both local and faraway connections was ultimately purposeful and served to benefit his own ambitions.

A community of strangers: Reconstructing Beccaria's imagined networks

Reading Beccaria's letters we see that he projects an image of and is perceived as partaking in, an Enlightenment community far larger than we have reconstructed from his correspondence. While this chapter has demonstrated that Beccaria was well-integrated in the Republic of Letters and maintained a more socially and geographically diverse correspondence throughout his career than most existing scholarship has suggested, his individual letters give the impression that he was far better connected to leading Philosophes and savants than his correspondence has portrayed up till now, posing the problem of how to align Beccaria's actual epistolary network with the "imagined networks" he actively projected. While all members of his network knew *a* Cesare Beccaria, the Cesare Beccaria they each encountered was by no means homogenous, but rather a vast series of amalgams based upon their own expectations and Beccaria's active cultivation of his image. How one attempts to present oneself within one's community is not necessarily a true picture of oneself (assuming that one presents only a single image as opposed to multiple, depending on the relationship with the individual based upon social hierarchy, familiarity, gender etc.), nor does it ensure that these fictions cement in the imagination of one's peers. To help explain this divergence between appearance and reality in early modern correspondence, many scholars have turned to the concepts of fashioning and self-fashioning. This latter term, coined by Stephen Greenblatt in discussion of Renaissance identities, broadly addresses the tradition of actively constructing one's persona to be presented to a community, in our case the Republic of Letters, as based upon accepted standards and the public expectations of this milieu.⁴⁵⁷ In this reading, Beccaria, aware of the social expectation for him to cultivate an extensive erudite correspondence, would have consciously fashioned himself as a more integral cog in the running of the Republic of Letters by conforming to the values and image of the ideal citizen. However, while self-fashioning helps remind us of the hyper-sensitivity of Enlightenment figures regarding their expected roles, responsibilities and identities in their scholarly community, Beccaria

⁴⁵⁷ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning, From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). The concept of self-fashioning has undergone extensive criticism in recent scholarship, but some studies have helpfully expanded upon the concept. See: Mary Terrall's defence of self-fashioning in "Biography as Cultural History of Science," 311; similarly, Richard Kirwan and Jonathan Davies in *Scholarly Self-Fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University* (London: Routledge, 2016). Sarah Pearsall helpfully criticises the concept, arguing that "when people wrote letters, they may have fashioned a self, but they were generally at least as interested in fashioning other", *Atlantic Families, Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century*, 13-115.

included our protagonist's imagined network did not serve to demonstrate his adherence to the norms of the *homme de lettres*. Instead, to explain the function of this network, this section will borrow from Franz Mauelshagen's reflections on early modern re-presentation and his description of the epistolary act of "imaginatively *re*-presenting, or rendering present, the absent other, thereby transforming a banal situation into lived reality",⁴⁵⁸ arguing that Beccaria and his correspondents consciously fashioned an imagined network which served to counter the limitations of a working, as opposed to ideal, Republic of Letters. Where circumstance prevented the Republic from reaching its desired density and geographical span, citizens bridged the gaps in this physical network with imaginative and literary bonds, actively assimilating their expectations and desires of the imagined Republic into its day-to-day *modus operandi* through a series of stylistic and rhetorical practices which served to "render present". Importantly, we see that these bridging techniques were selective and served to connect those individuals interpreted as intellectually "like-minded", rather than augment individual social statuses through forging connections with famous persons. These imagined networks thus form an intermediary level between Beccaria's actual epistolary network and the ideal Republic of Letters and serve to not only reveal perceptions of Beccaria's identity in this community through the individuals he was interpreted as being connected to, but also Beccaria's own perception of his intellectual genealogy and intentions.

This section will focus on one bridging practice in particular: citation and co-citation, perhaps more easily distinguished as name-dropping, though it serves an ultimately different purpose. Seemingly innocuous in its conspicuousness and tediousness, citation can prove dangerously deceptive when mapping the intellectual communities surrounding individual letter-writers. Reading Beccaria's letters, for instance, it would be easy to wrongly place him at the centre of a prolific and intimidating network of Philosophes. Yet, as tiresome a literary sin as it might appear, citation held a far more important purpose beyond that of social currency and can help us to understand the meaning and objective of networks for individuals in an age where limited means of communication and social, religious and geographical boundaries often meant that networks could not necessarily reach their ideal capacity or configuration. We can identify four main uses of name-

⁴⁵⁸ Mauelshagen, "Networks of Trust," 15–16.

dropping in eighteenth-century letters. Firstly and most familiar, name-dropping can be self-serving or pompous bragging, a practice which seeks legitimisation and claims personal authority through the prestige of others, often through emphasising the closeness of relationships with prominent individuals. Secondly, name-dropping can be a letter-writing convention, which is ritualistic and expected by recipients. It is not without meaning, but its primary function is to adhere to social etiquette. Then, there is name-dropping as a pledge for the future. This is a form of social indebtedness, where introductions are made with the knowledge that this courtesy will be reciprocated in the future, in particular for those who are “up-and-coming” in the Republic of Letters. Finally, there is name-dropping as intellectual genealogy. Here, citations serve to articulate one’s intellectual allegiances, positioning oneself in the field and using the attributes of others to assert one’s own similar identity. We witness this final form in a letter from André Morellet to Cesare Beccaria in July 1766:

I send you regards from everyone. Helvétius and Baron d’Holbach are in the country. Monsieur Buffon has returned from his estate to spend a fortnight in Paris. He thanks you and sends his best wishes. I have not yet seen Diderot since his return from Geneva because Baron D’Holbach is not here and his house is the only rallying point we all share. He also received your new edition. Before my departure, he received a letter from Mr. Ramsay, painter to the King of England who made a trip to Paris last autumn, which contains some general critical reflections on your work.⁴⁵⁹

Speaking about the whereabouts of friends, the toing and froing of the Parisian scene, the routine and the quotidian as is so crucial to the epistolary form, Morellet’s letter is at face value rather banal. There is decidedly no intellectual content here as we would often see in letters exchanged between Beccaria and his correspondents, just the fairly rudimentary activities of several famous names. It articulates an overall impression of familiarity to the reader, present not just between author and recipient, but additionally, through variously conveying their greetings, between this collection of Philosophes and Beccaria. It would be fairly easy to assume that all these individuals were in some way connected – if perhaps not friends or colleagues, then at least acquainted. Why otherwise, would it matter that

⁴⁵⁹ André Morellet to Beccaria (Paris, 17–30 July), letter 113 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 350: “Je vous fais les compliments de tous. Helvétius et le baron d’Holbac sont à la campagne. Monsieur de Buffon est revenu de sa terre passer une quinzaine de jours à Paris. Il vous remercie et vous salue. Je n’ai point encore vu Diderot depuis son retour de Geneve, parceque le baron d’Holbac nous manque et que sa maison est le seul point de ralliement que nous ayons l’un pour l’autre. Il a reçu aussi votre nouvelle édition. Il m’a voit communiqué avant mon départ une lettre de monsieur Ramsay, peintre du Roi d’Angleterre, qui a fait un voyage à Paris l’automne dernier et qui renferme quelques réflexions critiques générales sur votre ouvrage.”

Helvétius and Holbach were in the country? Yet, Morellet and Beccaria had never met. With Morellet based in Paris and Beccaria in Milan this was hardly surprising, but neither did they have a prolific exchange of correspondence within which a connection or friendship could have materialised – they had exchanged but two letters before this extract was written and had only first come into contact in January of the same year. Furthermore, Helvétius, Holbach, Diderot, Buffon and Ramsey were not just characters that Beccaria had never met in person, but there is no existing correspondence to suggest that they had ever exchanged even a single letter. In effect Beccaria had received a letter detailing the movements and greetings of famous, but unacquainted individuals. Morellet's citations are misleading, yet we cannot simply ignore the fact that he consciously included these unacquainted people, nor can we overlook name-dropping as a literary device more generally. Although Beccaria had no direct contact with Helvétius, Holbach, Diderot, Buffon and Ramsey, these individuals were not unknown to each other, but all formed part of coterie surrounding Holbach.⁴⁶⁰ They were thus part of a wider but defined intellectual network which Morellet was drawing Beccaria into and while these characters were not a part of Beccaria's direct correspondence, they were, at the same time, no longer completely absent, but in some interstitial space where multiple ego-networks overlapped. In Morellet's mind, Beccaria's network was not bounded by the actual contact he maintained but determined by the like-minded values Morellet believed Beccaria to hold. We can hazard such an interpretation because while the names included within his letter are casually discussed, they were not arbitrarily chosen. While we could merely remark that Morellet served to legitimise his own credibility and authority within the erudite community by identifying his connection to famous characters, or that he sought to provide crucial introductions for those desiring to be in contact with the then famous Beccaria, the cited individuals were especially pertinent to Beccaria's work. Morellet, as the translator of *Dei delitti e delle pene*, was acutely aware of its political and philosophical significance and was consequently introducing Beccaria to like-minded members of his network, such as Buffon, who was about to publish volume 14 of his *Natural History*. By including Buffon's name, Morellet was subtly introducing one brilliant thinker to another, generating an imagined or aspirational network based upon his own perception of these individuals' talents, fields and futures. Both Beccaria and Morellet were aware that Beccaria

⁴⁶⁰ See Alan Charles Kors, *D'Holbach's Coterie: An Enlightenment in Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

did not personally know these individuals, but yet they were still mentioned and in a very particular way, suggesting that both parties understood the function and protocol of this device. Citation thus went far beyond Morellet's own self-fashioning, but served to foment the intellectual pursuits of the Republic of Letters. If we compare his use of name-dropping to that in a letter from Giuseppe Mazzucchelli (a young and particularly endearing follower of Beccaria) to Beccaria in 1770, we can see the difference between the various strategic uses of this practice, as Mazzucchelli conversely used the technique to bolster his image in Beccaria's eyes.

J'ai été faire une visite à monsieur de Voltaire au chateau de Ferney. Ce grand homme m'a comblé de politesses et m'a retenû diner avec lui. Heureuse journée! Il y a chez lui monsieur d'Alembert, depuis quelques jours, et le pere Adame, comme vous scaurez bien. Mais devinez un peu quel a été le sujet le plus interessant sur qui ont roulé tous nos discours? Monsieur marquis, sur vous, sur votre sublime philosophie. Je vous assure (tue je vous suis aussi redevable des extremes politesses que l'on m'a l'aïtes, que je m'en souviendrai toute ma vie. Pardonnez moi, monsieur le marquis; mais j'ai osé dire a monsieur de Voltaire que je venois aussi pour lui faire vos compliments, et pour minformer de Totre part de sa santé: « Ah, monsieur », me repondit-il (et ces sont ses propres mots), « ah, dites à monsieur le marquis de Beccaria que je suis un pauvre vieilliard, agé de soixante et dix sept ans, que j'ai le iopied sur la fosse, que je ne souhaiterois d'être à Milan que pour le Toir, le connaître et l'admirer de plus prés comme je fais toujours ici. Remerciez-le bien de sa bonté et dites-lui que je ne cesserai jamais Tetre son admirateur .⁴⁶¹

Structurally, Mazzucchelli's approach is similar to Morellet's: he inserts both himself and Beccaria into an imaginary network of individuals, simulating friendship and connections within this group through his account of their activities and the conveying of salutations, therein revealing the imagined network that he perceived Beccaria to be a part of. However, we can clearly see that Mazzucchelli does not share Morellet's intentions, instead using this device to augment his own social standing. Unlike Morellet who sought to forge intellectual connections for the advancement of human knowledge, Mazzuchelli's imagine network seeks only to cement his personal connection to Beccaria. This section will consequently examine citation in cases like Morellet's where it articulates an imagined network based upon intellectual genealogy, where the correspondent presents the network that they believed that both they and their correspondents were, or ideally ought to be a part of, based not on tangible connections, but on conjectured like-mindedness, political and intellectual solidarity, and common interests. While we are often very prescriptive regarding

⁴⁶¹ Giuseppe Mazzucchelli to Beccaria (Geneva, 26 September 1770), letter 342 in *Edizione Nazionale*, 194–5.

what constitutes a network, these imagined networks are important for indicating the much wider mental boundaries and conceptions of networks within the eighteenth century which were not exclusively built upon direct contact, but on more informal means of communication – on brief personal encounters, hearsay, mutual friends, and institutional and professional kinship, amongst others. Networks could coexist on multiple planes and Beccaria’s collectively imagined network was a socially accepted means through which to nurture the ethos of the Republic of Letters in the face of significant organisational challenges. Examining Beccaria’s correspondence with the group Philosophes and noted intellectuals we can extract the names cited in these letters and visualise a new network which depicts Beccaria’s community as it was perceived, imagined, desired, or intended to be by Cesare Beccaria, Jean-Baptiste Le Rond d’Alembert, François-Jean de Chastellux, Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas Caritat de Condorcet, Pierre-Samuel du Pont de Nemours, André Morellet, Voltaire, Paul-Henri Thiry d’Holbach and Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (Fig. 9).⁴⁶² This imagined network greatly expands Beccaria’s ego-network and integrates it into a wider European network of savants. By differentiating between the cited persons with whom we know Beccaria had contact and those who we have no record of him ever meeting, we can identify the types of individual that have been pulled into Beccaria’s community by both he and his correspondents, and reflect on what their identities tell us about perceptions of Beccaria’s interests. To break this imagined network down: the small, dark blue nodes are the individuals from the category Philosophes and noted intellectuals who are citing others. The larger red nodes are the individuals cited by these Philosophes and noted intellectuals who are also correspondents of Beccaria. The even smaller, light blue nodes are the unacquainted persons referred to by either Beccaria or his correspondents (sometimes both) in a way (familiar tone, giving personal/intimate details, sending regards, pre-empting meeting in person) which insinuated their involvement in this community of connected individuals. The arrows proceed to show who was citing which name and share the source colour. The more arrows coming from a correspondent highlighting their higher propensity to name-drop and, more importantly, the more arrows pointing to an individual illustrating a higher frequency of reference within the letters. These multiple arrows demonstrate a phenomenon similar to “co-citation” and are the most revealing aspects of the network. In formal network analysis, co-citation is defined as when

⁴⁶² Note that this is not reference to writers who are from earlier periods. They must be contemporary to be cited.

two unconnected individuals are referenced together in ways which show that they are connected in the eyes of the writer.⁴⁶³ When the recurrence of this co-citation is high and is posited by different correspondents, then this provides a helpful measure of the perceived intellectual, social or political proximity between these co-cited individuals. Consequently, when more than one correspondent suggests that a figure is connected to Beccaria (including Beccaria himself), but we have no existing evidence of such a connection, this co-citation helps us to conclude that this individual was strongly interpreted to have had a strong intellectual or social connection to our protagonist, opening up questions of why this person was so believed to be linked to Beccaria and what this tells us about Beccaria's image and identity in the Republic of Letters. Within Beccaria's imagined network are the following co-cited individuals: Rousseau, Helvétius, Hume, Marmontel, Buffon, Jean-Charles-Philibert Trudaine de Montigny, Giovanni Battista Carburì di Cefalonia, Giovanni Gualberto de Soria and Joseph-Michel-Antoine Servan. Together, they make a formidable list of *Encyclopédistes*, savants, Philosophes and intellectual celebrities but, to repeat, these were individuals with whom Beccaria had neither epistolary contact (that we can recover), nor left any record of their meeting in person. Most importantly, this is not a list of the most famous Enlightenment figures of the time, but exhibits a specific collection of individuals tailored towards interpretations of Beccaria's identity. From the very act of being co-cited, we see that these persons were perceived as having strong social or intellectual ties to Beccaria and we can thus use these co-citations as mirrors of Beccaria's projected identity in the Republic of Letters, reflecting the perceived, mutual aspects of these co-cited individuals' personas. Most crucially for Beccaria's intellectual history, these co-citations augment the intellectual genealogy of Beccaria's work as we can use the attributes of these individuals as markers of how contemporaries viewed Beccaria's thought. The co-cited persons are not a homogenous group in terms of profession, nationality or even intellectual pursuits, and represent a diverse array of fields and interests. Yet, if these were the individuals most commonly linked to Beccaria then we have to seriously reconsider our predominantly legal understanding of his work and address the connections between his thought and theirs. To take one example; the connection drawn between Beccaria and Buffon is particularly striking. Beccaria had professed his admiration for Buffon's work in a letter to Morellet:

⁴⁶³ See Yves Gingras, "Mapping the structure of the intellectual field using citation and co-citation analysis of correspondences," *History of European Ideas*, vol. 36 (2010): 330–339.

The sublime work of M. de Buffon opened to me the sanctuary of nature. I read the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth quarto volumes in which I admired the two views of nature, which carried me away by the philosophical eloquence with which they are written.⁴⁶⁴

However, it was not just Beccaria who responded positively to Buffon's thought, as the citation demonstrates that their peers also interpreted them to have a strong intellectual connection. Both Beccaria and Buffon were considered to be concerned with the origins of society and the nature of man, and this connection helps to suggest that we have perhaps been using anachronous classifications to situate Beccaria's treatise. While today Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* and Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* are located in different disciplines, at the time they were considered to be complementary publications, not purely in terms of their success and the debates that they provoked, but in terms of content (as will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter IV). Buffon's work was particularly significant for the *Il Caffè* group and experienced a unique popularity among the Milanese Illuministi. Published by Galeazzi – “il tipografo degli illuministi Lombardi”⁴⁶⁵ – between 1770–1773 in 31 volumes, the translation of Buffon's work was most likely completed by the famous doctor and anatomy professor Pietro Moscati, a colleague of Beccaria, whose own work firmly preferred Buffon's theory to that of Linnaeus.⁴⁶⁶ The extensively circulated Milanese edition was prefaced by a defence of Buffon's work against his critics and appeared at the same time as the Habsburg educational reforms following the suppression of the Jesuit schools. Publishers like Galeazzi reflected the changing focus of Habsburg education, privileging works of philosophy, arts and sciences over the traditional subjects of letters and the works of both Beccaria and Buffon were models of this changing intellectual direction. Furthermore, we also find the citation of Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, whose publications *L'antiquité dévoilée par ses usages* and *Recherches sur l'origine de despotisme oriental* were posthumously published by Baron d'Holbach. Boulanger had used his knowledge of natural history to assert that the flood was an actual event so terrible that it had left mankind with an unconscious fear of its repeat, thus generating superstition which led to civil and

⁴⁶⁴ Beccaria to André Morellet (Milan, 26 January 1766), letter 68 in *Edizione Nazionale*, 222–3.

⁴⁶⁵ Carlo Capra, “Il tipografo degli illuministi lombardi: Giuseppe Galeazzi,” in *Libro, editoria, cultura nel Settecento italiano*, ed. Alberto Postigliola (Rome: Società italiana di studi sul secolo XVIII, 1989), 49–55.

⁴⁶⁶ Silvia Caianello, “Intorno alle prime edizioni italiane di Buffon,” in *Traduzione e transfert nel XVIII secolo tra Francia, Italia e Germania*, eds. Giulia Cantarutti and Stefano Ferrari (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2013), 101–5.

religious institutions.⁴⁶⁷ Boulanger saw fear as the root of all humankind's action and presented a vision of the evolution of society which was pinned upon the belief that man had not consciously created and nurtured social institutions, but had merely yielded to terror. His conclusions significantly influenced Buffon's account of human history and the citation of both indicates that Beccaria was perceived as being engaged in a particular tradition of natural history scholarship. Though less obviously connected, we also find the co-citation of natural historian and doctor Giovanni Battista Carburì di Cefalonia, who had been responsible for devising the new medical curriculum at the University of Turin by request of Carlo Emanuele III and who is best remembered for contributing a vast collection of zoological specimens to the university, as well as amassing a rich library. The connections drawn between Beccaria and these individuals foreshadow what the following chapter will demonstrate was Beccaria's extensive participation in a natural history reading culture, which directly influenced and was in dialogue with the account of the evolution of society and human nature that he proposed in the fragments for the *Ripulimento* and the *Elementi di economia pubblica*. It is consequently of great note that this connection was so apparent to his correspondents as it indicates that this anthropological element of Beccaria's work was treated as contributing to a more general discussion on social origins.

More obvious intellectual connections can be drawn between the political-philosophical interests of Beccaria and Rousseau, Helvétius and Hume, as well as the legal work of Giovanni Gualberto de Soria and Joseph-Michel-Antoine Servan. They represent diverse views within these fields, nonetheless the links made with these individuals indicates that it was Beccaria's social contract that correspondents found to be the point of commonality with other thinkers, even if his views on the matter differed. However, even the less obvious connections give a distinct impression of "like-mindedness". Jean-François Marmontel, for instance, was famous for championing religious toleration in *Belisaire* and for his reflections on morals (*Contes Moraux*) in "Le Mercure" further connects Beccaria to the Encyclopédistes and to discussions regarding social equality.

⁴⁶⁷ Buffon was even accused of plagiarising Boulanger. See: Antonello Gerbi and Jeremy Moyle, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 59.

Although citation is a less significant phenomenon than co-citation, when we turn to the singularly cited persons in the imagined network the type of person being referenced diversifies significantly. While we find some more predictable connections, such as the *Encyclopédistes* Montesquieu and Diderot, other citations in Beccaria's correspondence indicate that the associations Beccaria bore in his intellectual community bear little similarity to the popular image held of Beccaria today. For one, we see that Beccaria is linked to the political and administrative realm, through Italian, French and Habsburg officials such as Pompeo Neri, the Tuscan economist and reformist; Clément-Charles-François de l'Averdy, *contrôleur général des finances* of Louis XV and subsequently member of the l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; Christian Friedrich Karl Alexander Margrave of Brandenburg; and Consigliere Wetzlar.⁴⁶⁸ Strikingly, we also find mathematicians, such as Gabriel Cramer, who was famous for his correspondence and travels to see contemporary mathematicians, such as Johann Bernoulli, Euler, Halley, de Moivre and Stirling; as well as Charles Marie de la Condamine (who will reappear in Chapter VI): connections which were no doubt due to Beccaria's mathematical approach to political economy and the utility calculations offered by these mathematicians.⁴⁶⁹ Furthermore, we find citations attesting to the common knowledge of Beccaria's interest in public health. Reference to Jean-Omer Joly de Fleury, for instance, Advocate General to the Parlement of Paris, who famously opposed the publication of the *Encyclopédie* and banned inoculation,⁴⁷⁰ was clearly not an allusion to Beccaria's similar outlook on these issues, but a reflection of his strong contrary views on smallpox inoculation. Connected to this, we can understand why Beccaria would be linked to the physician Jean-Nicolas (Covisart) Demarets, known for his promotion of pathological understandings of disease, having argued that disease was organic and caused constitutional changes within the body and thus shifting medicine towards diagnostic approaches. Beccaria, as will become clearer in Chapter VI, was greatly convinced by the pathological approach to disease and it is striking that his correspondents were aware of his

⁴⁶⁸ We also see connections to the composer and *fermier général* Jean-Benjamin de la Borde; likewise, the *fermier général* Claude-Henri Wattelet who became famous for his *Essai sur les jardins*, 1774, which introduced the *jardin Anglois* to France; the French diplomat and writer Louis-Jules Bourbon Mancini Mazzarini, Duca di Nivernais; and Heinrich August Friedrich von Reitzenstein.

⁴⁶⁹ Gabriel Cramer's proposed solution to the St. Petersburg Paradox foreshadowed Bernoulli's utility theory, which we shall encounter in Chapter VI.

⁴⁷⁰ In one of his private letters, Voltaire described him as a "little black balloon puffed up with stinking vapours". Diana Guiragossian, *Voltaire's Facéties* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1963), 56.

interest in not only the biological dimension of disease, but also the political and legal issues pertaining to the control of disease via inoculation.

Additionally, we find Nicolas Fréret, Secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions, who had contributed to historical writing through his study of ancient chronology and his attempt to restore Chinese history to the history of civilization. More importantly, Fréret was an avid reader of Bayle (apparently whilst confined in the Bastille he had nothing but a copy of Bayle's dictionary) and subsequently produced materialist works which ultimately reduced religious belief to superstition derived from habit and education.⁴⁷¹ Fréret, alongside d'Holbach and Diderot is representative of Beccaria's connections and perceptions of his connections with leading French materialists and it pre-emptes the reading trends which will be examined in the following chapter. Furthermore, we can link this materialist dimension to geographical elements in the imagined network. While predominantly comprising French and Italian persons, the network also displays a significant number of individuals from English speaking lands. We saw in the previous maps how few of Beccaria's actual correspondents were located in these countries and thus the imagined networks significantly increase this connection to the English speaking world via the likes of David Hume, James Macdonald, Adam Ferguson, Allan Ramsay, George Keith Earl Marischal of Scotland and Henry Seymour Conway. While on the one hand this demonstrates that citation as a literary device perhaps also served to bridge linguistic boundaries in the Republic of Letters, it also helps to reveal the route by which Beccaria was exposed to Anglophone figures, namely via the French savants surrounding d'Holbach. This is especially pertinent as (as Chapters III and IV will highlight) there is on the one hand a remarkable absence of much "classic" Anglophone philosophy and political thought in Beccaria's traceable reading climate, while, on the other, we find a large number of French materialist works, many of which we know to have been responding to corresponding English discussions.

Finally, alongside Beccaria's epistolary exchanges with Condorcet and Du Pont we find a number of additional physiocrats drawn into his imagined network such as François Quesnay, author of physiocracy's foundational text, the *Tableau économique*; Jean Charles-Philibert Trudaine de Montigny, the director of the bureau of commerce, chemist and part

⁴⁷¹ He was posthumously attributed with the atheistic work *Examen critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne*, which will reappear in the following chapter.

founder of the *Journal de Physique*, Clément-Charles-François de l'Averdy, the Controller-General of Finances; and Louis Alexandre de La Rochefoucauld d'Enville, who alongside his salonnière mother the Duchess of d'Enville, frequented Mirabeau's "physiocratic Tuesdays". Beccaria's views on political economy have long been seen as having difficult relationship with physiocracy and these connections further complicate our understanding of the perception that Beccaria's peers had of the intellectual roots of his economic programme. While Chapters III and IV will demonstrate that Beccaria's economic thought was more deeply grounded in the Italian tradition of political economy, it is striking that it is the physiocrats who feature so extensively in this network, above the proponents of other contemporary European economic schools (broadly speaking) such as the cameralists, mercantilists or Neapolitan political economists. Moreover, these individuals are not being cited exclusively by fellow physiocrats, but by other members of the network, which raises questions as to the more commonplace associations made by Beccaria's correspondents as to his physiocratic views. We can hazard three speculative remarks on this trend. At the very least, it is indicative that Beccaria's work was seen as embedded in economic discourses and concerned with issues shared by the physiocrats however, the strong connections made here are similarly indicative of the difficulties Beccaria's peers had in placing his economic thought in relation to contemporary debates, perhaps finding greater parity between the physiocratic school and Beccaria's economic programme than was actually the case. Finally, we can consider to what extent this citation pattern reflects the anticipation of the physiocrats that Beccaria would embrace the physiocratic doctrine. The network does not offer any real answers to these questions, nonetheless it clearly suggests that these correspondents perceived Beccaria to either be, or would profit from, such connections to physiocratic thinkers.

Twenty of Beccaria's existing correspondents are cited within the network (including those who are citing).⁴⁷² The co-citation and citation of individuals who were already, or would become part of Beccaria's correspondence, helps to demonstrate the way in which this imagined network was internally reaffirming and its connections to Beccaria's actual

⁴⁷² Francesco Venini, Auguste-Guy Guinement de Keralio, Matthew Maty, Angelo Gatti, Alessandro Verri, Voltaire, Paul-Henri Thiry d'Holbach, Otto Friedrich Müller, Pietro Verri, Paolo Frisi, André Morellet, Karl Joseph von Firmian, Louis-Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld d'Enville, Gian Rinaldo Carli, D'Alembert, Bartolomeo Secco Suardo, Antonia Barbiano di Belgioioso, Luigi Lambertenghi, Guiseppe Visconti and Alfonsi Longo.

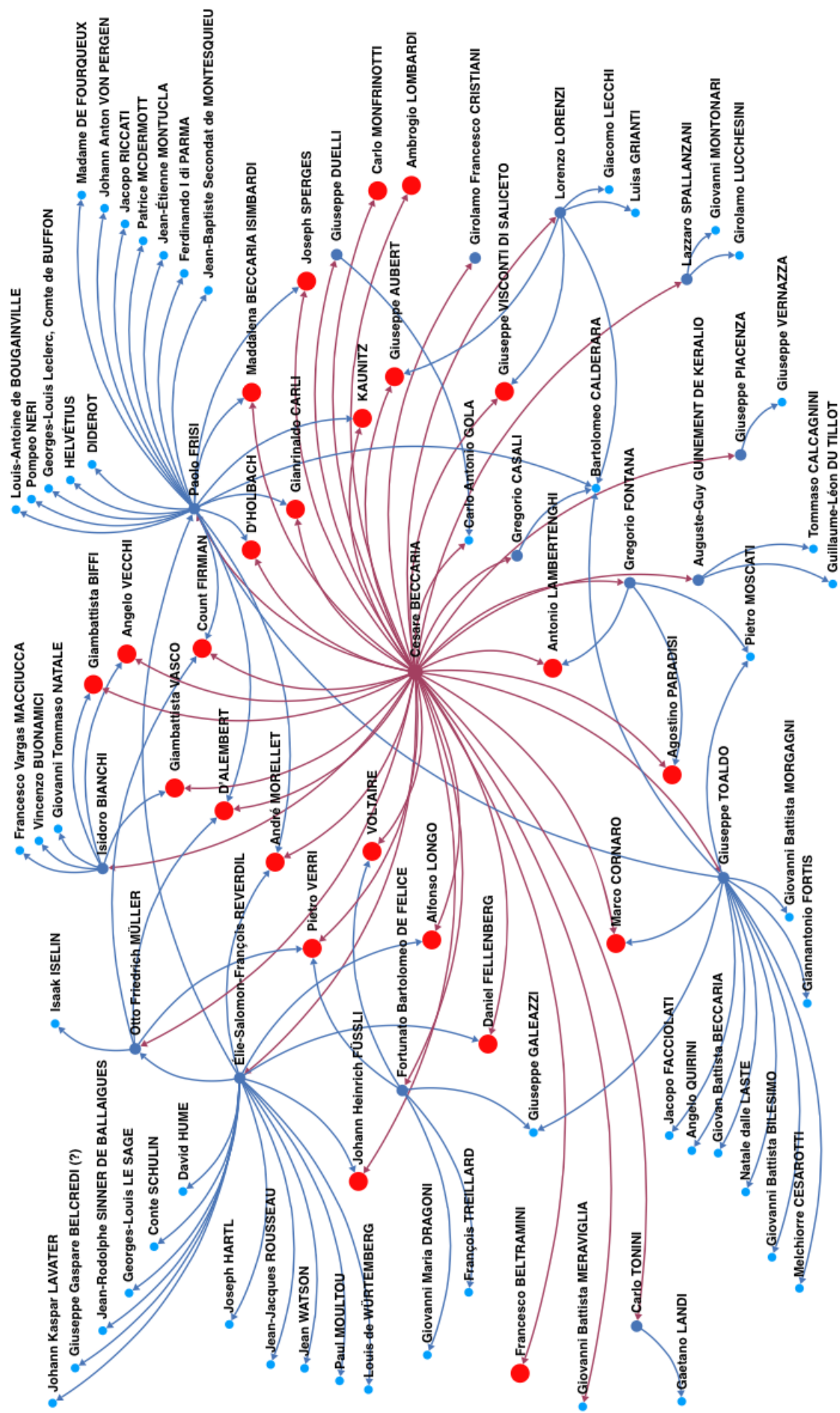
epistolary network. Such crossover shows that the imagined network was not purely fantastical, but based upon genuine perceptions of like-mindedness within an imperfectly functioning Republic of letters. Such a device was not a replacement for actual epistolary contact, but worked as a placeholder in scenarios where genuine communication was not possible at the time. Moreover, it illustrates the degree of consensus regarding who was indeed “like-minded”, suggesting that correspondents had an intimate knowledge of Beccaria’s thought, that they were incredibly discerning in whom they chose to cite, and that these were strong bonds between individuals. Again, some of these persons are more obviously connected, such as the Verri brothers, Morellet, Count Firmian and Gian Rinaldo Carli. Likewise Mathew Maty and Angelo Gatti attest to Beccaria’s focus on smallpox inoculation, which forms the core of Chapter VI. More interesting however, are the professors Paolo Frisi, Auguste-Guy Guinement de Keralio and Otto Friedrich Müller which perhaps points to the common knowledge that Beccaria maintained strong connections with this group and the connections between these groups more generally.

In fact we can compare this imagined network to that generated by Keralio, Frisi and Müller and the other university professors and practitioners from the fields of engineering, mechanics, mathematics, astronomy and natural history that we discerned from the geographical analysis. It is a larger network which, although generated by the citations of only fifteen correspondents includes fifty unexisting correspondents and twenty-four additional existing correspondents. The number of co-citations of existing correspondents remains high but we see a much lower number of co-citations of non-existing correspondents in this network, comprising only Giuseppe Galeazzi; the doctor and professor of medicine at the University of Pavia, Pietro Moscati; Carlo Antonio Gola, auditor of the Lombard administration; and Bartolomeo Calderara, member of the *Il Caffè* group and dear friend to both Beccaria and his first wife Teresa.⁴⁷³ We consequently lack the co-citation patterns which rendered the imagined network of the Philosophes so revealing regarding Beccaria’s intellectual identity. Instead, we see two different functions at play: the high co-citation of existing correspondents and the higher single citation of new individuals. It indicates that citation within this correspondent group ultimately served a

⁴⁷³ It is speculated that that this was a *ménage à trois*, which provoked great criticism from Pietro Verri among other close friends. See Carlo Capra, “Bartolomeo Calderara,” available at [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-calderara_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-calderara_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

different purpose. The degree of internal citation within this community reflects the strong bonds between individuals in this smaller network, not just to Beccaria but among one another. This was ultimately a more specialised network, within which citation was not a bridging technique to draw in like-minded individuals, but rather more functional; either intended to source appropriate persons for specific needs, or to refer to already prominent and authoritative members of this community. This latter form is seen through the high co-citation of existing correspondents. Here we find Otto Friedrich Müller, Johann Heinrich Füssli, Daniel Fellenberg and Agostino Paradisi from the group university professors, scholars, doctors and savants; Alfonso Longo, Paolo Frisi (also considered as a professor here) Giuseppe Visconti di Saliceto, all members of Beccaria's Milanese intellectual circle; the monk Antonio Lambertenghi, the bishop Marco Cornaro, who may have been an informal bookseller for Beccaria; the bookseller Giuseppe Aubert and André Morellet. The former, by contrast, is seen in the majority of single cited individuals, as we see for instance in Giuseppe Toaldo's citations, the majority of whom are his colleagues at the University of Padua. In fact we can trace many of the single citations more generally to the University of Padua, such as Giovanni Battista Bilesimo, who taught natural law, before becoming the consultant theologian to the Republic of Venice; Jacopo Riccati, Professor of Mathematics; Jacopo Facciolati, lexicographer and philologist who was the Professor of Logic and regent of the schools; Giovanni Battista Morgagni, regarded as the father of anatomical pathology who was Professor of Anatomy; Melchiorre Cesarotti who held the chair of rhetoric, followed by Professorships in Greek and Hebrew; Giovanni Antonio Lecchi, Professor of Philosophy in Pavia, Vercelli and finally Brera; and Giovanni Gaspare Belcredi, who was Secretary of Accademia degli Affidati in Pavia. It is reflective of the much more limited geographical diversity of this network as compared to the former: not only is there a clear predominance of university professors citing members from within this specific community, the vast majority of cited persons also hail from within Italy. However, even those outside of Italy are not too distant from this professional pattern. We see famous men of science, such as Giovanni Battista Beccaria, the famous physician and electrician; Georges-Louis Le Sage, the Genevan physicist known for his theory of gravitation, invention of an electric telegraph and his contribution to the *Encyclopédie*; Johann Kaspar Lavater, the physiognomist responsible for the *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe*, published between 1775 and 1778, based upon the observations of both Giambattista della Porta and Sir Thomas Browne in his *Religio Medici*

Fig. 10) Imagined network from correspondence with university professors and practitioners from the fields of engineering, mechanics, mathematics, astronomy and natural history



and Jean-Étienne Montucla, mathematician and historian of mathematics, as well as Johann Rudolf Sinner, head librarian of the Bern State Library, member of the *Ökonomischen Gesellschaft* and *Landvogt* in 1776.

However, what is striking is that alongside this fairly homogenous trend, we find a high number of administrative figures, many of whom had connections to Italian university culture. From the Habsburg administration we see important figures such as Kaunitz, Firmian and Sperges, as well as Johann Anton Graf von Pergen, Sonnenfels' predecessor as head of the *Polizey*. Furthermore, we encounter other officials based elsewhere in Italy such as Giuseppe Vernazza, Secretary of State in Piedmont and Guillaume du Tillot, minister of public finance, and then of first minister in Parma, as well as those abroad, like Count Schulin, the Secretary of State in Copenhagen; Paul Moulto, a Genevan member of the Council of Two Hundred and great correspondent of Rousseau; Girolamo Lucchesini, diplomat for the Kingdom of Prussia; and Isaak Iselin, the Swiss physiocratic, reformer and founder of the *Helvetischen Gesellschaft*. It suggests that there was a high level of integration between the university and administrative cultures and that individuals from these institutions were closely connected. As the following chapter will demonstrate in examining Beccaria's circulation of academic manuscripts, the period saw a significant increase in the cooperation between the administration and the universities, not only in terms of the Lombard administration becoming more involved in the university structure and curriculum, but also with regards to the exchange of "useful" knowledge between professors and the administration. However this is not the only point at which we see overlap. Attesting to the complicated identities within the Republic of Letters, we see some individuals who are present in both imagined networks. Among the actual correspondents who are cited in both networks are Pietro Verri; Morellet; the Danish naturalist Otto Friedrich Müller; fellow *Il Caffè* writer and mathematician Paolo Frisi; De Keralio, secretary to Condorcet and translator of many mathematical texts, as well as Voltaire, Holbach and D'Alembert, and we also see the repeated citation of the non-correspondents Rousseau, Diderot, Helvétius, Pompeo Neri, Buffon and David Hume. We can interpret these individuals as being the most commonly perceived as connected to Beccaria by a broader range of correspondents. They range from men of science to collectors, politicians and economists, but above all these common co-citations show the level of integration between the smaller intellectual networks of the Philosophes and university-based men of letters. To

give but one concrete example, we know that Beccaria had already met the natural historian Giovanni Battista Carbur di Cefalonia in Lyon at the home of the négociant Sacco in 1766 en route to meeting the Philosophes in Paris and this in addition to his occurrence in the imagined network by way of Chastellux no less,⁴⁷⁴ indicates the degree of integration between individuals from the savant and university classes in this network. This overlap is especially pertinent when we consider the structure and functioning of the Republic of Letters which, despite its ethos, often failed to nurture professional diversity, connection and even congeniality in its smaller sub-communities. The degree to which individuals of different groups are tied together in Beccaria's imagined networks is thus indicative of a community who, despite not being a specialised network in terms of focus or profession, were actively forging more complicated connections. Moreover, such connections reflect changing attitudes among both the administrative class and the intellectual class to be more responsive to developments arising from the scientific disciplines.

The connections we find in the imagined networks mirror some, but not all, of the trends we have seen in Beccaria's correspondence. There is a similar prominence of administrative and university figures, but at the same time there is also a more hidden intellectual dimension which links Beccaria to the physiocrats and the materialists and savants surrounding d'Holbach, which included natural historians the likes of Buffon and Boulanger. While the imagined networks have increased Beccaria's connections to famous Enlightenment figures, these are not connections to merely famous persons, but to a group of individuals who were clearly connected and who were seen as having points of intellectual commonality with Beccaria. What is more, tracing co-citation has simultaneously recovered lesser figures, many of whom are the links which bring the different professional groups in Beccaria's network together and who have been overlooked in favour of more prestigious actors.⁴⁷⁵ What is most striking however, is that is the patterns found in the imagined networks, not those found in the correspondence, which we similarly find in Beccaria's reading environment, as will be explored in the following chapter.

⁴⁷⁴ Sacco to Beccaria (Lyon, 25 October 1766), letter 158 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol.IV, 459–60.

⁴⁷⁵ See Yves Gingras, "Mapping the structure of the intellectual field using citation and co-citation analysis of correspondences," *History of European Ideas*, vol. 36, no. 3 (2010): 330–339.

Conclusion

This chapter has set about reconstructing Cesare Beccaria's epistolary network in terms of its evolving geography and social composition throughout his career. Contrary to the common conclusion that Beccaria retired from philosophy and the world, we see that he continued to foster a vibrant epistolary network throughout his lifetime, even during his employment in the Milanese administration. By reframing the terms of cosmopolitanism and participation in the Republic of Letters this chapter demonstrates that Beccaria's involvement in the Republic of Letters was extensive, continued and often strategic. However, although Beccaria manipulated his connections within his network to serve his changing needs and priorities at different points in his career and in response to political, social and geographical dynamics beyond his control, the overall composition of this community did not change significantly throughout his career and was, from the very start, made up of a more varied group of individuals than has often been claimed. However, by expanding the framework of intellectual networks to include imagined networks, we have also opened up Beccaria's intellectual connection to trends that we do not find in his correspondence alone, though many build upon existing patterns, above all, Beccaria's links to the intellectual community surrounding d'Holbach, to the physiocrats and to a more extensive group of Italian university professors. As the following chapter will show, many of the individuals who comprised Beccaria's imagined networks, also featured in his reading culture.

The trends, shifting connections and even gaps in the structure of Beccaria's epistolary network are consequently non-textual elements which greatly affect any intellectual history we write of Cesare Beccaria. Beccaria's network provides an intellectual genealogy which is more complicated than both that which is explicitly or implicitly expressed within his own work and subsequent literature. The connections Beccaria chose to nurture and the associations his correspondents drew with other individuals, are expressions of intellectual allegiance which enable us to reconsider and resituate Beccaria's work in terms of the intellectual currents and influences which shaped it and we find a range of "lesser" figures restored to prominence in terms of Beccaria's thought. Not to mention, the network structure itself articulates intellectual intentions. While we often think of intellectual intentions as textual utterances, patterns arising within networks can signal an author's growing or changing interests and intentions. Connections, attempted connections, the end

of connections within a network are rarely arbitrary but are relationships fostered or broken for definite purposes and how one manoeuvres within a network, with whom and with what level of formality, frequency and humility can reveal much about an actor's concerns at a precise point. While Beccaria's work is most often placed into the context of nascent criminological discourses and legal discussions, we have seen that his engagement with this sphere, be it represented by other individuals, institutions or locations, or (as will be addressed in the following chapter) articulated through book purchases or the circulation of manuscripts associated with this field, was remarkably limited and the connections that Beccaria fostered and the cited individuals drawn into the network, as brought into focus by mapping geographical and social trends, analysing social and information asymmetry, and tracing co-citations across, instead suggest an alternate intellectual climate for Beccaria's writing. Above all, we see that Beccaria was engaging with a network of individuals who crossed between the lettered, administrative and university professions, and whose intellectual interests were more directed towards the experimental sciences, economic sciences and natural history.

– CHAPTER THREE –

Cesare Beccaria's Biblioscape

The international booktrade in eighteenth-century Italy was profoundly complicated and impeded by all manner of diverse legal and institutional contexts. Renato Pasta's seminal research into the history of the book and publishing during this period has revealed the extent to which this trade was restricted by lack of capital, the reluctance to invest in new publishing technologies, dependence on aristocratic patronage and the absence of copyright legislation resulting in counterfeit publications, alongside the more general political and administrative fragmentation of the peninsula and the ecclesiastical grasp over society.⁴⁷⁶ Only by the final decades of the century did the demand for foreign publications in Italy increase, above all for French books, the majority of which were imported from the Swiss states, Lyon and Marseille.⁴⁷⁷ Pasta has concluded that Italy witnessed not a "reading revolution... but a change in taste and markets which increased secularization, weakened the ideological control of the church and contributed to pave the way for the boom of the democratic press after the French invasion of 1796."⁴⁷⁸ Austrian Lombardy, like the rest of the peninsula, followed a similar trajectory. It took until the 1770s for the market to become saturated with French literature which we see clearly reflected in the transactions of the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel (STN). In the period of Beccaria's adult lifetime Milan was awash with publications from the genres of *philosophie*, literature and religion, as well as politics, prose fiction and history.⁴⁷⁹ These categories comprised a diverse range of publications. Among the most purchased books in Milan were Goldsmith and Murphy's, *Histoire de François Wills ou le Triomphe de la bienfaisance, par l'auteur du "Ministre*

⁴⁷⁶ Renato Pasta, "The History of the Book and Publishing in Eighteenth-Century Italy," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2005): 200–217.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁴⁷⁹ As based on the STN book sales to and from Milan in the period 1769–1794.

de Wakefield [sic]". Traduction de l'anglois; Voltaire's, *Dieu. Réponse de M. de Voltaire au système de la nature*; Jonas de Géliou's, *Réflexions d'un homme de bon sens sur les comètes & sur leur retour ou Préservatif contre la peur*; Clément XIV's, *Bref du pape Clément XIV portant suppression de la ci-devant Compagnie de Jésus*; Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux*; Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's, *Voyage à l'isle de France, à l'isle de Bourbon, au cap de Bonne-Espérance*; Voltaire, Charles Borde, La Harpe and Marmontel's *Nouveautés*; Pierre-Jean Grosley's, *Londres*; Georg Jonathan von Holland, *Réflexions philosophiques sur le Système de la nature*; and Voltaire's, *Fragments sur l'Inde, sur le general Lalli, et sur le comte de Morangjés*.⁴⁸⁰

Austrian rule was partly responsible for the growing circulation of books in Northern Italy.⁴⁸¹ The Habsburg Empire had regulated the book market more generally through the strict censorship laws imposed by Maria Theresa in 1749 and the foundation of the Bücher-Revisions-Commission (later Bücher-Censurs-Hofcommission), on which sat famous cameralist figures such as Gerhard Van Swieten and Justi.⁴⁸² Continued under Joseph II, this censorship was above all intended to counter religious superstition, but along with the expansion of the book trade, censorship also extended into secular publications from genres as diverse as medicine, geography, politics, biography, natural history and poetry among others.⁴⁸³ However, the Habsburg government did not only seek to prevent the consumption of what it deemed harmful literature, but also to increase the readership of useful publications. This was particularly visible in the universities. In line with its ambitions to create a university culture where education was free from the constraints of the Church and to train a bureaucratic class tailored to the demands of the

⁴⁸⁰ STN data available at

<http://fbtee.uws.edu.au/stn/interface/rank.php?t=book&n=10&e=rawsales&p=p1256&g=town&d1=01&m1=01&y1=1769&d2=31&m2=12&y2=1794&d=table>. Note that Beccaria owned just one of these publications, Voltaire's, *Dieu. Réponse de M. de Voltaire au système de la nature*.

⁴⁸¹ While one might expect that the STN, considering its notoriety for illegal and pirated editions, would not have had much business with the administration, we find Count Firmian listed as a client during his time in Milan.

⁴⁸² Norbert Bachleitner, "Von Teufeln und Selbstmördern: Die Mariatheresianische Bücherzensur also Instrument der Psychohygiene und Sozialdisziplinierung," in *Kommunikation und Information im 18. Jahrhundert: das Beispiel der Habsburgermonarchie*, eds. Johannes Frimmel and Michael Wögerbauer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009) 202.

⁴⁸³ Norbert Bachleitner, "Von Teufeln und Selbstmördern. Die Mariatheresianische Bücherzensur also Instrument der Psychohygiene und Sozialdisziplinierung," 202–4.

Habsburg institutional framework, the Habsburg government became increasingly involved in the acquisition of books for the universities and the structure of library collections.⁴⁸⁴ Utility became paramount to the selection and availability of texts. Professors were to be actively consulted to ensure that only the finest scholarly publications were purchased, duplicate copies of texts were to be dispersed to other libraries in the region and, above all, only the most useful books were permitted into the Lombard library network. By 1770 the Lombard collections had been strictly organised: the library in Brera was established as a general library, the Ambrosiana was reserved for manuscripts, and the library in Pavia was dedicated to books required for scientific research, periodicals and publications from societies and academies.⁴⁸⁵ In addition to the reconfiguration in location and content of the university libraries, access to reading materials was also changing. Figures like Beccaria had free access to all aristocratic libraries in Milan, including Count Firmian's own 40,000 volume collection.⁴⁸⁶ Beccaria was thus immersed in a changing reading culture, on the one hand opening up to the foreign booktrade, and on the other, subject to the increasing regulation and organisation of the Habsburgs. Both would greatly affect his own reading practices as this chapter shall proceed to demonstrate.

Beccaria's booksellers

One crucial correspondent category has been neglected in the previous chapter: booksellers, publishers, editors, intermediaries, go-betweens, brokers and merchants. The relationships that Beccaria fostered with booksellers throughout his lifetime, prove to be one of the more revealing aspects of the correspondence collection, as it is through these individuals, mediating between multiple personal networks, that we see how Beccaria used and protected these relationships in order to maintain the pan-European channels he needed to keep himself abreast of the intellectual developments of the period. Beccaria maintained correspondence with a total of twenty-three individuals from this category, with exactly thirteen in each period 1758–98 and 1769–94, only three of whom appear in both

⁴⁸⁴ Lia Guerra, "The Circulation of British Books in Eighteenth-Century Pavia: Work in Progress," in *Britain and Italy in the Long Eighteenth Century, Literary and Art Theory*, eds. Rosamaria Loretelli and Frank O'Gorman (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 106.

⁴⁸⁵ Guerra, "The Circulation of British Books," 107.

⁴⁸⁶ Carlo Capra, "Pietro Verri e il 'genio della lettura,'" in *Per Marino Berengo: studi degli allievi*, eds. Livio Antonielli, Carlo Capra, and Mario Infelise (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2000).

periods (Giuseppe Aubert, Barthélemy Chirol, François Grasset).⁴⁸⁷ The majority of these intermediaries were located in Northern Italy, above all Milan and Turin, as well as in Geneva and Lausanne in the Swiss territories (Fig.11). Additionally, Beccaria had correspondents in Amsterdam, Bordeaux, Lyon, Paris and Vienna (not shown).



Fig. 11) Booksellers, publishers, editors, intermediaries, go-betweens, brokers and merchants 1758–1794

The period between 1767 and 1770 saw an overall increase in Beccaria's communication with booksellers outside of Milan, above all with Jean Signoret in Turin who acted as intermediary to Claude Philibert in Geneva,⁴⁸⁸ as well as with Jacques Étienne Rigaud in

⁴⁸⁷ Between 1758–68 we see Joseph Albert, Giuseppe Rondi, Jean-Louis Teron, Giovanni Battista Cremonini, Giovanni Battista Cervellera, Jacques-Étienne Rigaud, Jean-Pierre Signoret, Domenico Caminer, Sacco and Marco Coltellini; between 1769–94, we find Ami Bonnet, Gli editori livornesi dell'Enciclopedia, Carlo Longhi, Fedele Mainoni, Jean-Isaac-Samuel (?) Mingard, Giovan Claudio Molini, Marc-Michel Rey, Mosè Beniamino Foà, Fratelli Reycends e Guibert di Milano, Fratelli Reycends and Guibert di Torino.

⁴⁸⁸ See: “Répertoire des imprimeurs et éditeurs suisses actifs avant 1800 (R.I.E.C.H)” available at <http://dbserv1-bcu.unil.ch/riech/intro.php>.

Turin who was responsible for locating texts for Beccaria in France as well as with booksellers in Modena (Giovanni Battista Cremonini); Genoa (Giovanni Battista Cervellera, Carlo Longhi); Livorno (Fedele Mainoni, Gli editori livornesi dell'Enciclopedia) and Venice (Domenico Caminer). Outside of Northern Italy, we find Joseph Albert in Lyon; Barthélemy Chirol and Jean-Louis Teron in Geneva; François Grasset in Lausanne; Sacco in Lyon; Marco Coltellini in Vienna; Jean-Isaac-Samuel (?) Mingard in Bordeaux; Giovan Claudio Molini in Paris; and Marc-Michel Rey in Amsterdam.⁴⁸⁹ We can trace that five of Beccaria's correspondents in Northern Italy were clients of the STN, either as foreign book trade clients or *négociants*: Giuseppe Rondi in Bergamo; Giuseppe Aubert in Livorno/Pisa; Fratelli Reycends e Guibert di Torino (with an additional branch in Milan); Mosè Beniamino Foà in Reggio Emilia; and Ami Bonnet in Milan. Not only were they clients, but Ami Bonnet, the Fratelli Reycends, Giuseppe Aubert and Giuseppe Rondi were top clients for the STN in their respective cities, with sales of over 4,000 books from the STN between them. Beccaria's connections to the STN are particularly significant as its trading network was geographically vast and relatively unrestricted in content, therein indicating that Beccaria was actively fostering relationships with brokers who were deeply involved in a wider and more liberal booktrading network. We see this more strongly among Beccaria's foreign booksellers, many of whom were known for their trade in illegal, anti-clerical and pirated publications, such as Marc-Michel Rey, who had left Geneva for Amsterdam in order to profit from the city's greater religious tolerance; François Grasset who reached notoriety for his pirated edition of *La Pucelle d'Orléans*; Barthélemy Chirol who was a trusted dealer of the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel; and Jean-Louis Teron, another STN trader with a transactions catalogue filled with books variously listed as banned on Poinçot's Inventory of the Bastille, Joseph II's Index and the Papal Index. Overall, Beccaria was not dealing with small businesses or lesser known local traders, but with prominent and well-connected individuals in the booktrade be they local or abroad. These individuals, mediating between myriad personal networks, were crucial channels of information and goods exchange and Beccaria traversed these relationships in order to preserve and augment his own connections, not just in terms of access to publications, but

⁴⁸⁹ Jacques Etienne Rigaud to Beccaria (Turin, 21 February 1767), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.232; Jean Signoret to Beccaria (Turin, 16 April – 1 August 1767), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.232.; Rey to Beccaria (Amsterdam, 28 June 1767 – 1 February 1770), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.232.

indirectly to authors, editors and men of letters more generally.

We can focus on the relationship that Beccaria fostered with the bookseller Barthélemy Chirol in Geneva to draw attention to how our protagonist cultivated and used his relationships with intermediaries. Chirol, a bookseller, wholesaler and determined businessman, who started his career working with the prestigious bookseller Claude Philibert in Copenhagen, before trading under his own name from 1775 onwards, is unusual in the correspondence collection as we have a significant number of his letters preserved today and through these we can trace that, although the majority of Beccaria's letters to Chirol have since been lost, the two engaged in an extensive mutual exchange of letters throughout the period 1766–1773. The relationship between Barthélemy Chirol and Cesare Beccaria was far from a purely demand-supply dynamic, but was rather a complicated, consciously reciprocal, hybrid professional-personal relationship, which required constant recalibration to best serve each individual's needs. In such a relationship the customer was not so much king but depended upon said powerful intermediary, whose contacts were needed to ensure that desired publications were sourced and provided. Booksellers were thus central to the functioning of the Republic of Letters and the individual decisions, ambitions and financial interests of those like Chirol greatly altered the availability and reception of certain texts, as readers were often forced to work within the remits of booksellers' catalogues. With geographical and political impediments preventing the saturation of the Italian book market with foreign publications, clients needed to develop good relationships with trustworthy booksellers in order to ensure that they could source the texts they required and for the best prices. However, booksellers were similarly dependent on regular, reliable clients. Times were undoubtedly hard for late eighteenth-century booksellers, especially those trading on the Italian market, which was notorious for its commercial chaos, defaulters and regional idiosyncrasies. From Chirol, we consequently see far more than the average bookseller's pitch of the latest additions to their catalogue as, in amongst his clear concern to make sales, we can discern his methods for collating an honed knowledge of his client's and his client's immediate acquaintances' literary interests, in order to expand his network, better tailor his recommendations and steer Beccaria towards publications akin to, but more easily obtainable than, those which Beccaria had himself requested. Chirol displays an intimate knowledge of Beccaria's reading tastes. Aware of his interest in Voltaire's work, for example, Chirol frequently offers Beccaria

unsolicited information about his latest publications, such as the *essai historique et critique sur les dissensions des églises de Pologne* or *Charlot, ou la comtesse de Givry*.⁴⁹⁰

Recognising his importance in Beccaria's network, Chirol emphasised the reciprocity expected for his services, repeatedly soliciting Beccaria for recommendations to his friends and reminding him of his precarious financial situation.⁴⁹¹ Through Chirol we see that the bookseller-client relationship was a two-way-street: the intermediary provided invaluable channels of communication and, in return, the client was expected to secure their financial standing either personally or through recommendations. In a letter of August 26th 1767, for instance, Chirol appealed to Beccaria intellectually, manipulating the content of *Dei delitti e delle pene* in highly nuanced detail to gently remind him of the core value of reciprocity:

C'est avec une véritable peine que je vous fais ce détail, vous priant d'être très persuadé que vous me trouverez toujours disposé à remplir vos commissions ainsi que celles de messieurs vos amis; mais il faut aussi de votre part, monsieur, de la reciprocité: c'est le droit des gens, c'est aussi celui de l'humanité dont vous avez fait un si beau tableau dans votre livre *Des délits et des peines* etc.⁴⁹²

Appealing to the beautiful depiction of humanity contained in Beccaria's book, Chirol articulates the value of reciprocity as a right of humankind, professing his professional dedication to Beccaria and his acquaintances as a reflection of the humanity which Beccaria himself conveyed through the printed word. Here, Chirol betrays his intellectual standing. This is no disinterested trader, but an engaged partaker in the intellectual debates of the Republic of Letters, able to exploit the philosophical content of Beccaria's treatise to his own ends. As a bookseller, Chirol was providing a service for profit, but these individuals were often well-educated, read and connected, and were integrated in the intellectual discussions of the Republic of Letters as well as providing its materials. Some booksellers in Beccaria's correspondence were also knowledge producers, such as Jean-Louis Teron who was also an accomplished mathematician. On this issue, Renato Pasta has remarked that "several men of letters turned printers or booksellers, out of love of learning and the need to provide correct editions of their own works. All this suggests that the boundaries of

⁴⁹⁰ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 19 August 1767), letter 200 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 568: "Il paroitra encore sous quelques jours un nouvel ouvrage de monsieur de Voltaire, d'un bon volume qui ne pourra gueres être envoyé par la poste."

⁴⁹¹ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 26 August 1767), letter 201 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 571–2.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 571.

the profession remained flexible and that the fragmented Italian book market constantly operated under the influence of strong extra-economic constraints".⁴⁹³ More importantly for our purposes, this intellectual standing, alongside the dependency of their clients, likewise rendered booksellers as key agents in determining the contemporary intellectual climate. Rather than purely responding to the demands of the market, we can interpret figures like Chirol as taste-makers, shaping the reading habits of their clientele through their personal choice of publications and the books they chose to trade. We witness this in Chirol's behaviour as, alongside providing the books that Beccaria has actually requested or related titles, he pushes Beccaria to purchase publications that he himself recommends, based upon his knowledge of both Beccaria's interests and the current literary trends. On many occasions we see Chirol fail outright to obtain Beccaria's literary requests, or instead find said publications in alternate editions or translations than had been requested, or more commonly, provide only one particular printed edition of a text within his catalogue. Such restrictions ultimately result in a modification of the intellectual responses of clients to such texts, as they are rendered the receivers of particular, imposed versions or interpretations of publications. Consequently, we see that Beccaria's book purchasing and reading habits were directly affected by the interpretation that intermediaries, such as Chirol, had of his interests, their own personal taste and their abilities as merchants.

While Chirol's tastes had consequences for Beccaria's reading habits, so too did his methods of transporting goods. Returning to Chirol's letter from 1767, we see that Chirol has sent a case of books to the Marquis Moriggia della Porta and his secretary Brini, within which he believes Beccaria might find something to his taste. Chirol explains that he is sending the books to the Marquis Moriggia della Porta due to the restrictions imposed in the Republic of Geneva, forbidding trade with France, thus requiring him to dispose of the publications rapidly and for minimal compensation.⁴⁹⁴ Similarly, in a later letter we see that

⁴⁹³ Renato Pasta, "Towards a Social History of Ideas: The Book and the Booktrade in Eighteenth-Century Italy," in *Histoires du Livre: Nouvelles Orientations: Actes du Colloque du 6 et 7 septembre 1990, Göttingen*, ed. in Hans Erich Bödeker (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1995), 116.

⁴⁹⁴ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 21 February 1767), letter 176 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 510–11: "J'ai à votre service 2 à 4 exemplaires de ses oeuvres complètes en 34 é 36 vol. 8°, dont je vous accommoderai ainsi que des articles cy-après notés, parceque la triste situation dans laquelle se trouve notre République, par l'interdiction du commerce avec la France, rend l'argent d'un rare qu'il n'est gueres plus possible d'y tenir, ce qui nous oblige à donner nos marchandises au

Chirol is sending books to Turin August 19th, 1767:

Je vous envoie par ce courier, comme vous le souhaitez, un exemplaire de *l'Ingenu*, *histoire veritable* par monsieur de Voltaire, et je ferai partir aujourd'hui ou demain dans une caisse par Turin les articles que vous me demandez pour monsieur le marquis Calderara. J'y joindrai 2 à 3 exemplaires de *l'Ingenu* etc., car je pense qu'étant bons amis vous lui communiquerez celui que je vous envoie par la poste, cela lui évitera un port assez considerable.⁴⁹⁵

For logistical reasons, booksellers often sent several deliveries all-together, either to be collected in person or passed along through multiple hands until the rightful owner was located. However, this indirect network, where books were passed around from publisher to bookseller, to neighbour or colleague or correspondent, and finally to client, had great impact on the intellectual climate, as with each pair of hands knowledge of said publication(s) spread, was interpreted and disseminated in new forms. Thus, while Chirol might have needed to quickly rid himself of compromising material due to the Genevan restrictions, by sending unsolicited materials out to an entire network of individuals in a bid to drum up business more generally, he simultaneously amplified the availability of the text, not just through the physical book itself, but through its subsequent transition into other mediated and interpreted forms of communication. Beccaria even criticises this technique in a letter from 1768, where we see his frustration at Chirol's attempt take advantage of his important role as one of Beccaria's key entry points to the booktrade:

Monsieur, vi prego di porgere la più esatta attenzione a quanto vi scrivo in italiano per ispiegarmi più chiaramente. Due cose mi cominciano a sorprendere nell'ultima vostra. La prima è che mi esibite di disporre altrove dei libri che io non ho ricercato, e che non voglio ritenere, per risparmiarmi, come dite gentilmente, le spese del rinvio e poi, alla fine della lettera medesima, mi volete fare debitore di 689.7, ch'è il residuo del debito che mi apponete compresi anche i libri che non voglio ritenere.⁴⁹⁶

dessous même de ce qu'elles nous ont coutées. De sorte, monsieur, que si vous vouliez, ou messieurs vos amis, faire des emplettes, vous pourriez les faire à très bon compte; et je viens même d'expedier une caisse à monsieur le marquis Morigia, dans laquelle il peut y avoir des articles de votre gout. J'écrirai par premier courier à monsieur Brini son secretaire de vous communiquer la facture, avant qu'il la presente à d'autres personnes, car j'ai besoin d'argent pour pouvoir faire honneur aux engagements que j'ai pris avec d'autres libraires, et auxquels il m'importe de faire honneur."

⁴⁹⁵ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 19 August 1767), letter 200 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 568.

⁴⁹⁶ Beccaria to Barthélemy Chirol (Milan, 31 May 1768), letter 231 in in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 635: "Dear Sir, I entreat you to pay the most exact attention to that which I will write here in Italian in order to express myself more clearly. Two things took me by surprise in your last letter. The first is that I was presented with quite some books that I had not requested, which I do not believe, as you so kindly stated, was intended to save me further expenses, considering that at the end of the

The structure of booktrading networks directly shaped Beccaria's intellectual climate. This was not a purely passive result, but partially derived from Beccaria's decision to foster relationships with booksellers such as Chirol. It consequently leads us to query the reasons why Beccaria chose to buy from Chirol and specific booksellers in the Swiss territories and France, rather than from other more local traders. The most obvious explanation is Chirol's standing as a seller of restricted, illegal publications. We have already seen that Beccaria had many connections to STN traders; however, Chirol was a special case as, after the STN was forced to act more cautiously in trading illegal texts, Chirol became one of their select, trusted traders, alongside François Grasset in Lausanne, another of Beccaria's booksellers.⁴⁹⁷ Thanks to the extensive transactions database of the STN, we can trace that Chirol had supplied approximately 3,500 books between 1769 and 1794, including 22 titles, such as *Dialogue entre un évêque et un curé sur les mariages protestans*, and *Reflexions d'un citoyen catholique sur les lois de France relatives aux Protestants*, which were all variously included in such lists of banned literature as Joseph II's and the Papal index. In fact, we see that five of the twenty most supplied books by he and Philibert have STN illegality markers, as do three of those he personally supplied, as well as four of the twenty most bought books by both traders. If we look at the books Chirol includes as recent additions to his catalogue in a letter to Beccaria in 1767, we find that at least three of these publications are flagged with illegality markers due to their pornographic or anti-clerical content, as well as the *Tableau philosophique de l'histoire du genre humain* which was included in Joseph II's index of banned books.⁴⁹⁸

Especially telling however, are the additions to the catalogue that Chirol lists within his letters to Beccaria. Not only does this effort demonstrate the strong relationship between the two individuals, as this was a practice reserved for important clients, it is within these

letter you then charged me 698.70 for the remaining cost of my books, including all those which I do not want to keep.”

⁴⁹⁷ See: Mark Curran, “Beyond the Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France,” *The Historical Journal*, vol. 56, no. 1, (2013): 89–112: “Once bitten, the Neuchâtelois were more careful with how they dealt with illegal books, and for some time they stopped printing them and avoided holding large stocks. Instead, the society established relationships with allies including François Grasset in Lausanne, Barthélemy Chirol, and Gabriel Grasset in Geneva, as well as with Samuel Fauche in Neuchâtel. They advertised some illegal works held by these nearby traders *as if* they were in stock, knowing that they could either pass on the orders or fulfil them without severely holding up the supply chain.”

⁴⁹⁸ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 19 August 1767), letter 200 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 568–70.

unofficial lists that we see the more controversial titles being listed than can be found in catalogues or the STN transactions database, for obvious reason. Here, Chirol offers Beccaria such respectively libertine, libellous and anti-clerical books as *Imirce, ou la Fille de la nature* by Henri-Joseph Du Laurens; *Lettres, mémoires et négociations particulières du chevalier d'Eon, ministre plénipotentiaire de France auprès du roi de la Grande Bretagne avec M.M. le duc de Praslin, de Nivernois, de Sainte-Foy et Régner du Guerchy, ambassadeur extraordinaire* by Charles-Geneviève-Louis-Auguste-André-Timothee d'Eon de Beaumont; and *Di una riforma d'Italia, ossia dei mezzi di riformare i più cattivi costumi e le più perniciose leggi d'Italia* by Carlantonio Pilati. Furthermore, we know that Beccaria himself was requesting anti-clerical material from Chirol, including Voltaire's *l'Ingenuë, histoire veritable tirée des manuscrits du père Quesnel*, which Chirol provided along with additional copies for Beccaria's friend, the Marquis Calderara.⁴⁹⁹ Thus, it does not seem improbable that Beccaria considered Chirol to be an important contact in sourcing the more controversial publications of the period. While there was an increasing availability of texts in Italy due to the lack of copyright laws, the strict censorship imposed by Maria Theresa and subsequently Joseph II in Lombardy often meant that many publishers could not take advantage of this situation and thus such clandestine texts never reached the Italian presses and had to be sourced elsewhere.⁵⁰⁰

Another very possible reason for Beccaria's choice of intermediaries was the opportunity to insert himself into their networks, thus enabling him to benefit from their connections. Booksellers like Chirol played a number of brokering roles in the Republic of Letters, many of which were advantageous to their customers. Turning to a letter from Chirol to Beccaria from 17th February 1767, for instance, we see that Chirol also acts as a messenger between citizens in the Republic of Letters:

Je m'étois flatté, monsieur, recevoir aujourd'hui de vos bonnes nouvelles sur le contenu de ma précédente, qui vous portoit facture de l'envoi que j'avois eu l'honneur de vous faire. Du depuis monsieur Voltaire m'a chargé de vous prier d'agréer ses compliments la première fois qui je vous écrivois, et qu'il n'avoit reçu aucune lettre de votre part. Vous

⁴⁹⁹ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 19 August 1767), letter 200 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV: "Je vous envoie par ce courier, comme vous le souhaitez, un exemplaire de *l'Ingenuë, histoire veritable* par monsieur de Voltaire, et je ferai partir aujourd'hui ou demain dans une caisse par Turin les articles que vous me demandez pour monsieur le marquis Calderara. J'y joindrai 2 à 3 exemplaires de *l'Ingenuë* etc."

⁵⁰⁰ See: Alceste Tarchetti, "Censura e censori di Sua Maestà Imperiale nella Lombardia Austriaca: 1740–1780," in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, vol. II, eds. De Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 741–792.

m'aviez cependent, monsieur, marqué que vous vouliez lui écrire, et puisque cela n'est pas fait encore, vous pouvez m'adresser votre lettre qui lui sera remise ponctuellement, et vous aurez bientôt une reponse gracieuse de sa part.⁵⁰¹

Here, we are presented with Chirol's relationship with Voltaire and his attempts to foster communication between Beccaria and the great Philosophe. Chirol conveys to his client that he is in extensive contact with Voltaire, or at the very least, in communication frequent and amicable enough for Voltaire to have entrusted Chirol to convey his good-wishes to Beccaria and to request he get in touch. In this regard, we see Chirol additionally acting as a social intermediary, performing the invaluable service of providing necessary introductions required to connect members of the Republic of Letters. Such a matchmaking enterprise would no doubt reap crucial financial gains for Chirol through social prestige, but nonetheless, he demonstrates how intermediaries were central to the enrichment of the intellectual elite's networks, as it was their contacts and their willingness to share these contacts which helped facilitate communication between the local and the wider "Republic".⁵⁰² We see Chirol continue to relay between Beccaria and Voltaire, reporting on August 19th, 1767:

Il travaille plus qu'il n'ait jamais fait; et malgré cela il fait jouer la comedie chez lui pour amuser messieurs les officiers qui sont en garnison aux environs de notre ville. Il fait plus encore, il les régale en les accueillant chez lui et à sa table. Vous seriez étonné, monsieur, en ne voyant en lui presque qu'un squelette, d'y trouver tant de gaieté et de vivacité. C'est un feu qui petille, ses yeux parlent pour lui. Ne viendrez-vous point profiter de ses ris et graces?⁵⁰³

Pausing to consider the practicalities of maintaining Pan-European communication networks, we see how characters like Chirol, who boasted the ability to introduce and mediate between important Philosophes, consequently held a powerful role in ensuring the existence of the Republic of Letters. Far from purely trading through these networks, such intermediaries were the glue which held the social fabric of the Republic of Letters together and who facilitated the merging of disparate epistolary networks. In fact, Chirol's letters indicate how booksellers' connections often resulted in their going beyond the dimensions of their job description, facilitating the physical couriering of material goods (on multiple

⁵⁰¹ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 21 February 1767), letter 176 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 510.

⁵⁰² Other booksellers in Beccaria's correspondence had similarly impressive networks, such as Mosè Beniamino Foa, the librarian to the duke of Modena.

⁵⁰³ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 19 August 1767), letter 200 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 569.

occasions we find Chirol offering Beccaria a gold watch or a bolt of fabric)⁵⁰⁴, as well as news, gossip, information and vital social introductions. Furthermore, Chirol's connections could profit Beccaria's career in more direct terms, through both advice and connections. In a letter from Chirol to Beccaria dated August 19th, 1767 we see the bookseller quiz Beccaria on the progress of the *Ripulimento delle nazioni*: "Peut-on aussi vous demander, monsieur, quand vous comptez pouvoir enrichir le public de votre grand ouvrage projeté? Qui en sera le traducteur? Je pense monsieur l'abbé Morellet."⁵⁰⁵ We can initially remark on the fact that Chirol knew of Beccaria's manuscript. News of Beccaria's upcoming work was circulating throughout his close correspondents and Chirol's knowledge of it indicates that he was integrated into a privileged group. While it would seem to be savvy for Chirol as a bookseller to try and monopolise on the upcoming publication of one of the most celebrated writers of the period, he does not ask to be involved in the project, but rather gives his opinion that Morellet, original translator of the French edition of *Dei delitti e delle pene*, should also try his hand at translating the new work. While we cannot reconstruct Chirol's intentions here, we can at least draw attention to the fact that booksellers such as Chirol were not only well-informed about the manuscripts of key Enlightenment figures, but were connected and knowledgeable in ways which rendered them useful in the production as well as the distribution of printed works, thus enhancing their responsibility in altering the intellectual climate of the Republic of Letters. Such advice was not necessarily economically auspicious but was a gesture demonstrating Chirol's participation and contribution to learned society.

The relationship between Beccaria and Chirol demonstrates how the process of information circulation directly affected Beccaria's intellectual climate. While we can trace the more atomised ideas that shaped Beccaria's thinking (as is addressed in Chapter IV), we can likewise use the material transit of the publications articulating these ideas to reflect upon what was available to Beccaria and the consequences of living within an intellectual environment which was significantly shaped by the networks through which texts circulated. Through Chirol, we see that Beccaria's book purchasing and reading habits were directly affected by the interpretation intermediaries had of his interests and their own

⁵⁰⁴ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 28 February 1767) letter 177 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 516.

⁵⁰⁵ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 19 August 1767), letter 200 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 569.

personal tastes, as well as their ability to source publications and their financial ambitions. While Beccaria strategically chose booksellers who would be the most capable of sourcing desired publications and whose networks could prove to be the most profitable, he was simultaneously at the mercy of these same booksellers' own interests. Beccaria could not determine the publications which Chirol encouraged him to purchase and either had to trust in Chirol's sensitivity to his interests, accepting these texts under the assumption that they were pertinent to his intellectual objectives, or had to decline, which nonetheless meant that he was aware of these publications. Consequently, we see that Beccaria's literary interests were the product of an ongoing cycle of interpretation as booksellers were responsible for moulding the reading climate surrounding him. On both Chirol and Beccaria's sides of their exchange, we witness that this relationship was not intended to blindly facilitate the circulation of new publications. Whether based on Beccaria's direct requests, Chirol's perception of Beccaria's interests, or his financial interests at the time, the texts being circulated and discussed were tailored to this particular relationship.

Reconstructing Beccaria's biblioscope

As both a man of letters and a Milanese state functionary, Cesare Beccaria's reading climate was greatly affected by both the opening up of the booktrade to the foreign literary market as well as the "useful" Habsburg reading culture germinating in the Lombard universities and libraries. As we have just seen, Beccaria was an avid consumer of literature, maintaining relationships with multiple booksellers and intermediaries throughout his lifetime and many of whom were known for their trade in illegal publications. However, the booktrade in Milan and Beccaria's formal book purchases do not provide sufficient context to understand Cesare Beccaria's own reading habits and his immediate literary climate, which were arguably also shaped by his rich network of correspondents. This epistolary network was the most important and efficient space for information exchange available to Beccaria, not only through his extensive relationships with booksellers and intermediaries who provided the publications housing ideas themselves, but also via the informal modes of news and knowledge transfer which kept Beccaria abreast of the intellectual productions of both his correspondents and others. While the previous chapter served to present the individuals who formed Beccaria's network, questions remain regarding which publications and ideas circulated throughout this network, therein framing

Beccaria's immediate cultural and intellectual context.

To address these questions, this chapter reconstructs the traceable reading habits and frame of cultural and intellectual reference surrounding our protagonist during his lifetime. Referred to as Beccaria's "biblioscape", this web contains all the publications which we can trace Beccaria having some form of contact with, be it through ownership, citation, recommendation or request. More than merely a catalogue of the texts and manuscripts we can be certain Beccaria owned,⁵⁰⁶ the biblioscape mines extant correspondence and archival documents to include the books he purchased from booksellers, as shown by receipts and invoices; the books he requested from booksellers but never received; the books he was citing, recommending and sending to members of his correspondence network; and those citations, recommendations and texts he received in exchange. While the books in the biblioscape were not necessarily read or owned by Beccaria, they all, at the very least, passed through his consciousness via explicit reference, if not more literally through his hands on their way to other members of his network. There are obvious criticisms to such an approach. As Renato Pasta has observed, "to own a book does not necessarily mean to read it. Even less does it imply carrying out the author's political or ethical strategy". Robert Mayhew has similarly stated that citations and recommendations need to be treated with caution, underlining that we can glean little from counting citations alone as they cannot tell us "whether a citation was positive or negative, showed close reading and detailed engagement, or merely a quick skim," and that we must remain wary of the material issues of access which shaped citation patterns.⁵⁰⁷ However, heading both these warnings, the biblioscape serves to counter debates regarding Beccaria's explicit intellectual heritage by stepping away from any search for origins and instead reconstructing the more general reading and intellectual climate of his network. The sheer size of the biblioscape, which runs to a total of 698 author (where the specific publication is not made clear), book, journal and newspaper titles, is the antithesis of the close-textual study needed to draw

⁵⁰⁶ As based upon the list of books that Beccaria sold to the bookseller Reycends in 1777 and the books he received upon leaving the family home. "Notta de' libri consegnati all'illustrissimo signor marchese don Cesare Beccaria sotto il giorno 27 febbraio 1761", Biblioteca Ambrosiana, *Raccolta Beccaria*, B.234, 4.2b.

⁵⁰⁷ Robert Mayhew, "Mapping Science's Imagined Community: Geography as a Republic of Letters, 1600–1800," *The British Journal for the History of Science*, vol. 38, no.1 (2005): 77.

accurate genealogical lines between thought and influence. Examining trends in this wider network thus cannot provide us with any answer as to the direct heritage of Beccaria's thought, but provides us with a quantitative overview as to which discussions, disciplines and authors were more prominent in this network's collective reading, book purchasing, exchange and citation habits. Consequently, the purpose of this chapter is neither to align Beccaria's thought with any or all of the publications in the biblioscope, nor does it aim to reflect at length on which references or citations were positive or negative. Rather, the biblioscope intends to resituate Beccaria and his network within their own self-generated web of intellectual and cultural references in order to understand the diversity and trends of this particular web as compared to the more general reading culture of Milan, the Republic of Letters, and eighteenth-century Europe. In doing so, it additionally obfuscates the existing accounts of Beccaria's intellectual heritage, which by and large see Helvétius, Grotius, Locke, Montesquieu, Pufendorf and Hobbes as the backbone of Beccaria's political philosophy. While the biblioscope does not intend to dispute or overturn this genealogy, it does offer a more diverse and complicated, at times even conflicting, account of his intellectual climate. We see new links between texts, restore non-canon texts to prominence and recover perceptions of these texts and their relation to one another.⁵⁰⁸ Reconstructing Beccaria's biblioscope we find trends demonstrating that discussions concerning political economy, political philosophy and natural history took centre stage, while legal and "criminological" literature commanded only a fraction of Beccaria's attention. We also discern that Beccaria's network embraced diverse and conflicting views within these genres, exploring controversies as opposed to asserting intellectual allegiances. Furthermore, the biblioscope reveals that Beccaria was part of the circulation of manuscripts from "useful" disciplines, such as mathematics, medicine and natural history.

⁵⁰⁸ Matthew Symonds and Jaap Geraerts, "XML and the Archaeology of Reading," in *A Handbook of Editing Early Modern Texts*, eds. Harriet Phillips and Claire Loffman (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming): "The project is an archaeology of reading because we are seeking to excavate the contours of a number of early modern intellectual and political debates through the physical interventions readers made in their books. We can discern, for example, manoeuvres in his reading practice that take us across seemingly unrelated material: Harvey's notes on the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, are grounded in the succession debates of the 1590s and directly linked to early contract theory authors. We are interested not only in the concepts and ideas debated in print, but crucially in how engaged readers understood those concepts and ideas within a specific historical context. Furthermore, we can attempt to reconstitute reading lists and book collections by examining the links between texts, often texts that have disappeared from the commonly held canon of the history of ideas. For example, Harvey's comments on the civil law and jurisprudence recommend authors and titles now obscure even within the specialist historiography of the subject."

Additionally, the biblioscope seeks to compensate for the reliance on the catalogue of books Beccaria sold to Reycends in 1777, as the sole testament of his reading habits beyond the explicit references in his writings. The sale of Beccaria's library has been interpreted by Francesca Pino Pongolini as indicating "una profonda svolta, al tempo stesso professionale, culturale, esistenziale e forse religiosa",⁵⁰⁹ and is seen as documenting Beccaria's changing priorities as a state functionary. However, few have remarked on the fact that we neither know what percentage of Beccaria's library this collection represents, nor why Beccaria chose to sell these publications as opposed to others. Were they more valuable, were they of less interest, or were they simply duplicates from his collection (we see some duplicates included within the catalogue)? Turchetti, in her extensive study of this catalogue, has calculated that the vast majority of texts sold to Reycends were from the category Latin and Greek classics, modern literature, letters, theatre, art and music, a trend which does not tally when we examine the books sent to Beccaria from booksellers. While Turchetti acknowledges that the works of Helvétius, Rousseau, Locke, Condillac, D'Alembert, Montesquieu, Vico, Gravina and other of Beccaria's known philosophical references are missing from the list, the repercussions of this discrepancy need to be addressed, as it indicates that this catalogue is not necessarily indicative of the content of Beccaria's library. Consequently, without truly understanding either Beccaria's motivations for selling these books, or the size and nature of the larger collection they were a part of, relying on this catalogue risks aligning Beccaria's reading heritage with books which we cannot be sure were representative of either his collection, or his tastes. The same way that we cannot use citations or recommendations alone in reconstructing Beccaria's reading habits, neither can we use the catalogue to accurately provide a picture of his interests. Furthermore, later catalogues of Beccaria's library are similarly problematic as we know that after his father's death, Giulio Beccaria reordered the contents of his library, adding additional editions and publications that he believed complemented his father's collection. The next owner, the bibliophile Angelo Villa Pernice, performed a similar homage to the great Beccaria, moving books between his and Beccaria's collections. The current library preserved today in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana thus contains a mix of Beccaria's originals, subsequent editions and even much later texts.

⁵⁰⁹ Francesca Pino Pongolini, "Contributo alla biografia di Cesare Beccaria: le vicende economiche e patrimoniali della famiglia," in *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e Europa*, eds. Romagnoli and Pisapia, 618.

The biblioscope is not to be confused with the concept of the “bookscape” coined by James Raven,⁵¹⁰ which pertains to the cultural geography of publishing and bookselling, and the “ways in which the spatial and temporal environment relates to histories of particular manufactures: the book and its derivatives”.⁵¹¹ While the origins of the term biblioscope are likewise found in the analytic category of “space” and the methodology in both this and the previous chapter owe more than a nod to Raven’s quantitative rebuilding of London’s publishing scene, the ambitions of the biblioscope are directed towards answering the what and how questions regarding Beccaria’s reading climate as opposed to the where. The concept of Beccaria’s biblioscope has rather been shaped by the work of Francesca Bregoli, James Delbourgo and Kate Loveman, whose investigations into collections, catalogues, intellectual networks and information management echo throughout this chapter. Researching the Livornese bibliophile Joseph Attias’ library catalogue, Bregoli has uncovered trends which demand a reconsideration of his cultural proclivities. By stripping away the later classifications imposed upon the catalogue, Bregoli demonstrates how the original organisation of Attias’ collection indicates an alternate intellectual genealogy and intellectual focus. Beccaria’s biblioscope similarly demonstrates how later attempts to organise and thematise Beccaria’s intellectual genealogy have, through both close-reading methodologies and contemporary classifications, focused disproportionately on the intellectual and reading climate around nascent criminological and legal discussions. However, we shall see here that Beccaria’s recommendations attest to his agency in circulating discussions regarding far more diverse and less homogenous topics. Of equal influence, is James Delbourgo’s work on the collection of Hans Sloane and his description of Sloane as “a collector by prosthesis”. Arguing that Sloane’s collection was the product of the “generative activity” of his network, where Sloane was the hub, Delbourgo brings to light the often passive nature of individual collections, reinstating the crucial role of network members in shaping its character.⁵¹² Beccaria’s reading culture was shaped by the activities and decisions of booksellers such as Barthélemy Chirol and we shall see here how

⁵¹⁰ James Raven, “Memorializing a London Bookscape: The Mapping and Reading of Paternoster Row and St Paul’s Churchyard, 1695–1814,” in *Order and Connexion: Studies in Bibliography and Book History*, ed. Robin Alston (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), 177–200.

⁵¹¹ James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: British Library, 2014).

⁵¹² James Delbourgo, “Exceeding the Age in Every Thing,” *Spontaneous Generations; A Journal for the History and Philosophy of Science*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2009): 41–54.

the citation patterns of correspondents and the texts they chose to circulate similarly altered the literary climate surrounding Beccaria. Finally, Kate Loveman's dissection of Samuel Pepys library and reading patterns has likewise illustrated the centrality of well-honed networks in information gathering, particularly with regards to the circulation of controversial views. While Beccaria's biblioscape is incomparable in terms of scale to the collections of Sloane and Pepys, we see that the members of Beccaria's network similarly provided new channels of information and dramatically shift the currents in his reading climate, and thus they cannot be so easily separated from any discussion of Beccaria's intellectual background. Importantly, in drawing attention to the exchange of texts and manuscripts within Beccaria's network, we are given a clear picture of the mediated forms of information exchange taking place. The previous chapter highlighted how Beccaria manipulated and adjusted his correspondence web in response to changing needs and interests. This chapter, by contrast, dampens Beccaria's agency as the sole orchestrator of his ego-network, emphasising how his wider frame of cultural and intellectual reference was in many ways dependent on and altered by the authors, texts, citations and manuscripts which filtered, if only to the most peripheral level, into his field of vision via his correspondents.

The above works collectively testify to the fact that catalogues are more than lists. As information management tools they articulate intellectual interests, intentions, hierarchies and distinct ontologies of knowledge, and it is for this reason that the biblioscape is not categorised by genre. Contrary to Turchetti's work, which organises the contents of the books that Beccaria sold to the Fratelli Reycends in 1777 by classifications proposed by Carlo Capra in his treatment of Pietro Verri's library,⁵¹³ and older attempts to systematise Beccaria's catalogue,⁵¹⁴ this section argues that crucial connections and trends have been missed by rationalising these texts into such strict classifications. The important association

⁵¹³ M. F. Turchetti, "Libri e 'nuove idee'. Appunti sulla biblioteca illuministica di Cesare Beccaria," in *Archivio storico lombardo*, vol. 139, no. 18, series 12 (Milan: Cisalpino, 2013), 12. Turchetti claims that largest thematic areas are: Latin and Greek classics, modern literature, letters, theatre, art and music (77 books); philosophy, pedagogy and religion (28); economics and history (25); dictionaries and grammars, periodicals (22); jurisprudence and politics (20); and science, medicine and pharmacy (18).

⁵¹⁴ Giuseppe Luigi Mele and Lino Montagna, *Mostra commemorativa di Cesare Beccaria nell'ambito delle celebrazioni nazionali per il secondo centenario dell'opera Dei delitti e delle pene, Biblioteca Ambrosiana novembre 1964* (Milan: Edizioni dell'Ente Manifestazioni Milanesi, 1964).

addressed in the previous chapter between Beccaria and Buffon, for instance, is but one of many examples of how we can profit from relinquishing such disciplinary boundaries and consequently the biblioscope examines Beccaria's reading culture in its entirety, focusing on alternate aspects such as frequency of occurrence and language.

Overview of Beccaria's biblioscope

Beccaria's biblioscope comprises 698 titles and authors, categorised primarily by the type of contact Beccaria had with them: ownership of the text (as determined by the list of books that he received upon leaving the family home and the catalogue of books that he sold to Reycends in 1777); the books he was sent by booksellers (both requested and unrequested); the titles that he himself cited, recommended or sent to correspondents; the titles that correspondents cited, recommended or sent to him; and the unfulfilled requests he made to booksellers. The titles are additionally categorised by language (French, Italian, Latin, English, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek and Bolognese dialect) and by the frequency of their occurrence. Due to the constraints of the printed form and the size of the biblioscope, it is not possible to provide the visualisation of the entire biblioscope here.⁵¹⁵ Instead, Fig.12) shows the 155 titles which occur at least twice in Beccaria's correspondence. Gradiated (anticlockwise) by node colour from purple to red to respectively, the visualisation documents the books that Beccaria owned, the books that booksellers sent to him, the titles that correspondents cited, recommended or sent and finally, the unfulfilled requests for books that Beccaria sent to booksellers. The final category (red) comprises those titles which fall into multiple groups. In this category, suffix keys are used to specify the multiples groups that these titles fall into, for example "George-Louis Leclerc Comte de Buffon, *Histoire naturelle générale et particulière* (B, C)" means that this title is in both the category cited/recommended/sent by Beccaria (B) and cited/recommended/sent by correspondent (C). The suffix keys are as follows:

S: books that Beccaria owned (from the catalogue of books sold to Reycends)

M: books from leaving the family home

P: books that booksellers sent to Beccaria

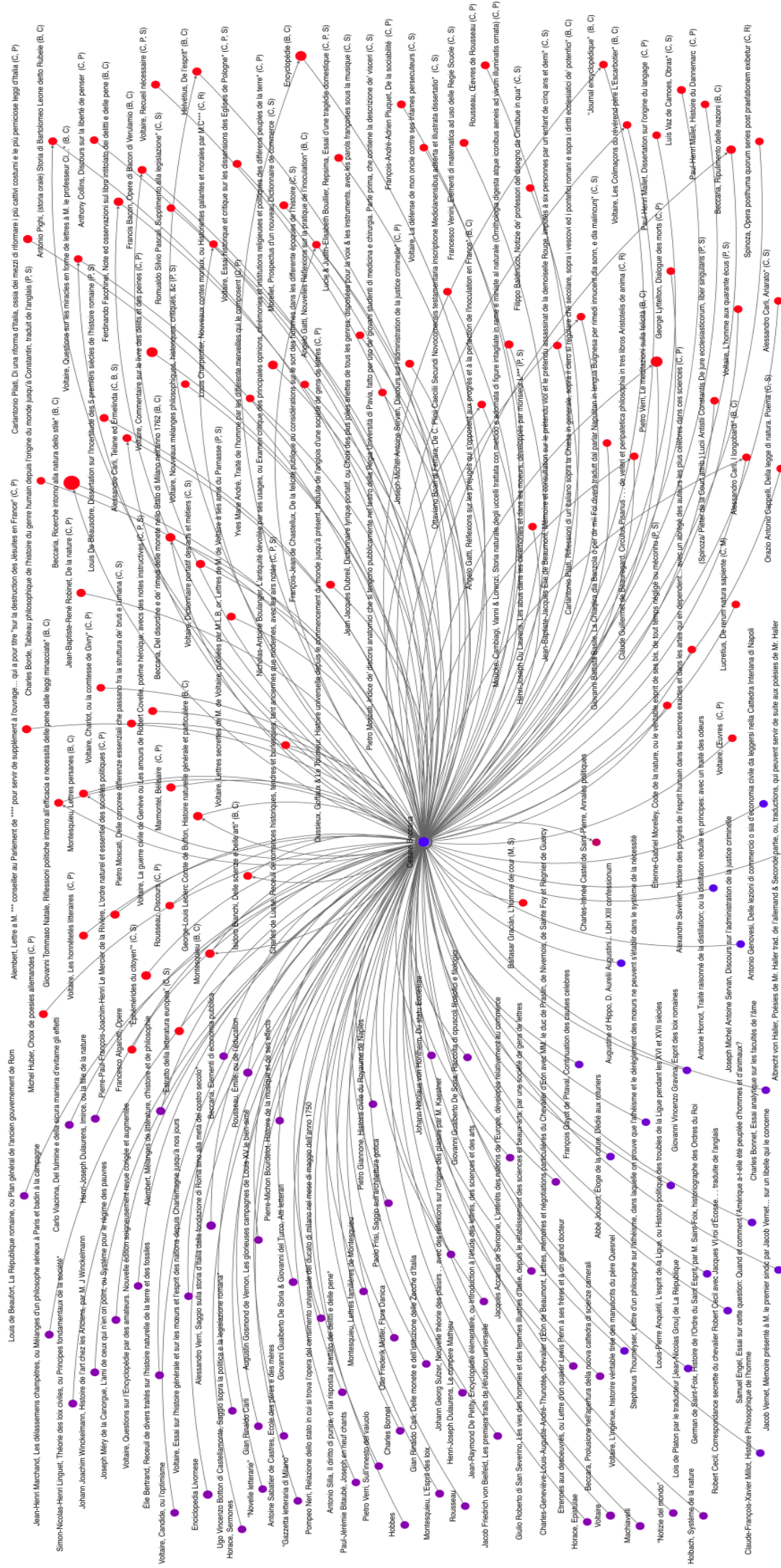
B: titles that Beccaria cited, recommended or sent

C: titles that correspondents cited, recommended or sent

R: unfulfilled requests for books that Beccaria sent to booksellers

⁵¹⁵ Note that the full biblioscope in list form is available in the Appendix (vi).

Fig. 12) Higher density biblioscope coloured by type



Before starting, a few elements are worth noting. Firstly, although featuring in the full biblioscape, the books which Beccaria received when leaving the family home do not feature in Fig.12) as none of these titles are referenced more than once in the entire biblioscape. Similarly, the group of titles that Beccaria cited, recommended and sent, is entirely condensed into the final group of multiple types of reference in the density visualisation shown here, as there are no titles which Beccaria cited exclusively – an issue which is in interesting in itself. This group can consequently be discerned by the suffix “B” within the combined blue node category. The arrows denote the direction of the citation/sending of a publication, either to or from Beccaria, except in the combined category where it is possible for the arrows to go in both directions. The node size denotes frequency of occurrence, with larger nodes indicating that the title occurs more times in the extant documents. Titles followed by an asterisk are those where we can trace that the actual book was, or was intended to be sent, via an informal channel, either from Beccaria to a correspondent or vice versa. Additionally, when an author has been referenced with regards to a particular work, but the specific title has not been included, the biblioscape contains only the author’s name rather than trying to infer the particular work in question. However, more general citations of authors’ names have been excluded from the biblioscape. Conversely, where there are titles whose authors cannot be traced or the title could pertain to multiple possible publications, then the author name has been omitted. With regards to the citations made by booksellers, only those which are found in personal and tailored letters to Beccaria have been included and the biblioscape does not extend to the titles listed in booksellers’ generic catalogues. Finally, for the sake of space-saving, all references to *Dei delitti e delle pene* and *Il Caffè* have been removed from the biblioscape. Rebuttals to Beccaria’s work or unusual translations or editions have been included however.

If we start by examining node size, we see that Beccaria’s *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile* is the most frequently recurring title in the biblioscape, followed by Pietro Verri’s, *Le meditazioni sulla felicità*;⁵¹⁶ Voltaire’s, *Commentaire sur le livre des délits et des peines*;⁵¹⁷ the

⁵¹⁶ Pietro Verri, *Meditazioni sulla felicità. Con un avviso e con note critiche* (1765).

⁵¹⁷ Voltaire, *Commentaire sur le livre des délits et des peines* (Yverdon: F.-B. de Félice, 1766).

Encyclopédie,⁵¹⁸ Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *L'antiquité dévoilée par ses usages, ou Examen critique des principales opinions, cérémonies et institutions religieuses et politiques des différens peuples de la terre*,⁵¹⁹ Beccaria's, *Del disordine e de' rimedi delle monete nello Stato di Milano nell'anno 1762*; and the "Éphémérides du citoyen".⁵²⁰ It is unsurprising that Beccaria's own works, Verri's *Meditazioni* and Voltaire's commentary occur so frequently. However, the frequency of the "Éphémérides du citoyen", Boulanger's *L'antiquité dévoilée* and the *Encyclopédie* are quite striking, not least because they are all French publications, though very diverse ones, but because they mirror some of the connections we saw in Beccaria's imagined networks: Physiocracy, the evolution of society and the Encyclopédistes and savants of d'Holbach's circle. The "Éphémérides du citoyen", founded by the Abbé Baudeau became the journal of the physiocratic school in 1767 and was intended to promote and spread physiocratic ideas. Boulanger's *L'antiquité dévoilée*, posthumously published by Baron d'Holbach, sought to provide an empirical account of Antiquity's customs, religious and political ceremonies and institutions as deriving from postdiluvian fear. The *Encyclopédie*, of course, was the general collaborative encyclopaedia edited by Diderot and co-edited by D'Alembert, which was published between 1751 and 1772. Naturally all had garnered great attention in the Republic of Letters and it is unsurprising therefore, considering the extent to which Beccaria imbedded in this networks, that they would be so recurrent within his biblioscope which, on one level, served to keep Beccaria aware of the literary developments of the period. Yet, this seems insufficient as an explanation. Placed together, these texts address cornerstone themes within Beccaria's own thought: the nature and role of human nature and happiness, the state of society, political economy, and, in the case of the *Encyclopédie*, the ambition of transmitting useful knowledge to benefit the *genre humain*.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris: Chez Briasson, 1751–1772).

⁵¹⁹ Nicolas Antoine Boulanger, *L'Antiquité dévoilée par ses Usages, ou Examen critique des principales Opinions, Cérémonies et Institutions religieuses et politiques, des différens Peuples de la Terre* (1766).

⁵²⁰ *Éphémérides du citoyen, ou Chronique de l'esprit national* (1765–1772).

⁵²¹ Diderot and d'Alembert, "Encyclopédie," in *Encyclopédie*: "Le but d'une Encyclopédie est de rassembler les connaissances éparses sur la surface de la terre; d'en exposer le système général aux hommes avec qui nous vivons, et de les transmettre aux hommes qui viendront après nous ; afin que les travaux des siècles passés n'aient pas été des travaux inutiles pour les siècles qui succéderont ; que nos neveux, devenus plus instruits, deviennent en même tems plus vertueux et plus heureux, et que nous ne mourions pas sans avoir bien mérité du genre humain."

The group of titles occurring four to five times in the biblioscope are again well balanced between French and Italian, and the majority also enjoyed high levels of prominence within the period. We find many works by significant figures including D'Alembert;⁵²² Helvétius;⁵²³ Jean-Baptiste-René Robinet;⁵²⁴ Marmontel;⁵²⁵ Pierre-Paul-François-Joachim-Henri Le Mercier de la Rivière;⁵²⁶ Rousseau;⁵²⁷ Voltaire;⁵²⁸ and Buffon,⁵²⁹ as well as Alessandro Verri,⁵³⁰ and Beccaria's own *Ripulimento delle nazioni*. In addition we see the journal "Estratto della letteratura europea"⁵³¹ and the *Enciclopedia Livornese*,⁵³² alongside Carlantonio Pilati;⁵³³ Mouücke, Cambiagi, Vanni & Lorenzi;⁵³⁴ Ferdinando Facchini;⁵³⁵ and Joseph-Michel-Antoine Servan.⁵³⁶ These patterns are mirrored among the authors with the highest numbers of works cited in both the higher density visualisation (Voltaire (18 titles), Beccaria (5 titles), Alessandro Carli (3), Montesquieu (3) and Rousseau (3)) and in the total biblioscope, where a staggering 42 of Voltaire's works are referenced, followed by Rousseau (10), Beccaria (8), Alembert, Diderot and Morellet (7), Montesquieu, Carlantonio Pilati and Giambattista Vasco (5) and Francesco Algarotti, Henri-Joseph Dulaurens, Paolo Frisi, Angelo Gatti, Giovanni Gualberto De Soria, Horace, Paul-Henri Mallet and Pietro Verri (4). Again we see a balance of Italian and French writers. However, while many of these individuals are somewhat predictable, being either famous figures like Rousseau and

⁵²² Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, *Lettre à Mr. *** Conseiller au Parlement de *** pour servir de supplément à l'ouvrage qui est dédié à ce meme Magistrat, et qui a pour Titre: Sur la destruction des Jesuites en France par un auteur désintéressé*, 1767.

⁵²³ Claude-Adrien Helvétius, *De l'esprit* (Paris: Durand, 1758).

⁵²⁴ Jean Baptiste René Robinet, *De La Nature* (Amsterdam: Harrevelt, 1761).

⁵²⁵ Jean-François Marmontel, *Bélisaire* (Paris: Merlin 1767).

⁵²⁶ Pierre-Paul Le Mercier de La Rivière, *L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques* (London: Chez Jean Nourse, 1767).

⁵²⁷ Rousseau, *Jean-Jacques. Émile, ou de l'Éducation*, 1762.

⁵²⁸ Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique portatif*, 1764.

⁵²⁹ Georges Louis Le Clerc de Buffon, *Histoire naturelle, générale et particuliere* (Paris: L'Imprimerie royale, 1749–1804).

⁵³⁰ Alessandro Verri, *Saggio sulla storia d'Italia dalla fondazione di Roma sino alla metà del nostro secolo*, 1761–66.

⁵³¹ Fortunato Bartolomeo De Felice and Vinzenz Bernhard de Tschärner, *Estratto della letteratura europea* (Bern: 1758–1762).

⁵³² *Nouveau Dictionnaire des sciences, des arts et de métiers. Seconde édition d'après celle de Paris, avec quelque notes* (Livorno: L'Imprimerie des Editeurs).

⁵³³ Carlo Antonio Pilati di Tassulo, *Di Una Riforma D'Italia Ossia Dei Mezzj Di Riformare I Più Cattivi Costumi E Le Più Perniciose Leggi D'Italia* (Venice: Villafranca, 1767).

⁵³⁴ Saverio Manetti, *Storia naturale degli uccelli trattata con metodo e adornata di figure intagliate in rame e miniate al naturale* (Florence: Nella Stamperia Mouckiana, 1767–76).

⁵³⁵ Ferdinando Facchini, *Note ed osservazioni sul libro intitolato dei delitti e delle pene*, 1765.

⁵³⁶ Joseph-Michel-Antoine Servan, *Discours sur l'administration de la justice criminelle prononcé par Mr. S.xx, Avocat-Général* (Geneva, 1767).

Voltaire, or having strong personal ties to Beccaria such as Morellet, Pietro Verri and the inoculation physician Angelo Gatti, others are less obvious, such as the novelist Henri-Joseph Dulaurens, the philosopher Giovanni Gualberto De Soria, the economist Giambattista Vasco, the Swiss writer Paul-Henri Mallet and the Venetian polymath Francesco Algarotti.

Looking at the language of the titles (where possible), which are not necessarily their original languages, Fig.13) shows that the highest number of titles are French language publications (blue) (95), followed by Italian (purple) (42), Latin (pink) (9), Portuguese (red) (1) and Bolognese dialect (red) (1). This pattern is mirrored in the entire biblioscope, with the highest numbers of titles being in French (352), followed by Italian (192) and Latin (75). We additionally see some texts in English (12) and German (3), as well as Portuguese (3), Greek (1) and Spanish (1). This clear French dominance can only be partially explained by the number of French translations of English and German texts such as George Lyttelton, *Dialogue des morts*;⁵³⁷ Johann Georg Sulzer, *Nouvelle théorie des plaisirs . . . avec des réflexions sur l'origine des plaisirs par M. Kaestner*;⁵³⁸ Anthony Collins, *Discours sur la liberté de penser*;⁵³⁹ and Stephanus Thourneyser, *Lettre d'un philosophe sur l'athéisme, dans laquelle on prouve que l'athéisme et le dérèglement des mœurs ne peuvent s'établir dans le système de la nécessité*.⁵⁴⁰ Nor was it the case that only the more commonly referenced titles were French as the Italian language publications consistently comprise 30–35% across both biblioscapes. Rather, it seems that Beccaria's network was deeply immersed in French language publications, despite some of the more local geographic patterns that we witnessed in the previous chapter.

The largest category within the visualised biblioscope is that of titles which occur within more than one type of reference (84), followed by the titles exclusively cited, recommended

⁵³⁷ George Lyttelton, *Dialogues des morts, traduits de L'anglais par Monsieur le professeur [Elie] de Joncourt* (La Haye: P. de Hondt, 1760).

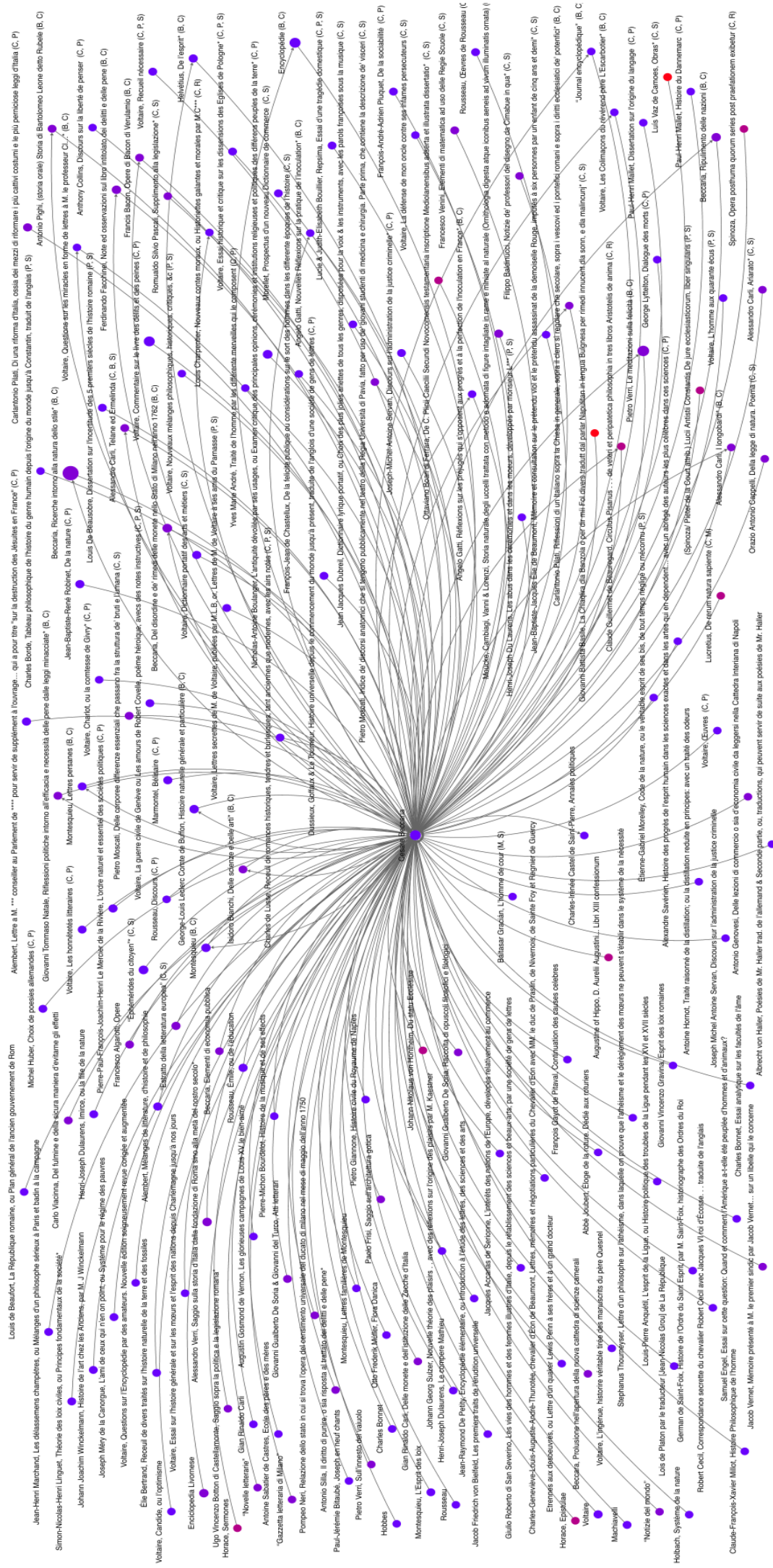
⁵³⁸ Johann Georg Sulzer, *Nouvelle théorie des plaisirs [...] avec des réflexions sur l'origine des plaisirs par M. Kaestner*, s.n.t., 1767.

⁵³⁹ Anthony Collins, *Discours sur la liberté de penser. Traduit de l'anglois (par H. Scheurléer et J. Rousset) et augmenté d'une lettre d'un médecin arabe, avec l'examen de ces deux ouvrages par M. de Cronzas*, 2 vols London, 1766.

⁵⁴⁰ Stephanus Thourneyser, *Lettre d'un philosophe sur l'athéisme, dans laquelle on prouve que l'athéisme et le dérèglement des mœurs ne peuvent s'établir dans le système de la nécessité* (Geneva: Antoine Philibert, 1751).

or sent by correspondents (54). This latter group increases dramatically when we look at the entire biblioscape, rising to 340 titles and authors cited by correspondents alone. If we

Fig. 13) Higher density biblioscope coloured by language



remove the combined category, thus not accounting for repeated references across categories, we see that the number of titles cited, recommended or sent by correspondents rises again to 652 titles. This is followed by books that Beccaria owned (199); books that booksellers sent to Beccaria (136); titles that Beccaria cited, recommended or sent (63); books from leaving the family home (25); and unfulfilled requests for books that Beccaria sent to booksellers (18). It is hardly surprising, considering what we know of Beccaria's asymmetrical correspondence collection, that the citations by correspondents would be so high, especially when counting the singularly referenced titles. However, some reflection is needed regarding why Beccaria offered so few references. Looking at his citations more carefully, we can discern some patterns among the titles that Beccaria cites and recommends. We see that almost all of the texts he cites are among the most frequently occurring titles in the bibliospace: Pietro Verri's, *Meditazioni*; his own *Del disordine e de' rimedi delle monete nello Stato di Milano nell' anno 1762* and the *Discorso accademico sopra i titoli VI e VII del XLII delle Pandette* (both of which he also sends to correspondents); the *Encyclopédie*; and Helvétius' *De l'esprit*, which we know that Morellet sent to Beccaria in 1766.⁵⁴¹ Beccaria also cites certain authors more frequently than others, including Diderot;⁵⁴² Voltaire;⁵⁴³ Alembert;⁵⁴⁴ Alessandro Carli;⁵⁴⁵ Angelo Gatti;⁵⁴⁶ Francis Bacon;⁵⁴⁷ Montesquieu,⁵⁴⁸ and

⁵⁴¹ André Morellet to Beccaria (Paris, 17–30 July 1766), letter 113 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 341–55.

⁵⁴² Denis Diderot, *Le fils naturel ou Les épreuves de la vertu* (Amsterdam: M. M. Rey, 1757); *Le père de famille: comédie en 5 actes et en prose; avec un Discours sur la poésie dramatique* (Amsterdam) 1758; *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*, 1754; and “Supplément au voyage de Bougainville, ou dialogue entre A et B sur l'inconvénient d'attacher des idées morales à certaines actions physiques qui n'en comportent pas,” in *La Correspondance littéraire*, 1773–1774, are all referenced.

⁵⁴³ Voltaire, *Questions sur les miracles à M. Claparède, [...] par un proposant, ou Extrait de diverses lettres de M. de Voltaire, avec des réponses par M. Nédham* (London: Chez Crapart, 1769); *Les Colimaçons du révérend père L'Escarbotier: par la grâce de Dieu capucin indigne, prédicateur ordinaire et cuisinier du grand couvent de la ville de Clermont en Auvergne, au révérend père Élie, carme chaussé, docteur en théologie*, (Geneva: Cramer, 1768); and *Tancrède, tragédie en vers et en 5 actes, représentée par les Comédiens français ordinaires du Roi le 3 septembre 1760* (Paris: Chez Prault petit-fils, 1760).

⁵⁴⁴ D'Alembert, *Essai sur les éléments de philosophie ou sur les principes des connaissances humaines*, 1759; *Sur la destruction des Jésuites en France* (Genève, 1765).

⁵⁴⁵ Alessandro Verri, *I Longobardi*, stamperia Moroni, 1769; *Telane e Ermelinda*, stamperia Moroni, 1769.

⁵⁴⁶ Angelo Gatti, *Nouvelles Réflexions sur la pratique de l'inoculation* (Brussels: Chez Musier fils, 1767); *Réflexions sur les préjugés qui s'opposent aux progrès et à la perfection de l'inoculation en France*, (Brussels: Chez Musier fils, 1764).

⁵⁴⁷ Francis Bacon, *Francisci Baconi... Opera omnia, cum novo eoque insigni augmento tractatum hactenus ineditorum et ex idiomate anglicano in latinum sermonem translatorum, opera Simonis Johannis Arnoldi*, (Hafniae (Copenhagen): impensis Johannis Justi Erytrophili, 1694); *Opere di Bacon di Verulamio* (unidentified but Beccaria's handwritten extracts of Bacon's works are in Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta

finally his own *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile* and the *Ripulimento delle nazioni*. It is a collection of authors whose connections to Beccaria are fairly clear, especially Pietro Verri and Angelo Gatti, as well as Beccaria's well documented intellectual influences Bacon, Helvétius, Montesquieu and Voltaire. The remaining citations that Beccaria makes are predominantly Italian titles. We see additional works of his close academic collaborators Pietro Verri;⁵⁴⁹ Alessandro Verri;⁵⁵⁰ Agostino Paradisi;⁵⁵¹ and Isidoro Bianchi.⁵⁵² Additionally, we see Antonio Pighi;⁵⁵³ Ferdinando Facchinei; and the writer Francesco Venini. Of greater note are the reformist works of Carlantonio Pilati,⁵⁵⁴ Francesco Carpani,⁵⁵⁵ and Giovanni Tommaso Natale,⁵⁵⁶ which all dealt with specific legal, economic and institutional reforms in Italy. Further French language publications cited by Beccaria are also intriguing. Here we again find Buffon, once more highlighting the connection between these authors; Carl Gustaf Tessin;⁵⁵⁷ César Chesneau du Marsais;⁵⁵⁸ Jean-Baptiste de la Curne de Sainte Palaye;⁵⁵⁹ M. Le Grand;⁵⁶⁰ Rousseau;⁵⁶¹ as well as unknown works by Condillac, Forbonnais and Nicolas Dutot. One Latin title is found, Diodorus Siculus,

Beccaria, B.201.

⁵⁴⁸ Charles de Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, Cologne: Marteau, 1721; an unspecified work.

⁵⁴⁹ Pietro Verri, *Discorsi del conte Pietro Verri*, [...] *sull'indole del piacere e del dolore, sulla felicità e sulla economia politica, riveduti ed accresciuti dall'autore* (Milan: G. Marelli, 1781).

⁵⁵⁰ Alessandro Verri, *Riflessioni in punto di ragione sopra il libro intitolato: Del disordine e de' rimedi delle monete nello Stato di Milano* (Milano, Galeazzi, 1762).

⁵⁵¹ Agostino Paradisi, "Saggio Metafisico sopra l'entusiasmo nelle belle arti," in "Estratto della letteratura europea," vol. III (1769): 592–611.

⁵⁵² Isidoro Bianchi, *Delle scienze e belle arti Dissertazione apologetica letta nell'Accademia degli Ereini di Palermo dal p. D. Isidoro Bianchi benedettino-camaldolese ... con l'aggiunta di alcune note*, Stamperia de' SS. Apostoli in Piazza Bologna per D. Gaetano Maria Bentivenga, 1771.

⁵⁵³ Antonio Pighi (storia orale) see: *Rubele nell'inondazione del 1757. Quadro del pittore Giulio Sartori. Cenni storici*, Verona: Tipografia Merlo, 1889.

⁵⁵⁴ Carlantonio Pilati, *Riflessioni di un Italiano sopra la Chiesa in generale, sopra il clero sì regolare che secolare, sopra i vescovi ed i pontefici romani e sopra i diritti ecclesiastici de' potentifici*, Borgo Francone, 1768.

⁵⁵⁵ Francesco Carpani, *Risposta ad un amico sopra le monete dello Stato di Milano. Seconda edizione, coll'aggiunta d'una seconda lettera dell'autore* (Milan: Galeazzi, 1762).

⁵⁵⁶ Giovanni Tommaso Natale, "Riflessioni politiche intorno all'efficacia e necessità delle pene dalle leggi minacciate," in *Miscellanei di varia letteratura*, vol. VIII (Lucca: Rocchi, 1772), 1–66.

⁵⁵⁷ Carl Gustaf Tessin, *Lettere scritte al Principe Reale di Svezia dal conte di Tessin [...] tradotte dallo svezzeese* (Bern: 1759-60).

⁵⁵⁸ César Chesneau du Marsais, *Des tropes, ou des diférens sens dans lesquels ori peut prendre un même mot dans une même langue* (Paris: David, 1757).

⁵⁵⁹ Jean-Baptiste de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie considérée comme un établissement politique et militaire* (Paris: La veuve Duchesne, 1759–1781).

⁵⁶⁰ M. Le Grand and Agostino Antonio Giorgi, *Controverse sur la religion chrétienne et celle des Mahométans, entre trois Docteurs Muselmans et un religieux de la nation Maronite; ouvrage traduit de l'Arabe par M. le Grand* (La Combe, 1767).

⁵⁶¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Nouvelle Héloïse* (Amsterdam: Marc-Michel Rey, 1761).

*Diodori Siculi De Philippi Regis Macedoniae aliorumque quorundam illustrium ducum, de Alexandri filii rebus gestis, libri duo.*⁵⁶² Additionally, Beccaria cites the journals, “Gazzetta Letteraria”⁵⁶³, “Journal Encyclopédique”⁵⁶⁴, “Opuscoli scelti sulle scienze e sulle arti”⁵⁶⁵ and “The Spectator”⁵⁶⁶. Overall, Beccaria’s citations and recommendations are incredibly cautious. Beyond discussing his own work, he was especially selective in the books and authors he chose to reference and his citations are mostly close intellectual collaborators from the *Il Caffè* group and Philosophes and noted intellectuals, many of whom he tended to repeatedly cite, such as D’Alembert, Diderot and Voltaire. This is particularly striking when we compare Beccaria’s citation patterns to those of his correspondents. Unlike many of his correspondents, Beccaria makes no citations which are exclusive within the bibliospace and there are twenty-two common citations and recommendations posited by both Beccaria and his correspondents, including Montesquieu;⁵⁶⁷ Alessandro Carli;⁵⁶⁸ Beccaria’s own *Del disordine e de’ rimedi delle monete nello Stato di Milano nell’anno 1762, Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile* and the *Ripulimento delle nazioni*; Angelo Gatti;⁵⁶⁹ Voltaire;⁵⁷⁰ the “Journal encyclopédique”; Antonio Pighi;⁵⁷¹ Carlantonio Pilati;⁵⁷² the *Encyclopédie*; Ferdinando Facchinei;⁵⁷³ Bacon;⁵⁷⁴ Buffon;⁵⁷⁵ Giovanni Tommaso Natale;⁵⁷⁶ Helvétius;⁵⁷⁷ Isidoro Bianchi;⁵⁷⁸ and Pietro Verri.⁵⁷⁹ This reveals much about how Beccaria’s network functioned

⁵⁶² *Diodori Siculi scriptoris graeci libri duo, primus de Philippi Regis Macedoniae aliorum que quorundam illustrium ducum, de Alexandri filii rebus gestis, Utrumque latinitate donavit Angelus Cospus bononiensis* (Venetiis: Johannes de Trudino, 1517).

⁵⁶³ *Gazzetta letteraria* (Milan: G. Galeazzi, 1772-76).

⁵⁶⁴ *Journal Encyclopédique* (Liège: De l’imprimerie du Bureau du Journal, 1758).

⁵⁶⁵ *Opuscoli scelti sulle scienze e sulle arti*, eds. Carlo Amoretti and Francesco Soave (Milan: Presso G. Marelli, 1778-1803).

⁵⁶⁶ *The Spectator* (London: Dent, 1753-1754).

⁵⁶⁷ Charles de. Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes* (Cologne: Marteau, 1721).

⁵⁶⁸ Alessandro Carli, *I longobardi* (Verona: Stampiera Moroni, 1769); *Telane ed Ermelinda*; (Verona: Stampiera Moroni, 1769).

⁵⁶⁹ Angelo Gatti, *Nouvelles Réflexions sur la pratique de l’inoculation; Réflexions sur les préjugés qui s’opposent aux progrès et à la perfection de l’inoculation en France*.

⁵⁷⁰ Voltaire, *Les Colimaçons* (Geneva: Cramer, 1768); *Questions sur les miracles* (London: Chez Crapart, 1769).

⁵⁷¹ (storia orale) *Storia di Bartolomeo Leone detto Rubele*.

⁵⁷² Pilati, *Riflessioni di un Italiano sopra la Chiesa in generale* (Borgo Francone, 1768).

⁵⁷³ Facchinei, *Note ed osservazioni sul libro intitolato dei delitti e delle pene*, 1765.

⁵⁷⁴ Bacon, *Opere di Bacon di Verulamio*.

⁵⁷⁵ Buffon, *Histoire naturelle générale et particulière* (Paris: L’Imprimerie Royale, 1749–1804).

⁵⁷⁶ Natale, “Riflessioni politiche intorno all’efficacia e necessità delle pene dalle leggi minacciate,” in *Miscellanei di varia letteratura*, vol. VIII (Lucca: Guiseppe Rocchi, 1772).

⁵⁷⁷ Helvétius, *De l’esprit* (Paris: Durand, 1758).

⁵⁷⁸ Bianchi, *Delle scienze e belle arti* (Palermo: Stamperia de’ SS. Apostoli, 1771).

and how information circulated as the overlap between Beccaria's recommendations and the citations of correspondents, as well as his purchasing of these cited titles all together demonstrates that the informal channel of citation was central to the transfer of information regarding publications, and that it was responsible for the further perpetuation of this information throughout the network. If Beccaria were making citations which were not echoed in any other form in the biblioscope, it would indicate a disconnect between him and the wider reading culture of his network, thus we see how collective a culture this truly was. Moreover, citation by both Beccaria and his correspondents is a marker indicating that these titles were either greater points of discussion or stronger points of existing reference within the network. The *Encyclopédie*, for example, is cited ten times by different correspondents, suggesting that it was a mutual point of reference for this community, as were authors like Buffon, Montesquieu, Helvétius and Angelo Gatti. Although overlapping occurrence within the biblioscope does not necessarily mean an alignment of views, it demonstrates the centrality of the publication in question within the network.

If we break down the citation and recommendation groups by period, we see that between 1769–1794, Beccaria's correspondents reference 149 titles out of 655 cited in total (not counting repeated references), while Beccaria cites only 9 out of a total 48 cited titles. It would seem to indicate diminishing discussion concerning current works and we see a similar pattern when we look at both the books that Beccaria was being sent by booksellers and the unfulfilled requests he was making to booksellers. However, other elements of the biblioscope do not match this chronology so exactly. Around 31% of the books sold to Reycends in 1777 have publication dates of 1769 and later, meaning that we can trace Beccaria purchasing or receiving at least 62 books within less than a decade. Other elements of the biblioscope further problematise the issue of Beccaria's book ownership. In particular, when we compare the number of books Beccaria sold to Reycends and the number of books he was sent by booksellers, we see that only fourteen titles are common to both these groups, suggesting that Beccaria's library was significantly more extensive than this catalogue suggests. Of course, many of the books that Beccaria was sent would

⁵⁷⁹ Pietro Verri, *Le meditazioni sulla felicità*, 1765.

have been distributed to others, nonetheless it seems that a large part of his library remains unaccounted for.

The most interesting category in the biblioscope is that of publications which feature in multiple groups. Texts which occur across several categories more generally can be interpreted, alongside the most frequently cited titles, as having greater prominence in the biblioscope. The reality that they not only appear repeatedly, but also in different forms and originating from different individuals, suggests a high level of activity surrounding these texts and signals how knowledge of them was dispersed throughout the network via different forms of communication. We have already seen the titles cited by both Beccaria and his correspondents, but many publications occur across other categories as well, some even featuring in three groups, such as Charles de Lusse, *Recueil de romances historiques, tendres et burlesques, tant anciennes que modernes, avec les airs notés*,⁵⁸⁰ Voltaire's *Essai historique et critique sur les dissensions des Eglises de Pologne*,⁵⁸¹ *La guerre civile de Genève ou Les amours de Robert Covelle, poème héroïque, avec des notes instructives*,⁵⁸² and *Recueil nécessaire*,⁵⁸³ Lucie & Judith-Elisabeth Bouillier's *Repsima, Essai d'une tragédie domestique*,⁵⁸⁴ and Joseph-Michel-Antoine Servan, *Discours sur l'administration de la justice criminelle*. These titles are all cited by Beccaria's correspondents, sent to Beccaria by booksellers and are traceable in Beccaria's catalogue of books sold to Reycends (C, P, S), again demonstrating the stages of the circulation of texts in Beccaria's network. An even greater percentage of this mixed category are titles which are both cited by correspondents and sent to Beccaria by booksellers, meaning that these are recommendations which Beccaria had in turn sought and received (and possibly read) as reading materials. From what we know of Beccaria's intellectual networks, some are fairly predictable, such as Rousseau's *Discours*,⁵⁸⁵ and *Œuvres de Rousseau*,⁵⁸⁶ Voltaire's *Charlot*,

⁵⁸⁰ Charles de Lusse, *Recueil de romances historiques, tendres et burlesques, tant anciennes que modernes, avec les airs notés*, 1767.

⁵⁸¹ Voltaire, *Essai historique et critique sur les dissensions des Eglises de Pologne* (Geneva: Cramer, 1767).

⁵⁸² Voltaire, *La guerre civile de Genève ou Les amours de Robert Covelle, poème héroïque, avec des notes instructives* (Geneva: Chez Nicolas Grandvel [i.e. Gabriel Grasset], 1768).

⁵⁸³ Voltaire, *Recueil nécessaire* (Cramer, 1765).

⁵⁸⁴ Lucie Bouillé, François Grasset, and Antoine Chapuis. *Repsima: essai d'une tragédie domestique* (Lausanne: [François Grasset], 1767).

⁵⁸⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les homes* (Amsterdam: Marc-Michel Rey, 1755).

⁵⁸⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau *Œuvres* (Amsterdam: Marc-Michel Rey, 1762).

ou la comtesse de Givry,⁵⁸⁷ *Commentaire sur le livre des délits et des peines* and *Œuvres*,⁵⁸⁸ d'Alembert's *Lettre a M. *** conseiller au Parlement de ***** and Marmontel's *Bélisaire*. Others were new, improved editions of important works, such as Anthony Collins' *Discours sur la liberté de penser*; or had obvious connections to Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* such as Carlantonio Pilati's *Di una riforma d'Italia* and Joseph-Michel-Antoine Servan's *Discours*. Some were more entertaining, such as George Lyttelton's satire of Fénelon in *Dialogue des morts*; Michel Huber's *Choix de poesies allemandes*.⁵⁸⁹ Others however exhibit a greater degree of cohesion in content, addressing broadly anthropological questions which will be examined in greater detail in the following section. Beccaria purchased (many of which were even purchased in the same year) Jean-Baptiste-René Robinet's *De la nature*,⁵⁹⁰ Dussieux, Goffaux & Le Tourneur's *Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à présent, traduite de l'anglois d'une société de gens de lettres*,⁵⁹¹ Nicholas-Antoine Boulanger's *L'antiquité dévoilée*; Mercier de la Rivière's *L'ordre naturel*; Yves Marie André's *Traité de l'homme selon les différentes merveilles qui le composent*,⁵⁹² Alexandre Savérien's *Histoire des progrès de l'esprit humain dans les sciences exactes et dans les arts qui en dépendent... avec un abrégé des auteurs les plus célèbres dans ces sciences*,⁵⁹³ Paul-Henri Mallet's *Dissertation sur l'origine du langage* and *Histoire du Dannemarc*,⁵⁹⁴ Moücke's *Storia naturale degli uccelli*; and François-André-Adrien Pluquet's *De la sociabilité*.⁵⁹⁵ With only two Italian publications and two French translations of English works, this group predominantly comprises French language texts, leading us to believe that not only was Beccaria more inclined to rely on book recommendations for purchasing foreign texts, but that he was actively seeking and buying French books. More importantly, this particular combination demonstrates the passive aspect of the biblioscope. The citations of these publications are not solicited by Beccaria, but are put forward by members of the network, before then being purchased by Beccaria. These texts consequently show how Beccaria's

⁵⁸⁷ Voltaire, *Charlot, ou la comtesse de Givry. Pièce dramatique jouée au chateau de F**** [Ferney] le samedi 26 septembre* (Geneva and Paris: Merlin, 1767).

⁵⁸⁸ *Collection complete des œuvres de M. de Voltaire*, 45 vols (Geneva: Cramer 1768–1796).

⁵⁸⁹ Michel Huber, *Choix de poésies allemandes*, 4 vols (Paris: Chez Humblot, 1766).

⁵⁹⁰ Jean-Baptiste-René Robinet, *De la nature*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: E. van Harrevélt, 1761-64).

⁵⁹¹ *Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du Monde, jusqu'à présent ; Traduite de l'Anglois d'une Société de Gens de Lettres. Enrichies de Figures et de Cartes nécessaires*, 46 vols. (Amsterdam, Leipzig: Artistée et Merkus, 1742-1802).

⁵⁹² Yves Marie André, *Traité de l'homme par les différentes merveilles qui le composent*, Yverdon, 1766.

⁵⁹³ Alexandre Savérien, *Histoire des progrès de l'esprit humain dans les sciences exactes et dans les arts qui en dépendent [...] avec un abrégé des auteurs les plus célèbres dans ces sciences* (Paris: Lacombe, 1766).

⁵⁹⁴ Paul-Henri Mallet, *Histoire de Dannemarc*, 6 vols (Lyon: D. Duplain, 1766).

⁵⁹⁵ François-André-Adrien Pluquet, *De la sociabilité*, 2 vols. (Paris: Barrais, 1767).

frame of cultural reference was shaped by the information offered by correspondents, information which was tailored to this specific relationship and based upon their impressions of Beccaria's intellectual interests and on previous topics of discussion.

The biblioscope also shows the books which are circulating more informally throughout the network as we see that Beccaria received, or was due to receive, 49 texts from his correspondents as opposed to booksellers. Again, these texts reflect the perception Beccaria's correspondents had of his intellectual and cultural interests: some of these works were directly connected to *Dei delitti e delle pene*,⁵⁹⁶ such as Étienne Chaillou de Lisy's translation, *Traité des délits et des peines, traduit de l'italien*,⁵⁹⁷ William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*,⁵⁹⁸ Jean-Pierre Brissot de Warville, *Bibliothèque philosophique du législateur, du politique, du jurisconsulte*,⁵⁹⁹ Jean-Baptiste-Jacques Élie de Beaumont, *Mémoire et consultation sur le prétendu viol et le prétendu assassinat de la demoiselle Rouge, imputés à six personnes par un enfant de cinq ans et demi*,⁶⁰⁰ and the Neapolitan legal works of Stefano Patrizi,⁶⁰¹ and Vincenzo Ariani.⁶⁰² We also see the works of leading physiocrats, including Pierre-Samuel Du Pont de Nemours,⁶⁰³ Quesnay,⁶⁰⁴ Louis-Claude Bigot de Sainte Croix,⁶⁰⁵ as well as the

⁵⁹⁶ Additionally, Antonio Silla, *Il diritto di punire, o sia risposta al trattato dei delitti e delle pene* (Naples: Stamperia Raimondiana, 1772; Joseph-Michel-Antoine Servan, *Discours sur l'administration de la justice criminelle*, Alberto de Simoni, *Del furto e sua pena. Con alcune osservazioni generali in materia criminale* (Lugano, 1776); Giambattista Vasco, dissertation on the death penalty (unknown).

⁵⁹⁷ Étienne Chaillou de Lisy, *Traité des délits et des peines, traduit de l'italien d'après la sixième édition, revue, corrigée & augmentée de plusieurs chapitres par l'auteur; auquel on a joint plusieurs pièces très-intéressantes pour l'intelligence du texte* (Paris: Chez J. Fr. Bastien, 1773).

⁵⁹⁸ William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765–1769).

⁵⁹⁹ Jean-Pierre Brissot de Warville, *Bibliothèque philosophique du législateur, du politique, du jurisconsulte, ou choix des meilleurs discours, [...] composés sur la législation criminelle par les plus célèbres écrivains, en français, anglais [...] etc. pour parvenir à la réforme des loix pénales dans tous les pays, traduits et accompagnés de notes et d'observations historique* (Paris: Desauges, 1782–1785).

⁶⁰⁰ Jean-Baptiste-Jacques Élie de Beaumont, *Mémoire et consultation sur le prétendu viol et le prétendu assassinat de la demoiselle Rouge, imputés à six personnes par un enfant de cinq ans et demi* (Paris: Imprimerie L. Cellot, 1770).

⁶⁰¹ Stefano Patrizi, *Stephani Patritii regii consiliarii in Supremo Regni Neapolitani Consilio Consultationes sacri et regii juris*, I, (Naples: Francisci Morelli, 1770).

⁶⁰² Vincenzo Ariani, *Vincentii Ariani Augustini F.J. C. Neapolitani Epistolae latinae ad arnplissimos viros tum litteris, tum dignitate civilique gloria praestantes* (Naples: Typis Januarii Migliacii, 1768).

⁶⁰³ Pierre-Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, *De l'origine et des progrès d'une science nouvelle* (Paris: Chez Desaint, 178).

⁶⁰⁴ François Quesnay, *Physiocratie ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre humain* (Leiden: Merlin, 1768-1769).

⁶⁰⁵ Louis-Claude Bigot de Sainte Croix, "Avis au Roi sur la libre circulation des grains et la réduction naturelle des prix dans les années de cherté," in *Ephémérides du citoyen*, vol VII (1769), 109-256.

“Éphémérides du Citoyen”. There are various works of history and political philosophy,⁶⁰⁶ including Simon-Nicolas-Henri Linguet’s *Théorie des loix civiles, ou Principes fondamentaux de la société*⁶⁰⁷ and Boulanger’s *L’antiquité dévoilée*. There are two works of the famous inoculation advocate Angelo Gatti;⁶⁰⁸ a copy of *Voyage de Robertson aux terres australes traduit sur le manuscrit anglois*,⁶⁰⁹ various works of Voltaire;⁶¹⁰ Giordano Bruno’s cosmological dialogue *De l’infinito universo et mundi*,⁶¹¹ and the “Mercure de France”.⁶¹² Additionally, we see that Beccaria is sent a large quantity of Italian language poetry,⁶¹³ such as Giambattista Giovio, *Poesie italiane e latine*,⁶¹⁴ Agostino Paradisi, *Versi sciolti*,⁶¹⁵ and Giuseppe Bottoni’s translation of Edward Young’s *Night Thoughts*.⁶¹⁶ Finally, we see that Beccaria is sent English, Portuguese and dialect texts, such as John Wilkins, *An Essay towards a real character, and a philosophical language*,⁶¹⁷ Marchese di Pombal (in fact written by José de Carvalho), *Deduccao chronologica e analytica & Deduzione cronologica e analitica*,⁶¹⁸ Luís Vaz de Camoes, *Obras*,⁶¹⁹ and

⁶⁰⁶ Additionally, “Filalete Ateniese”, *Quanto il rispetto/ pei/ costumi contribuisce alla felicità/d’uno Stato* (manuscript), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.231, 78/2; Alberto de Simoni, *Della ragione di esigere il danaro al corso del tempo del contratto nella redenzione de’ censi, nella estinzione de’ capitali e ne’ ritratti convenzionali* (Brescia: Pietro Vescovi, 1776); Casto Innocente Ansaldi, *Riflessioni sopra i mezzi di perfezionare la filosofia morale* (Turin: Onorato De Rossi, 1778).

⁶⁰⁷ Simon-Nicolas-Henri Linguet *Théorie des loix civiles, ou Principes fondamentaux de la société*, 2 vols (London [Paris], 1767).

⁶⁰⁸ Angelo Gatti, *Lettre à M. Roux, docteur régent de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris*, 1763; *Réponse à une des principales objections qu’on oppose aux partisans de l’inoculation de la petite vérole*, 1763.

⁶⁰⁹ *Voyage de Robertson aux terres australes traduit sur le manuscrit anglois*, Amsterdam, 1766.

⁶¹⁰ Voltaire, *Charlot, ou la comtesse de Givry*.

⁶¹¹ Giordano Bruno, *De l’infinito universo* (Venice, 1584).

⁶¹² *Mercure De France*, 1724–1825.

⁶¹³ In addition: Agostino Paradisi, “La felicità del sapiente,” in *L’Europa letteraria*, vol. VI, (1769), 74–77; Jacopo Riccati, *Opera* (unidentified), Alessandro Verri, *Saggio sulla storia d’Italia dalla fondazione di Roma sino alla metà del nostro secolo* (unpublished); Giambattista Giovio, *Saggio sopra la religione* (Milan: Galeazzi, Milano, 1774); Ugo Vincenzo Botton di Castellamonte, *Saggio sopra la politica e la legislazione romana* (Florence, 1772); Venini (manuscript version), *Principii delle cognizioni umane ad uso dei fanciulli* (Parma: R. D. Stamperia Monti, 1767); Carlo Castone della Torre di Rezzonico, *L’Ascalafò*; Alessandro Carli, *Ariarato*, 1773; Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie de’ professori del disegno* (Turin: Stamperia reale, 1768); Romualdo Silvio Pascali, *Supplimento alla legislazione* (Naples: Nuova Societa Letteraria e Tipografica 1786); Ottaviano Boari di Ferrara, *De C. Plinii Caecilii Secundi Novocomensis testamentaria inscriptione Mediolanensibus adserta et illustrata dissertatio* (Mantua: Typis Haeredis Albertis Pazzoni, 1773).

⁶¹⁴ Giambattista Giovio, *Poesie italiane e latine* (Milan: Galeazzi, 1774).

⁶¹⁵ Agostino Paradisi, *Versi sciolti* (Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tomaso d’Aquino, 1762).

⁶¹⁶ *Delle notti di Young. Traduzione di Giuseppe Bottoni. Seconda edizione corretta, continuata e condotta a fine dal traduttore* (Siena: L. e B. Bindi, 1775).

⁶¹⁷ John Wilkins, *An Essay towards a real character, and a philosophical language* (London: S. Gellibrand, 1668).

⁶¹⁸ José de Carvalho, *Deduccao chronologica e analytica & Deduzione cronologica e analitica* (Lisbon: M. Manescal da Costa, 1767–8).

Giovanni Battista Basile, *La Chiaqlira dla Banzola o per dir mü Fol divers tradutt dal parlar Napulitan in lengua Bulghesa per rimedi innucent dla sonn, e dla malincunj*.⁶²⁰ They are far more thematically coherent than the books which Beccaria was himself distributing to members of his network. These included César Chesneau du Marsais, *Des tropes*; Sainte Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*; Alessandro Verri, *Riflessioni... sopra il libro... Del disordine e de' rimedi*; Beccaria's own *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile* and *Discorso accademico sopra i titoli VI e VII del XLII delle Pandette*; Tessin, *Lettere scritte al Principe Reale di Svezia*; Carpani, *Risposta ad un amico sopra le monete dello Stato di Milano*; and Diodorus Siculus. More interestingly, we can trace those titles which are circulating throughout the network, being both sent and received by Beccaria at various points in his career. Here we can see more obvious connections through texts such as Angelo Gatti's *Nouvelles Réflexions* and *Réflexions sur les préjugés*; Helvétius' *De l'esprit*; Voltaire, *Questions sur les miracles*; Carli, *I longobardi*; Pilati, *Riflessioni di un Italiano sopra la*; Natale, *Riflessioni politiche* and Isidoro Bianchi, *Delle scienze e belle arti*.

In order to better gauge Beccaria's active reading interests, it helps to examine the requests for books that he put to booksellers but which he never received. Among these titles we see famous literary works such as Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*;⁶²¹ Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de musique*;⁶²² Thomas Browne & George Merryweather, *Religio Medici*;⁶²³ Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*,⁶²⁴ as well as classic authors such as Tommaso Campanella. We find histories and natural histories such as Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Description du Danube, contenant des observations géographiques, astronomiques, physiques*;⁶²⁵ Thomas Hyde, *De ludis orientalibus libri duo*;⁶²⁶ Plutarch & Jacques Amyot, *Les vies des hommes*

⁶¹⁹ Luís Vaz de Camões, *Obras* (Paris: P. Gendron, 1759).

⁶²⁰ Giovanni Battista Basile, *La Chiaqlira dla Banzola o per dir mü Fol divers tradutt dal parlar Napulitan in lengua Bulghesa per rimedi innucent dla sonn, e dla malincunj* (Bologna: per Leli dalla Volp, 1777).

⁶²¹ Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (London: Dodsley, Becket, De Hondt, 1759–1766).

⁶²² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1768).

⁶²³ Thomas Browne and George Merryweather, *Religio Medici, auctore T. Browne, ab anglica lingua in latinam versa a J. Merryweather* (London, 1643).

⁶²⁴ Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (Paris: P.-G. Le Mercier, 1735).

⁶²⁵ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Description du Danube, contenant des observations géographiques, astronomiques, physiques* (La Haye: J. Swart, 1744).

⁶²⁶ Thomas Hyde, *De ludis orientalibus libri duo* (Oxonii: e theatro Sheldoniano, 1694).

illustres, grecs et romains, comparées L'une avec l'autre, par Plutarque;⁶²⁷ as well as Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre's vision of international peacekeeping in *Annales politiques*.⁶²⁸ Other titles are more unexpected, such as Claude Guillermet de Beauregard, *Circulus Pisanus* [. . .] *de veteri et peripatetica philosophia in tres libros Aristotelis de anima*;⁶²⁹ Louis Charpentier's, *Nouveaux contes moraux, ou Historiettes galantes et morales par M.C****;⁶³⁰ Jean-Baptiste-François Hennebert, *Du Plaisir, ou moyen de se rendre heureux*;⁶³¹ Imprimerie des Heritiers de Berling, *Le traducteur, ou Traduction de diverses feuilles choisies tirées des papiers périodiques anglois*;⁶³² and Pietro Pomponazzi, *De naturalium effectuum causis sive de incantationibus liber*.⁶³³ Most strikingly, we see that Beccaria has requested Ralph Cudworth's criticism of materialistic atheism in *Systema intellectuale hujus universi, seu de veris naturae rerum originibus, cum commentario Jo[hannis] Laurent[ii] Moshemii*⁶³⁴ and two publications by Spinoza, the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* and the *Opera posthuma* (the *Ethics*),⁶³⁵ neither of which we can find in his catalogue, or in any bookseller's receipts, no doubt due to the difficulties in trading such publications. In fact we can examine the biblioscope more generally in terms of clandestine literature. The previous section touched briefly upon Beccaria's use of Swiss booksellers as a way of sourcing illegal and controversial texts and the biblioscope helps reveal the extent of Beccaria's exposure to clandestine titles. The majority of these publications are French and range with regards to both genre and the contention of their contents. However, the majority of clandestine texts are not being sent to Beccaria, nor do we find them in his catalogue. The biblioscope thus helps to demonstrate how knowledge of illegal publications was spread throughout the

⁶²⁷Plutarch, *Les vies des hommes illustres, grecs et romains, comparées L'une avec l'autre, par Plutarque, traduites du grec en françois*. Trans. Jacques Amyot (Paris: L'imprimerie de Michel de Vascosan, 1558).

⁶²⁸ Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, *Annales politiques de feu monsieur Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, de l'Académie française* (London: 1757).

⁶²⁹ Claude Guillermet de Beauregard, *Circulus Pisanus* [. . .] *De veteri et peripatetica philosophia in tres libros Aristotelis de anima* (Utini, ex Typographia N. Schiratti, 1643; 2nd ed. Patavii: Typis P. Frambotti, 1661).

⁶³⁰Louis Charpentier, *Nouveaux contes moraux, ou Historiettes galantes et morales par M. C****, 3 parties en I vol. (Amsterdam and Liège: Chez J.-F. Bassompierre, 1767).

⁶³¹ Jean-Baptiste-François Hennebert, *Du plaisir, ou du moyen de se rendre heureux, par M. l'abbé H.-C.-A. H.* (Lille: Henry, 1764).

⁶³² *Le traducteur, ou Traduction de diverses feuilles choisies tirées des papiers périodiques anglois*, 4 vols. (Copenhagen: Héritiers de Berling, 1753-57).

⁶³³ Pietro Pomponazzi *De naturalium effectuum causis sive de incantationibus liber*, (Basilea: 1556).

⁶³⁴ Ralph Cudworth, *Systema intellectuale hujus universi, seu de veris naturae rerum originibus, cum commentario Jo[hannis] Laurent[ii] Moshemii*, 2 vols. (Jena, 1732).

⁶³⁵ Baruch Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (Amsterdam, 1670); *Opera posthuma quorum series post praefationem exhibetur* (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz, 1677. This edition contained: *Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata*, *Tractatus politicus*, *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*, *Epistolae*, *Compendium grammatices linguae hebraeae*.

network, with citations counterbalancing the unavailability of these texts. We see publications such as Voltaire's *Candide, Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs. Nouvelle édition soigneusement revue corrigée et augmentée* and *Dieu et les Hommes*;⁶³⁶ Holbach's *Système de la nature*;⁶³⁷ Brissot de Warville, *De la vérité ou méditations sur les moyens de parvenir à la vérité dans toutes les connoissances humaines* and *Théorie des loix criminelles*,⁶³⁸ Diderot's *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*;⁶³⁹ and Charles-Geneviève-Louis-Auguste-André-Thunotée, chevalier d'Éon de Beaumont, *Lettres, mémoires et négociations particulières du Chevalier d'Eon avec MM. le duc de Praslin, de Nivernois, de Sainte Foy et Regnier de Guercy*⁶⁴⁰ which all feature in Darnton's corpus. Additionally, books such as Henri-Joseph Dulaurens, *Le compere Mathieu* and *Imirce, ou la fille de la nature*;⁶⁴¹ Jean de La Fontaine, *Contes et nouvelles en vers, par M. de La Fontaine*;⁶⁴² and Jean Levesque de Burigny's *Examen critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne*⁶⁴³ were listed on Poinçot's Inventory of the Bastille and Joseph II's Index, as were Boulanger's *Recherches sur les origines du despotisme oriental*.⁶⁴⁴ Marmontel's *Bélisaire* and Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique*⁶⁴⁵ featured on the papal index. Nonetheless, we can trace Beccaria's ownership of some clandestine titles, including D'Holbach and Jacques-André Naigeon, *Le militaire philosophe, ou difficultés sur la religion* (Joseph II's Index);⁶⁴⁶ Robinet, *De la nature* (Joseph II's Index and Poinçot's Inventory of the Bastille); Boulanger's *L'antiquité dévoilée* (Joseph II's Index and Poinçot's Inventory of the Bastille);

⁶³⁶ Voltaire, *Candide, ou l'optimisme* (Amsterdam: Marc-Michel Rey, 1759; Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs. Nouvelle édition soigneusement revue corrigée et augmentée*, (Geneva: Cramer, 1770–1772); Voltaire, *Dieu et les Hommes, oeuvre théologique, mais raisonnable* (Berlin: Chez Christian de Vos, 1769).

⁶³⁷ Paul-Henri Thiry, Baron d'Holbach, *Système de la Nature ou Des Loix du Monde Physique et du Monde Moral* (London, [i.e. Amsterdam]: Marc-Michel Rey, 1770).

⁶³⁸ Brissot de Warville, *De la vérité ou méditations sur les moyens de parvenir à la vérité dans toutes les connoissances humaine* (Neuchâtel, 1782).

⁶³⁹ Denis Diderot, *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*, 1753.

⁶⁴⁰ Charles-Geneviève-Louis-Auguste-André-Thunotée, chevalier d'Éon de Beaumont, *Lettres, mémoires et négociations particulières du Chevalier d'Eon avec MM. le duc de Praslin, de Nivernois, de Sainte Foy et Regnier de Guercy* (London: J. Dixwell, 1764).

⁶⁴¹ Henri-Joseph Dulaurens, *Le compère Mathieu, ou les bigarrures de l'esprit humain*, 3 vols. (London, 1766; *Imirce, ou la fille de la nature* (Berlin: Chez l'imprimeur du philosophe de Sans-Souci, 1765).

⁶⁴² Jean de La Fontaine, *Contes et nouvelles en vers, par M. de La Fontaine*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Barbou, 1762).

⁶⁴³ Jean Levesque de Burigny, *Examen critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne*, 1766.

⁶⁴⁴ Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Recherches sur l'origine du despotisme oriental: ouvrage posthume*, 1761.

⁶⁴⁵ Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique, cinquième édition revue, corrigée et augmentée*, vol. IV (Basel: Chez Jean Brandmuller, 1738).

⁶⁴⁶ Paul-Thiery Baron D'Holbach and Jacques-André Naigeon, *Le militaire philosophe ou Difficultés sur la religion proposées au père Malebranche, prêtre de l'Oratoire, par un ancien officier* (London, 1767).

Charles Borde, *Tableau philosophique de l'histoire du genre humain depuis l'origine du monde jusqu'à Constantin, traduit de l'anglais* (Joseph II's Index);⁶⁴⁷ and Helvétius, *De l'esprit* (Joseph II's Index and Poinçot's Inventory of the Bastille). However, this is not to go so far as to say that Beccaria was extensively engaging with radical, anti-clerical, or anti-religious views. Rather, his interests in ideas such as Spinoza's famous separation of theology and philosophy, or Richard Simon's biblical criticism in *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament e l'histoire critique du Nouveau Testament*,⁶⁴⁸ illustrate a more political and even somewhat anthropological interest in the role and place of religion within society, which is especially demonstrated by those texts addressing non-European and non-Christian traditions, such as Thomas Hyde's account of Zoroastrianism in *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* and Isaac de Beausobre's reflections on the Manichaeist religion in *Histoire Critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*. It is thus possible to speculate that Beccaria's interest in these texts was due to his more general concern for the various interpretations on the formation of society, ranging from the social contract theory within Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, to the metaphysics of Plotinus' *Enneads*.

Themes in the biblioscope

While the titles in the biblioscope have not been organised by genre, this brief analysis has revealed some thematic trends which help us to understand and complicate the intellectual genealogy and contribution of Beccaria's own thought. Above all, we see that works of political philosophy comprise the majority of the biblioscope which can be roughly divided into three further subcategories. Firstly, we see a diverse range of texts broadly concerning the development of human sociability and the evolution and forms of civil society, though from strikingly different perspectives. Among the titles which are repeatedly referenced, we find texts addressing the origins, nature and best forms of society, such as Étienne-Gabriel Morelley's scathing critique of private property as the cause of all social and moral ills and criticism of Montesquieu in *Code de la nature, ou le véritable esprit de ses bis, de tout temps négligé ou*

⁶⁴⁷ Charles Borde, *Tableau philosophique de l'histoire du genre humain depuis l'origine du monde jusqu'à Constantin, traduit de l'anglais* (London, 1767).

⁶⁴⁸ Richard Simon, *L'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament e l'Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament*, (Paris: Vve Billaine, 1678).

*méconnu*⁶⁴⁹ and François-André-Adrien Pluquet's *Traité De la sociabilité*,⁶⁵⁰ with its strong rebuttal against Hobbes, claiming that man is, by nature, sociable and able to exercise virtue even in the state of nature. Expanding our view to the entire biblioscope, we see that both Rousseau's *Contrat social* and *Second Discourse on inequality* are cited,⁶⁵¹ and that Beccaria owned a copy of Hobbes's *Elementa philosophica de cive*,⁶⁵² and was sent a copy of Hobbes' *Opera philosophica, quae latine scripsit, omnia, in tres partes distributa*.⁶⁵³ Additionally, we can trace that Beccaria owned a copy of Gianrinaldo Carli's *L'Uomo Libero o sia ragionamento sulla libertà naturale e civile dell'uomo* (eventually printed in 1778),⁶⁵⁴ which discusses the transition from the state of nature into society, providing a theory of sovereignty which justifies enlightened absolutism as the only form of government compatible with natural law. The manuscript contains extensive additions in Beccaria's hand, which above all reference Hobbes' *De Cive* and demonstrate Beccaria's comprehensive understanding of Hobbes' theory of the state of nature.⁶⁵⁵

While these texts address the social contract in its manifest forms, the wider biblioscope also contains publications which deal more specifically with sensationist epistemologies and the concept of public happiness, as are central to Beccaria's own social contract theory, such as Pietro Verri, *Le meditazioni sulla felicità*; Helvétius' *L'Eprit*; Johann Georg Sulzer's treatment of aesthetics in *Nouvelle théorie des plaisirs*; Domenico Ciaraldi, *Dissertazione morale politica sul problema se il lusso sia giovevole, o dannoso alle civili società*;⁶⁵⁶ Alphonse de Serres de la

⁶⁴⁹ Étienne-Gabriel Morelly, *Code de la nature, ou le véritable esprit de ses lois, de tout temps négligé ou méconnu* (chez le vrai sage, 1750).

⁶⁵⁰ François-André-Adrien Pluquet, *Traité De la sociabilité* (Paris: Chez Barrois 1767).

⁶⁵¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social ou Principes du droit politique* n par J. J. Rousseau (M.M. Rey: Amsterdam, 1762); *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* . Par Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Dresden: M. M. Rey, 1755).

⁶⁵² Thomas Hobbes, *Elementa philosophica de cive* (Amsterdam: L. Elzevirium, 1647).

⁶⁵³ Thomas Hobbes, *Opera philosophica, quae latine scripsit, omnia, in tres partes distributa* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1668).

⁶⁵⁴ Gian Rinaldo Carli, *L'Uomo libero, o sia, Ragionamento sulla libertà naturale e civile dell'uomo* (Lyon, 1778).

⁶⁵⁵ Gianrinaldo Carli, *L'Uomo Libero* (manuscript), undated, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.233. One of Beccaria's handwritten additions to Carli's text accuses philosophers of confusing: "l'idea della libertà con quale della indipendenza". His criticism of those who fail to distinguish between these two concepts indicates Beccaria's concern for the conditions of liberty in civil society.

⁶⁵⁶ Domenico Ciaraldi, *Dissertazione morale politica sul problema se il lusso sia giovevole o dannoso alle civili società* (Naples: Stamperia Simoniana, 1769).

Tour, *Du plaisir*;⁶⁵⁷ and Jean-Baptiste-François Hennebert, *Du Plaisir, ou moyen de se rendre heureux*. Most interestingly, we see that Beccaria owned Chastellux's *De la félicité publique ou considérations sur le sort des hommes dans les différentes époques de l'histoire*.⁶⁵⁸ Chastellux's treatise gives a very different account of public happiness than Beccaria, which consists of peace, liberty and prosperity, brought about by progress. Clarifying that the objective of good governance ought to be the attainment of the "plus grand bonheur du plus grand nombre de personnes", (even though he admits that such an attitude has never been assumed by any political system),⁶⁵⁹ Chastellux takes a more utilitarian line than Beccaria and does not base his theory on the motivating sentiments of pain and pleasure. Yet, despite these fundamental differences, Chastellux's desire to send Beccaria his treatise highlights the perception by Beccaria's contemporaries that his work was contributing to discussions about public happiness and Chastellux was not alone in sending Beccaria such a treatise. Giovanni Turchi di Savignano, having submitted an entry to the 1768 Academy of Berlin essay competition with the title, *Se si possano distruggere le Inclinazioni naturali negli uomini, e introdurne altre in essi, che ai medesimi non sieno naturali. Quali sono i mezzi di fortificare le buone, Inclinazioni, e d'indebolire le Malvagie, caso che queste ultime non si possano intieramente sradicare*,⁶⁶⁰ sent his manuscript to Beccaria in hope that he will provide some sage reflections on Turchi's account of man's natural inclinations. Likewise, another manuscript, under the pseudonym "Filalete Ateniese", *Quanto il rispetto/ pei/ costumi contribuisce alla felicità/ d'uno Stato* is sent to Beccaria in 1776.⁶⁶¹ A distinctly Montesquieuean text, it explores the best forms of government to ensure the liberty and equality of citizens, claiming that the only way to preserve "Uno spirito di virtuosa indipendenza" is through mixed government.⁶⁶²

Finally, we find literature addressing political philosophy and natural law. We see classics such as Aristotle's *Politica*,⁶⁶³ Emerich de Vattel's *Le droit des gens, ou principes de la loi naturelle*,

⁶⁵⁷ Alphonse de Serres de la Tour, *Du plaisir, par M. Alp*** L**** (London, Paris: Dufour, 1767).

⁶⁵⁸ Francois-Jean de Chastellux, *De la félicité publique, ou Considérations sur le sort des hommes dans les différentes époques de l'histoire*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Rey, 1772).

⁶⁵⁹ François Jean Chastellux, *De la félicité publique*, vol. II, (Paris: L'imprimerie de Crapelet, 1822), 70–1.

⁶⁶⁰ Giovanni Turchi to Beccaria, (24 February 1771), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.232.

⁶⁶¹ Letter 465, *Edizione nazionale*, vol. V, 468.

⁶⁶² Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Becc. B 231.

⁶⁶³ Aristotle, *Politica*, V, sect. 1306a, unknown edition.

appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains;⁶⁶⁴ Adam Ferguson's *An essay on the history of civil society*;⁶⁶⁵ and Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des loix*.⁶⁶⁶ We also the vast *Annales politiques* of the polymath Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, most famous for his views on perpetual peace and international collective security; François-Ignace Espiard de la Borde's *Il genio delle nazioni*;⁶⁶⁷ arguably a precursor to Montesquieu's theory on climate; the constitutionalism of Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui in *Principes du droit naturel et politique*;⁶⁶⁸ Algernon Sidney's *Discours sur le gouvernement par Algernon Sidney. Traduit de l'anglois par P.A. Samson*,⁶⁶⁹ a response to Robert Filmer's defence of the divine right of monarchy in *Patriarcha*; and Linguet's defence of absolutism and condemnation of Montesquieu in *Théorie des loix civiles*. In addition, we find more obscure works, often written by active members of the administrative and judicial classes, such as Claude-François-Joseph d'Auxiron, *Principes de tout gouvernement*;⁶⁷⁰ Gaspard de Réal de Curban *La science du gouvernement, ouvrage de morale, de droit et de politique*;⁶⁷¹ Stefano Bertolini's *L'analyse raisonnée de L'Esprit des loix*;⁶⁷² a defence of Castel de Saint-Pierre's thought against Montesquieu's criticism in the *Esprit des loix*; Paolo Mattia Doria's reification of the governments of Sparta and the Roman Republic in *L'idea della perfetta repubblica*;⁶⁷³ and Niccolò Maria Jacogna, *Dialogo ragionato in cui si dimostra egualmente necessario il valor guerriero e la prudenza delle leggi per la gloria, e buon esser delle repubbliche*.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁶⁴ Emerich de Vattel, *Le droit des gens, ou principes de la loi naturelle, appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains. Nouvelle édition augmentée*, 2 vols. (Neuchâtel: Imprimerie de la Société Typographique, 1773).

⁶⁶⁵ Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of the Civil Society* (Edinburgh, 1767).

⁶⁶⁶ Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *L'Esprit des loix* (Geneva: Barrillot & fils, 1748).

⁶⁶⁷ François-Ignace Espiard de la Borde. *Il genio delle nazioni. Traduzione dal francese in italiano di B.T.F.* (Venice: Giacomo Caroboli and Domenico Pompeati, 1764).

⁶⁶⁸ Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, *Principes du droit naturel et politique*, 3 vols. (Geneva and Copenhagen: Cl. & Ant. Philibert, 1764).

⁶⁶⁹ Algernon Sidney, *Discours sur le gouvernement par Algernon Sidney. Traduit de l'anglois par P. A. Samson*, 4 vols. (La Haye: Chez H. Van Dole, 1755).

⁶⁷⁰ Claude-François-Joseph D'Auxiron, *Principes de tout gouvernement, ou Examen des causes de la splendeur ou de la foiblesse de tout Etat considéré en lui-même et indépendamment des moeurs*, 2 vols. (Paris: J.-T. Hérisant fils, 1766).

⁶⁷¹ Gaspard de Réal de Curban, *La science du gouvernement*, 8 vols. (Aix-La-Chapelle [ma: Amsterdam, Paris] 1761–64).

⁶⁷² Stefano Bertolini, *L'analyse raisonnée de L'Esprit des loix* (Geneva: Philibert e Chirol, 1771).

⁶⁷³ Paolo Mattia Doria, *L'idea della perfetta repubblica*, 1753.

⁶⁷⁴ Niccolò Maria Jacogna, *Dialogo ragionato in cui si dimostra egualmente necessario il valor guerriero e la prudenza delle leggi per la gloria, e buon esser delle repubbliche* (unknown).

This body of literature is vital to understanding Beccaria's intellectual contribution as it demonstrates that political philosophy and the pillars of the social contract, sensationist epistemology and the nature of society were the most common intellectual references in his reading climate stretching across his career. Perhaps more importantly however, this literature is more diverse than many intellectual histories of Beccaria's philosophy have acknowledged. While we encounter familiar figures like Hobbes, Montesquieu, Vattel and Helvétius, we also find authors whose views are rarely considered to have contributed to the intellectual context of Beccaria's work. Take for example the radical proposal for social equality laid out by Morelley in his attack on property. His proto-socialism is worlds away from Beccaria's proposals for the equality of inequality, nonetheless, as we shall see in the following chapter, Beccaria had a much more conflicted relationship with the concept of property than is often highlighted and one senses that his views on property in practice were more sympathetic to those like Morelley's than his theoretical framework would permit. In fact, considering this wealth of literature on political philosophy, there are some surprising gaps in the biblioscope with regards to some of Beccaria's more frequently studied intellectual forebears. From the natural law tradition for instance, Pufendorf and Grotius are all together absent from the biblioscope. We find no trace of Condillac's *Traité des sensations*, nor do we see Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*. We do however, see arguably comparable writers. No Grotius, but Burlamaqui. No *Two treatises of government*, but Algernon Sidney's *Discourses on government*. We do however find multiple instances of Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, which the following chapter will argue was a more crucial influence on Beccaria's philosophy than Locke's political philosophy. Of course, the biblioscope is not exhaustive and these lacunae are not conclusive. Nonetheless, from our contemporary perspective of Beccaria's writings, these absences are still striking.

Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* leads us to a crucial area of the biblioscope which is concerned with natural philosophy, the nature of things, the mind and the universe more broadly, such as Yves Marie André's treatise on the nature of man, the spirit, liberty and society, *Traité de l'homme* and Holbach's work of philosophical materialism, *Système de la nature*. We see that Beccaria owned Lucretius' atomistic *De rerum natura*,⁶⁷⁵ Robinet's account of nature being unified by a divine essence and predestined towards the

⁶⁷⁵ Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (Brescia, 1473).

improvement of man in *De la nature*, Leibniz's *Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme, & l'origine du mal*⁶⁷⁶ and a copy of *Recueil de diverses pièces sur la philosophie, la religion naturelle, l'histoire, les mathématiques, &c. par messieurs Leibniz, Clarke, Newton & autres auteurs celebres*;⁶⁷⁷ and Anthony Collins' materialist and determinist *Discours sur la liberté de penser*, an anticlerical attack which addressed the nature and role of freethinking in society. However, we also see that Beccaria had a copy of *Vues philosophiques; ou protestations et declarations sur les principaux objets des connoissances humaines* by André Pierre le Guay de Prémontval,⁶⁷⁸ who had stood firmly against the materialism and determinism of Leibniz and Wolff among others, as well as Ralph Cudworth's refutation of determinism in *Systema intellectuale hujus universi*, which Beccaria had requested but never received from the renowned bookseller Mosè Beniamino Foà. We also know that Beccaria requested Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* and the *Opera posthuma* (the *Ethics*), but we likewise find publications and authors in the biblioscope which stand against the rationalist views of Leibniz, Descartes and Spinoza including Locke's description of the origins of human knowledge and understanding in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and Condillac's *Essai sur l'origine des connoissances humaines*⁶⁷⁹ which was strongly influenced by Locke's work, which will be addressed in the following chapter, and also Brissot de Warville's *De la vérité* which rejected Malebranche's metaphysics as dangerous. Among the texts concerning moral philosophy, we see Adam Smith's examination of the origins of moral sentiments in *Métaphysique de l'âme ou Théorie des sentiments moraux, traduite de l'anglois*;⁶⁸⁰ and the *Riflessioni* by Casto Innocente Ansaldi, who was famous for defending Maupertuis' moral philosophy from the accusations of Spinozism made by Diderot. We additionally find texts which deal with the relationship between man's faculties and society and education, such as Francesco Venini's *Principj delle*

⁶⁷⁶ Leibniz, *Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme, & l'origine du mal* (Amsterdam: Troyel, 1710).

⁶⁷⁷ Leibniz, Clarke, Newton, *Recueil de diverses pièces sur la philosophie, la religion naturelle, l'histoire, les mathématiques, etc. par Messieurs Leibniz, Clarke, Newton et autres auteurs celebres*, (Amsterdam: H. Du Sauzet, 1720).

⁶⁷⁸ André Pierre le Guay de Prémontval, *Vues philosophiques; Ou protestations et declarations sur les principaux objets des connoissances humaines* (Amsterdam: Schneider, 1757).

⁶⁷⁹ Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essai sur l'origine des connoissances humaines* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1746).

⁶⁸⁰ Adam Smith, *Métaphysique de l'ame, ou Théorie des sentiments moraux*, 2 vols. (Paris: Briasson, 1764).

cognizioni umane ad uso dei fanciulli;⁶⁸¹ Rousseau's *Émile*, and the corresponding work of Henri-Joseph Dulaurens, *Imirce*, as well as his novel, *Le compere Mathieu*.

While the previous chapter revealed that Beccaria was perceived to be involved in the network surrounding Baron d'Holbach, Beccaria's biblioscape further raises the issue of his exposure to the materialist views of this group and its influence on his own thought. The following chapter will deal more directly with this topic; however, it is worth drawing initial attention to the prominence of this strain of materialist thinking within Beccaria's reading culture, especially through texts like Diderot's *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*, Holbach's *Système de la nature* and the *Recueil de diverses pièces sur la philosophie, la religion naturelle, l'histoire, les mathématiques, &c. par messieurs Leibniz, Clarke, Newton & autres auteurs celebres* and Jacques-François-Maxime de Chastenet, Marquis de Puységur's libellous tract *Discussion intéressante sur la prétention du clergé d'être le premier ordre de l'État*.⁶⁸² However, while we see materialist texts in the biblioscape, we find no trace that Beccaria was partaking any further than this in the circulation of materialist manuscripts and clandestine copies of English writers such as Hobbes and Toland, as was a core undertaking of the same network of French savants which we found Beccaria to be connected to.⁶⁸³ As the following section will indicate, Beccaria's extant manuscript collection is exceedingly homogenous and his correspondence shows no signs of Beccaria's involvement in this aspect of the materialists' network. Nonetheless, the materialist views circulating within Beccaria's biblioscape are in direct dialogue with many other works of what we would today broadly consider the history of religion, anthropology, natural history, history of linguistics and the life sciences, but which similarly address materialism's questions concerning the nature of the physical world, the reduction of the mind and soul to physical anatomy, and human behaviour more generally. On the one hand, we find publications which bridge reflections on man's nature and physiology, such as Bonnet's *Essai analytique sur les facultés de l'âme*, two copies of which Chirol sent to Beccaria in 1767,⁶⁸⁴ as well as his *Contemplation de la nature*,⁶⁸⁵ which classified

⁶⁸¹ Francesco Venini, *Principii delle cognizioni umane ad uso dei fanciulli* (Parma: R. D. Stamperia Monti, 1767).

⁶⁸² Jacques-François-Maxime de Chastenet, Marquis de Puységur, *Discussion intéressante sur la prétention du clergé d'être le premier ordre de l'État* (La Haye: Les Libraires Associés, 1767).

⁶⁸³ Ann Thomson, "Informal Networks," in *Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁶⁸⁴ Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 29 August 1767), letter 202 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 573–5.

nature in terms of a continuous hierarchy, and Pietro Moscati's *Delle corporee differenze essenziali che passano fra la struttura de' bruti e l'umana*,⁶⁸⁶ which Beccaria owned and whose work was highly criticised in Giambattista Vasco's, *Della naturale umana bipede posizione. Lettera critica scritta dall'autore de' Contadini al signor dottor Pietro Moscati*, which also features in the biblioscope.⁶⁸⁷ On the other, we see many works of natural history including Noël-Antoine Pluche's popular Christian "natural theology" in *Le spectacle de la nature, ou Entretiens sur les particularités de l'histoire naturelle*;⁶⁸⁸ Élie Bertrand's *Recueil de divers traités sur l'histoire naturelle de la terre et des fossiles*;⁶⁸⁹ Jean-Louis Aléon Dulac, *Mélanges d'histoire naturelle*;⁶⁹⁰ Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*; and Samuel Engel's *Essai sur cette question: Quand et comment l'Amérique a-t-elle été peuplée d'hommes et d'animaux?*⁶⁹¹ which attempted to provide an anthropological account of the rise of civilization in America, criticising interpretations such as Grotius' of the origins of the Americans. Alongside natural histories, we find universal and general histories. Books such as Dussieux's translation of the *Universal History*; Boulanger's explanation of the origins of religious practices as deriving from postdiluvian terror in *L'antiquité dévoilée*; Voltaire, *Essai sur l'histoire générale et sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à nos jours*;⁶⁹² Charles Borde's comparison of the ancient and contemporary worlds in *Tableau philosophique*; Jacques-Auguste de Thou's famous *Histoire Universelle*;⁶⁹³ Claude-François-Xavier Millot, *Histoire Philosophique de l'homme*,⁶⁹⁴ all of which were sent to Beccaria by booksellers; and Thomas Hyde's account of Zoroastrianism *Historia religionis veterum Persarum, ubi... Zoroastris vita, eiusque et aliorum vaticinia de Messia e Persarum aliorumque monumentis eruuntur... atque magorum liber Sad-der e Persico traductus*

⁶⁸⁵ Charles Bonnet, *Considérations sur les corps organisés*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1762); *Contemplation de la nature*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Marc-Michel Rey, 1764).

⁶⁸⁶ Pietro Moscati, *Delle corporee differenze essenziali che passano fra la struttura de' bruti e l'umana. Discorso accademico* (Milan: Galeazzi, 1770).

⁶⁸⁷ Giambattista Vasco, *Lettera critica scritta dall'autore de' Contadini al signor dottor Pietro Moscati*, (Milan: Galeazzi, 1770).

⁶⁸⁸ Noël-Antoine Pluche, *Le spectacle de la nature, ou Entretiens sur les particularités de l'histoire naturelle* (Paris: 1723-1750).

⁶⁸⁹ Elie Bertrand, *Recueil de divers traités sur l'histoire naturelle de la terre et des fossils* (Avignon: L. Chambeau, 1766).

⁶⁹⁰ Jean-Louis Aléon Dulac, *Mélanges d'histoire naturelle*, 6 vols. (Lyon: B. Duplain, 1763–65).

⁶⁹¹ Samuel Engel, *Essai sur cette question: Quand et comme l'Amérique a-t-elle été peuplée d'hommes et d'animaux? Par E. B. d'E.*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: Chez Marc-Michel Rey, 1767).

⁶⁹² Voltaire, *l'Essai sur l'histoire générale et sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations depuis Charlemagne jusqu' à nos jours* (Geneva: Cramer, 1756).

⁶⁹³ Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire universelle de Jacque-Auguste de Thou depuis 1543 jusqu'en 1607* (London [i.e. Paris], 1734).

⁶⁹⁴ Claude-François-Xavier Millot, *Histoire philosophique de l'homme* (London: Chez Nourse, 1766).

exhibetur.⁶⁹⁵ Additionally, we see that Beccaria cites and circulates Alessandro Verri's *Saggio sulla storia d'Italia dalla fondazione di Roma sino alla metà del nostro secolo*. This area of Beccaria's reading interests echoes many of the connections that we saw being posited in Beccaria's imagined networks, yet the relationship of Beccaria's thought to natural history has received little attention in recent scholarship. Although the sensationism at the heart of Beccaria's political philosophy is seen as rooted in the work of Condillac, Helvétius and Locke, there are few remarks on the interaction between Beccaria's thought and the extensive corpus of literature examining the natural history of mankind, which was directly feeding into both materialist discourse and political philosophy. While it is well documented that Beccaria's perception of human nature was fundamental to his vision of society, this literature indicates that he was perhaps more integrated in discussions regarding not just the theoretical passage to sociability, as we see in Hobbes for instance, but more anthropological and physiological interpretations of the origins and development of mankind and human nature. However, this does not mean that we find a coherent view of natural history within Beccaria's biblioscope. Even before one reaches the Christian apologism espoused by authors like Pluche, there are the conflicting accounts presented by Robinet, Buffon and Bonnet. Nevertheless, their conclusions aside, the prevalence of, in particular French, naturalists indicates that their questions regarding origins, their way of looking at the world and their language of nature, remained a point of curiosity for Beccaria.

Another genre found in the biblioscope is especially important for resituating Beccaria as a philosopher-administrator, whose philosophy was intended to be put towards the public good, that being political economy. Above all, the diverse collection of works of physiocracy, mercantilism, cameralism and political economy bring us back to the question of the relationship of Beccaria's thought to Physiocracy, as raised in the previous chapter. Among the works from renowned physiocrats, we see the "Éphémérides du citoyen", Quesnay and Du Pont's *Physiocratie ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre humain*; Mercier de la Rivière's insistence on the right to property as based on the order of nature and proposal for how social order was to be achieved through the institutions of law and the magistrature, the sovereign, and the institutions of public

⁶⁹⁵ Thomas Hyde, *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum, Eorumque Magorum* (Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1700).

instruction, in *L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques* and his *L'intérêt general de l'État ou la liberté du commerce des blés*,⁶⁹⁶ Bigot de Sainte Croix, *Avis au Roi*; Du Pont, *De l'origine et des progrès*; and Joseph Méry de la Canorgue, *L'ami de ceux qui n'en on point, ou Système pour le régime des pauvres*,⁶⁹⁷ as well as the milder views of Jacques Accarias de Serionne in *L'intérêts des nations de l'Europe, développés relativement au commerce*.⁶⁹⁸ We also find the economic liberalism of Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (though the work is unspecified) and see that Beccaria owned André Morellet's unfinished *Prospectus d'un nouveau Dictionnaire de commerce*⁶⁹⁹ which followed much of Turgot's thought, as well as his *Mémoire sur la situation actuelle de la compagnie des Indes. Seconde édition augmentée d'une histoire de la compagnie*.⁷⁰⁰ As far as physiocratic writings go, it is a rich sample of key views and key physiocrats, once again suggesting that Beccaria was well versed in the physiocratic school doctrine. However, true to the diversity within the biblioscope more generally, we also find economic literature from across the range of the intellectual spectrum, such as Isaac de Pinto's *Traité des fonds de commerce, ou Jeu d'actions*⁷⁰¹ which actively refuted the physiocrats' views on economy. Other more mercantilist publications can also be found, including Jean Bertrand's spirited argument for the economic value of the modernisation of agriculture in *De l'esprit de la législation pour encourager l'agriculture*,⁷⁰² as well as David Hume's anti-mercantilist arguments in the *Discours politiques*,⁷⁰³ which included the essays "Of commerce", "Of money", "Of interest", "Of the balance of trade", "Of the balance of Power", "Of taxes", "Of public credit" alongside Bolingbroke's "Some reflections on the present State of the Nation", which we can trace Beccaria as having owned. We also find reference to the classic cameralist work of Joseph

⁶⁹⁶ Pierre-Paul Le Mercier de la Rivière, *L'intérêt general de l'État ou la liberté du commerce des blés* (Amsterdam, Paris, 1770).

⁶⁹⁷ Joseph Méry de la Canorgue, *L'ami de ceux qui n'en on point, ou Système pour le régime des pauvres et des mendians dans tout le royaume* (Paris: Prault, 1767).

⁶⁹⁸ Jacques Accarias de Serionne, *L'intérêts des nations de l'Europe, développés relativement au commerce* (Leiden, 1766).

⁶⁹⁹ André Morellet, *Prospectus d'un nouveau Dictionnaire de commerce*, 5 vols. (Paris: Chez les Freres Estienne, 1769).

⁷⁰⁰ André Morellet, *Mémoire sur la situation actuelle de la compagnie des Indes. Seconde édition augmentée d'une histoire de la compagnie* (Paris: Desaint, 1769).

⁷⁰¹ Isaac de Pinto, *Traité des fonds de commerce, Ou, jeu d'actions: Précédé d'un extrait critique du bilan se l'Angleterre, pour servir d'Introduction; & suivi de plusieurs Traités relatifs aux autres objets politiques* (London: Nourse, 1771).

⁷⁰² Jean Bertrand, *De l'esprit de la législation pour encourager l'agriculture* (Bern: Oekonomische Gesellschaft, 1766).

⁷⁰³ David Hume, *Discours politiques de monsieur Hume traduits de l'anglois* (Amsterdam: Chez Michel Lambert, libraire, 1754).

Von Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft*⁷⁰⁴ as well as the Göttingen cameralist review journal *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*,⁷⁰⁵ though we find no trace of Beccaria citing or owning cameralist literature, a surprising discovery considering Beccaria's role as Professor of Cameral Sciences and a bureaucrat within an explicitly cameralist administration. The remaining works of political economy are by Italian economists of the Neapolitan and Milanese schools. We see Pietro Verri's *Meditazioni sulla economia politica*, works by Gianrinaldo Carli, including *Delle monete e dell'istituzione delle Zecche d'Italia* and *Osservazioni preventive al piano intorno alle monete di Milano*;⁷⁰⁶ two different editions of Antonio Genovesi's *Delle lezioni di commercio o sia d'economia civile da leggersi nella Cattedra Interiana di Napoli* (1765 and 1768);⁷⁰⁷ Francesco Carpani, *Bilancio dello Stato di Milano*;⁷⁰⁸ Gian Luca Pallavicini, *Osservazioni sopra il prezzo legale delle monete, e le difficoltà di prefinarlo e di sostenerlo*;⁷⁰⁹ Giuseppe Gorani's *Imposte secondo l'ordine della natura*;⁷¹⁰ and Alessandro Verri, *Riflessioni ... sopra il libro ... Del disordine e de' rimedi delle monete nello Stato di Milano*. Additionally, Beccaria owned Giambattista Vasco's, *I Contadini: La felicità pubblica considerata nei coltivatori di terre proprie*,⁷¹¹ whose argument for the liberation of the land is remarkably similar to Beccaria's claims in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*. It is this body of literature that Chapter IV will highlight was fundamental in shaping Beccaria's own views not just on political economy, but human nature more generally, as he adopted similar views on happiness to those expressed by Pietro Verri and Antonio Genovesi.

Finally, we find works explicitly addressing jurisprudence, criminal law and law reform, predominantly by Italian writers. We see two direct responses to Beccaria's work: Antonio Silla's *Il diritto di punire*; and De Soria's *Giudizio di celebre professore sopra il libro Dei delitti e delle*

⁷⁰⁴ Joseph Von Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft* (Vienna: J. Kurzböck, 1771).

⁷⁰⁵ *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, Göttingen, 1739–1752.

⁷⁰⁶ Gianrinaldo Carli, *Delle monete e dell'istituzione delle Zecche d'Italia* (L'Aja, 1754); *Osservazioni preventive al piano intorno alle monete di Milano* (Milan: Galeazzi, 1766).

⁷⁰⁷ Antonio Genovesi, *Delle lezioni di commercio o sia d'economia civile da leggersi nella Cattedra Interiana di Napoli* (Naples: Fratelli Simone, 1765; Milan: Federico Agnelli, 1768).

⁷⁰⁸ Francesco Carpani, *Bilancio dello stato di Milano, col quale a priori si fa la dimostrazione del suo attivo commercio* (Milan, 1764).

⁷⁰⁹ Gian Luca Pallavicini, *Osservazioni sopra il prezzo legale delle monete, e le difficoltà di prefinarlo e di sostenerlo* (Milan: Malatesta, 1751).

⁷¹⁰ Giuseppe Gorani, *Imposte secondo l'ordine della natura* (Lausanne, Geneva, 1771).

⁷¹¹ Giambattista Vasco, *I Contadini: La felicità pubblica considerata nei coltivatori di terre proprie*, (Milan: Galeazzi, 1769).

pene.⁷¹² Additionally, we find Pilati, *Di una riforma d'Italia*; Cosimo Amidei, *Discorso filosofico-politico sopra la carcere dei debitori*;⁷¹³ Dalmazzo Francesco Vasco, *Delle leggi civili reali*;⁷¹⁴ and Natale, *Riflessioni politiche*; Gabriel Seigneux de Correvon, *Essai sur l'usage, l'abus et les inconvéniens de la torture dans la procédure criminelle*;⁷¹⁵ Brissot de Warville, *Théorie des loix criminelles**; Servan, *Discours sur l'administration de la justice criminelle*; Daniel Jousse, *Commentaire sur l'ordonnance criminelle du mois d'Aout 1670*⁷¹⁶ and Blackstone's *Commentaries*. Some of these publications, like *Dei delitti e delle pene*, contain treatments of punishment and law in terms of utility. Natale's treatise, *Riflessioni politiche*, which had renowned influence on Sicilian legislative reforms, was couched in Leibnizian philosophy and drew remarkably similar conclusions to *Dei delitti*, indicating the understanding his contemporaries had of his statements on the correlation between punishment and utility. Likewise, Cosimo Amidei's *Discorso filosofico-politico* was deeply inspired by Beccaria's reflections on inequality. Much like Beccaria, many of these publications addressed the connections between law and society, as opposed to pure jurisprudence, nonetheless this literature makes up only a fraction of the total bibliosphere, helping confirm that Beccaria was not displaying any particular preference for this genre and that it was neither a predominant point of discussion within his network more generally, nor did his correspondents perceive it as being a pertinent topic to cite or recommend.

While there are thematic trends in the bibliosphere, there is little consensus among the texts themselves. This is especially the case with regards to political philosophy and political economy publications which, although comprising the majority of literature within the bibliosphere, do not display any clear intellectual tradition. Although we can remark that a large number of titles address the formation of society and the social contract, it is not possible to find a coherent interpretation which runs through treatises as diverse Rousseau's *Contrat Social*, Hobbes' *De Cive* and François-André-Adrien Pluquet's *De la sociabilité*, nor can we find a middle ground between the divergent views on private property in texts like Morelley's *Code de la nature, ou le véritable esprit de ses lois, de tout temps négligé ou méconnu* and

⁷¹² Giovanni Alberto De Soria, *Giudizio di celebre professore sopra il libro Dei delitti e delle pene*, 1765.

⁷¹³ Cosimo Amidei, *Discorso filosofico-politico sopra la carcere dei debitori* ([Modena], 1770).

⁷¹⁴ Dalmazzo Francesco Vasco, *Delle leggi civili reali* (Milan: Galeazzi, 1766).

⁷¹⁵ Gabriel Seigneux de Correvon, *Essai sur l'usage, l'abus et les inconvéniens de la torture dans la procédure criminelle* (Lausanne: Grasset, 1768).

⁷¹⁶ Daniel Jousse, *Nouveau commentaire sur l'ordonnance criminelle du mois d'août 1670* (Paris: Debure l'aîné, 1753).

Mercier de la Rivière's *L'ordre naturel*. Similarly, we find multiple antagonistic materialist, rationalist and empiricist works, as well as reflections on government which variously support absolutism and republicanism, such as Linguet's *Théorie des loix civiles* and Algernon Sidney's *Discours sur le gouvernement*. While we see several physiocratic works, we likewise find examples of cameralism, Neapolitan and Milanese schools of political economy, mercantilism and economic liberalism. Even within the genre of natural history we find conflicting traditions, perhaps best demonstrated by Buffon and Bonnet's opposing epigenetic and preformation theories. In fact, it is diversity more generally that is the most striking element of the biblioscope. As well as the diversity of genres and the range of conflicting views within these same genres, the biblioscope brings to light an array of writers, both prolific and "lesser", as well as variety of languages and publication origins. The biblioscope thus demonstrates that the general reading culture shared and perpetuated within Beccaria's network was neither specialised nor unanimous, but instead embraced and circulated publications which contributed to significant topics of discussion and contention in the Republic of Letters and which were believed to be of interest to Beccaria, above all concerning the origins of human nature and society. As will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, Beccaria's philosophy presents two accounts of the origins of society, one theoretical, the other anthropological and we find both of these interpretations in the biblioscope, represented by, respectively, works of political philosophy and natural law, and works of natural history and the nature of the mind. The biblioscope ultimately raises questions regarding the heritage of Beccaria's thought. While the results do not refute the most accepted intellectual origins of Beccaria's thought, such as Grotius and the natural law tradition more generally, the sensationism of Helvétius and Condillac, Locke's empiricism, Montesquieu and Pufendorf, they do indicate new areas of Beccaria's cultural and intellectual literacy which will be explored in Chapter IV. These alternate areas of intellectual heritage help to reframe Beccaria's intentions in writing, above all regarding the importance of anthropological accounts in nurturing his understanding of human nature and the origins of society and political economy in shaping his programme for societal reform.

Manuscripts in Beccaria's biblioscape

There is one trend in the biblioscape that demands more careful attention: the increasing circulation of manuscripts in the later part of Beccaria's career. This circulation stands apart from many of the patterns we have seen in the biblioscape to date. Firstly, in contrast to the thematic diversity of the wider biblioscape, these manuscripts display an overwhelming focus on the application and advancement of "useful" sciences, such as mathematics, medicine and economics, in public matters and were produced and exchanged by specialists in these fields. Moreover, unlike the predominant referencing culture seen within the biblioscape, these manuscripts were mostly physically circulated and rarely cited. Additionally, the exchange of these manuscripts was among a much smaller group of individuals and, unlike much of the biblioscape, we do not find the repeated exchange or reference to these papers, which indicates that they were not popular texts within the Republic of Letters more generally but were products passed among trusted and like-minded recipients. Consequently, while the biblioscape catalogues all texts in Beccaria's network and centres Beccaria in the more prolific intellectual debates within the Republic of Letters, this section addresses the informal circulation of a narrower genre of manuscripts among a much smaller network of strictly Italian university professors and experts. The majority of these manuscripts date from Beccaria's time in the administration, a period in which he was professionally involved in the reforms of scientific university education, as well as responsible for matters of subsistence, public health and economy, among other fundamental areas of public governance. However, the manuscripts in Beccaria's possession are not administrative documents pertaining to specific reforms, nor are they the product of administrators or administrative departments. Rather, they are academic treatises produced by university based professionals, raising questions as to why Beccaria was part of this specialised exchange. The reality that Beccaria had such manuscripts in his possession indicates that he was part of a trusted set of intellectual relationships. Being part of the circulation of a manuscript was a privilege whereby recipients were seen as affirming the values of the author, or as skilled critics, or even as entitled to such information,⁷¹⁷ and the discretionary nature of manuscript exchange would thus suggest that Beccaria was both highly regarded and seen as deeply committed to these disciplines. Yet, although academic, these manuscripts had practical intentions. From the

⁷¹⁷ Loveman, *Samuel Pepys*, 216.

extant letters, we see that Beccaria and his correspondents commonly discerned a correlation between the sciences and public utility and the discussions surrounding the manuscripts are rich with language pertaining to utility, the public good and the good of the nation, which recurs in considerations from disciplines as diverse as chemistry, medicine, political economy, veterinary medicine and mathematics. There is little reference or discussion of the contribution of the discovery, theory or topic in question to the corpus of disciplinary knowledge and instead the discussions exhibit distinctively proto-nationalist overtones, as the concern for the state of “Italian” science in comparison to the advancements of other more “civilised” nations weighs heavily on the mind of both Beccaria and his correspondents. Consequently, the exchange of manuscripts signals cooperation between specialists from different disciplines and the administration, with these experts workings as mediators, bridging the “République des sciences”⁷¹⁸ with distinctly national networks for the benefit of both the nation and the public.⁷¹⁹ Furthermore, it demonstrates that Beccaria was part of multiple overlapping networks of information exchange both more general and specialised.

We know from the previous chapter that Beccaria maintained correspondence with a significant number of university professors and turning to their letters and their exchange of texts and manuscripts, we see that these interactions predominantly focused on academic and administrative matters, frequently regarding the reform of academic institutions, universities and teaching curriculums. The concern for utility resounds through manuscripts addressing the restructuring and reform of university education and curriculum, so as to render it more useful, more rigorous and more practical, above all in

⁷¹⁸ “La République des Sciences” special edition, *Dix-huitième siècle*, (*La Découverte*, 2008/1 – n.40).

⁷¹⁹ Whether referred to as the “République des sciences” or not, there is much consensus regarding the existence of an imagined community of savants which was connected by science: “a system of personal relations, and in particular correspondence, between scholars who shared an interest in the study of nature” (Sigrist, “Scientific Networks and Frontiers in the Golden Age of Academies (1700–1830),” in Barkhoff and Eberhart eds., *Networking across Borders and Frontiers. Demarcation and Connectedness in European Culture and Society*, (2009), 44–5; “eighteenth-century scientists ignored war and xenophobia to exchange ideas, thereby enacting the cosmopolitan ideal of a Republic of Letters,” (Mayhew, “Mapping science’s imagined community: geography as a Republic of Letters, 1600–1800,” 74); an “ideology of scientific transnationalism that had a basis in the necessities of scientific practice, but which to a large extent manifested itself through cosmopolitanist rhetoric,” (Sörlin, ‘National and International Aspects of Cross-Boundary Science: Scientific Travel in the 18th Century’ in Crawford, Shinn and Sörlin eds., *Denationalizing Science: The Contexts of International Scientific Practice*, 44).

the sciences. In a letter from Carlo Gandini to Beccaria in 1778, for example, Gandini appeals to Beccaria regarding the uneven development of the arts and sciences and states the need for a standardised system of professional medicine.⁷²⁰ Having spent twenty-two years travelling through Europe observing regional differences in medical training, Gandini, once chemistry lecturer at the University of Palermo, had become a passionate advocate of the reform and codification of medical training, which he argued was necessary considering the destruction of the medical profession by local theoretical uncertainties and the fashion of other academic disciplines and interdisciplinary approaches.⁷²¹ Writing to Beccaria, Gandini articulated his concern over how best to approach and encourage medical faculties to embrace his reflections on a unified medical training and urged Beccaria to recognise the necessity of such reforms. He attaches a printed Latin pamphlet entitled *Problemata Physiologica: Quae, Uti ad statudendum verum ab Hippocrate indicatum Medicinae Systema, Scientiarum Academiis, & Medicorum Collegiis solvenda, atque inde communi consensu ad prepostium sinem redigena proponuntur*, which systematically questions what the subject of medicine ought to be, above all with regards to the soul. The text emphasises how medicine has been disadvantaged by the inclusion of principles from other disciplines, such as natural philosophy and chemistry, which have caused the elements of man's being to become disconnected.⁷²² However, Gandini does not solely deliberate on the issue of medical training, but directly appeals to Beccaria to support his attempts in improving the education of medical practitioners. Similar concerns for institutional reform are found in an undated manuscript debating Gianrinaldo Carli's *Sulla Riforma degli Studii Matematici*.⁷²³ Written in Paolo Frisi's hand, it is speculated that Pietro Verri may have been the original author, nonetheless being peppered with Beccaria's own notes we have a clear understanding of his views on the matter. The text contains a detailed plan for reforming the university curriculum in mathematical sciences which, although containing satisfactory courses in logic, metaphysics and ethics, would benefit, according to the author, from placing less focus on such abstract ontology.⁷²⁴ Instead, a complex combination of geometry, trigonometry, astronomy, algebra, mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, hydrometrics, physics and engineering, should be implemented and carefully timetabled so as to ensure that each course is sufficient to

⁷²⁰ Carlo Gandini to Beccaria (Genoa, 1778), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.231.

⁷²¹ Calogero Farinella, 'Carlo Gandini', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 52 (1999).

⁷²² Carlo Gandini *Problemata Physiologica*, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.231.

⁷²³ *Sulla Riforma degli Studii Matematici* (manuscript), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.232.

⁷²⁴ Ibid.

train individuals for scientific professions such as engineering. This understanding within the treatise of the importance of adequate professional training, brought about by thorough teaching in more practical disciplines, once again draws attention to the understanding of utility in connection to the sciences, putting emphasis on the value of comprehensive and specific scientific education in the creation of professionals valuable to the state. Furthermore, the manuscript draws a distinction between the nature and objectives of universities and academies of science, giving a vivid picture of the intended exclusivity of scientific academies, though acknowledging their responsibility to provide public sessions twice a year, as was the practice in Paris. Defining the separate functions of the two institutions, the text accentuates the role of academies as centres of experimental sciences, and the significance of their outward appearance to the rest of Europe in conveying an image of academic excellence. This distinction above all concerns the utility of these institutions, which though serving different purposes, should both still be conducive to public utility. While universities should provide an education intellectually preparing individuals for scientific careers, academies should apply themselves to the advancement of the sciences alongside cultivating a reputation of national or regional intellectual superiority. The concern for national science is likewise found in Lazzaro Spallanzani's (chair of Natural History at the University of Pavia) translation and observations on the first volume of Charles Bonnet's *Contemplazione della natura*,⁷²⁵ entitled *Contemplazione della natura del signor Carlo Bonnet ... tradotta in italiano e corredata di note e curiose osservazioni dall'abate Spallanzani*,⁷²⁶ which Beccaria was sent an early copy of by its author in 1770. It is worth initially remarking that Spallanzani had sent the text immediately to Beccaria upon receiving a few examples of the first volume from the publisher, and requested to hear Beccaria's opinions before sending the second volume to print.⁷²⁷ This urgency signals Beccaria's importance in this exchange, as Spallanzani wanted his reflections before finalising the publication. According to Spallanzani, his translation served to augment the state of national science by providing an otherwise inaccessible vernacular account of Bonnet's research. Spallanzani's observations criticised the poor state of natural history in Italy, which he claimed was stagnating due to the only limited attention and study it

⁷²⁵ Note that Beccaria was sent a copy of the original by Chirol. Barthélemy Chirol to Beccaria (Geneva, 29 August 1767), letter 202 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 573–5.

⁷²⁶ Lazzaro Spallanzani to Beccaria (Pavia, 20 January 1770), letter 300 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol.V, 100.

⁷²⁷ Ibid.

received. His translation of Bonnet's work was consequently motivated by the desire to raise the state of Italian natural history to the same heights as nations such as France, England and Germany.⁷²⁸

E di veder pure se gli argomenti vaghissimi di che ragiona quest'Opera, se le vedute pensanti di che abbonda, se la moltiplice varietà delle scoperte più luminose e più belle, che dischiude, se l'ample utilità finalmente, che provenire dimostra da questa sorta di studii, innamorare potessero, ed accendere gl'Italiani ad esercitare i felicissimi loro ingegni, la loro industria, la lor diligenza nelle naturali Ricerche a promovimento maggiore di questa bellissima e nobilissima Disciplina.⁷²⁹

Spallanzani hoped that his translation of Bonnet's work would inspire Italians to put their minds, industry and diligence towards the promotion of natural history. The content of Bonnet's work had great benefits for other nations and Spallanzani wanted to ensure that Italians could profit from his universally useful work.⁷³⁰ The issue of translation had also affected Spallanzani in the reverse. With the increasing number and speed of scientific publications, Italian savants such as Spallanzani had to translate their works into French in order to compete on an international stage. However, Spallanzani, like other Italian savants, received criticism from Bonnet for his pretentious literary style, which appeared outdated and juvenile to the international scientific community.⁷³¹

Other manuscripts were concerned with more practical reforms. Among Beccaria's collection is a 1781 text by Antonio Maria Lorgna, professor of mathematics and engineering at the Military College of Verona,⁷³² entitled *Sulla formazione del Nitro*,⁷³³ which provides an account of Lorgna's experimentation with nitrate salts, alkalis and acids, analysing their effects on the growing potential of soil, as tested on artichokes. While its content is remarkably specialised, Lorgna's appeal to the agronomic utility of his conclusions, claiming that they deserve the sovereign's interest, is exemplary of the correlation drawn in the manuscripts between practical science and public utility and which accounts for Beccaria's possession of such a treatise. Lorgna argues that detailed

⁷²⁸ Lazzaro Spallanzani, *Contemplazione della natura del signor Carlo Bonnet ... tradotta in italiano e corredata di note e curiose osservazioni dall'abate Spallanzani*, 7.

⁷²⁹ Bonnet, *Contemplazione della natura*, 7.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*, 5–6.

⁷³¹ Maria Luisa Altieri Biagi, *Fra lingua scientifica e lingua letteraria* (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1998), 64–5.

⁷³² Ettore Curi, "LORGNA, Antonio Maria," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 66 (2007).

⁷³³ Antonio Maria Lorgna, *Sulla formazione del Nitro* (Verona, 10 October 1781) (manuscript), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Becc.B.234.

knowledge of the chemical make-up of the soil was the most efficient solution to yielding good crops, an observation which he claimed would be advantageous to the nation. It is worth noting that Beccaria had already shown his knowledge of the agricultural benefits of nitrates and chemical composition of the soil in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*,⁷³⁴ as well as the more general importance of monitoring agriculture so as to increase yield. However, of greater interest, is the fact that we cannot trace the origins of this manuscript. The only existing connection between Lorgna and Beccaria is Beccaria's requested salutation to the professor via a letter to Alessandro Carli in 1769.⁷³⁵ There is consequently the possibility that Beccaria came to possess this manuscript indirectly from another member of his network, hinting that such useful papers were being passed along to relevant specialists who were believed to see the value of such research.

Mirroring the thematic trend in the wider biblioscope, we find multiple manuscripts pertaining to commerce and political economy in Beccaria's archive, including a large selection of writings by Gianrinaldo Carli, such as "Ristretto dell'Economia amministrazione e del Commercio di Seta, Cotone, Droghe, Lana, Formaggi e Bovini dello Stato di Milano negli anni 1762-1766-1767", "Saggio di economia pubblica o sia confronto della condizione dello Stato di Milano fra il passato ed il tempo present rispetto all'esazione ed amministrazione delle rendite dei Pubblici, al Commercio, alle Terre, all'Agricoltura ed alla Popolazione" and "Operazioni sugli artigiani",⁷³⁶ as well as Giuliano Castelli's "Lettere riguardanti questioni economiche e politiche".⁷³⁷ In addition, we find a manuscript entitled *Su L'Opera di Moivre*, which explores the elements of algebra and probability from Moivre's *Miscellanea Analytica*,⁷³⁸ that the author (possibly Beccaria himself) interprets to be the most useful to the discipline of political economy.

⁷³⁴ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 191.

⁷³⁵ Beccaria to Alessandro Carli, (Milan, 29 March 1769), letter 278 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol.V, 50.

⁷³⁶ Gianrinaldo Carli: Gianrinaldo Carli, *Ristretto dell'Economia amministrazione e del Commercio di Seta, Cotone, Droghe, Lana, Formaggi e Bovini dello Stato di Milano negli anni 1762-1766-1767* (manuscript), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B. 233; Gianrinaldo Carli, *Saggio di economia pubblica o sia confronto della condizione dello Stato di Milano fra il passato ed il tempo present rispetto all'esazione ed amministrazione delle rendite dei Pubblici, al Commercio, alle Terre, all'Agricoltura ed alla Popolazione* (manuscript), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.233; *Operazioni sugli artigiani* (manuscript), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B. 233.

⁷³⁷ Giuliano Castelli, "Lettere riguardanti questioni economiche e politiche," Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.231.

⁷³⁸ *Su L'Opera di Moivre* (manuscript), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Becc. B.234. We find additional manuscripts attesting to Beccaria's mathematical capabilities such as *Traité d'Optique* (1752), which is

We even find record of Beccaria, in his official capacity as a state administrator, receiving and requesting publications and manuscripts which were perceived to be of use to the work of the administration. One such example is Francesco Henrion's⁷³⁹ research on carbon fossil, its extraction and uses, which Beccaria received note of and subsequently orders multiples copies of in the belief that it would be useful to the Consiglio as it seemed to offer interesting and useful reflections for the province.⁷⁴⁰ It was a preliminary version however and the text was only published two years later in 1792.⁷⁴¹ We find further examples of Beccaria's active pursuit of manuscripts. A letter from Giuseppe Toaldo, professor of astronomy at the University of Padova and a specialist in geophysics and meteorology,⁷⁴² shows that Beccaria had requested a copy of Toaldo's trigonometric and astronomic tables. Toaldo included these along with his letter, explaining how he created them to aid the students at his university and revealing that they had since been published in both England and France.⁷⁴³ While we cannot recover Beccaria's intentions in requesting Toaldo's tables, it is notable that they were educational texts. Furthermore, although not a manuscript, Beccaria's personal involvement in the importation of seeds for the Botanical Garden at the University of Pavia demonstrates his collaboration with the university in the pursuit of public utility.

If we return to the overall biblioscope we similarly find published titles being informally circulated by Italian university professors and experts which complement the trend in "useful" manuscripts. To take but a few examples, the mathematician Paolo Frisi, promises to send Beccaria the *Opera* of the Venetian mathematician Jacopo Riccati, famous

a detailed mathematical text dealing with the algebraic calculations of reflection and refraction. *Traité d'Optique*, (manuscript), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Becc.B.234. Beccaria had already shown his skills as a mathematician in the *Il Caffè* article, "Tentativo analitico sui contrabbandi" and "Il Faraone"

⁷³⁹ Francesco Henrion is better known for his work of aerostatics, having brought 'balloon fever' to Florence and Tuscany after he launched his aerostatic globe from the Ponte alla Carraia in 1784. See William Norman Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *The English Della Crusca and Their Time, 1783-1828* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1967).

⁷⁴⁰ "Saggio sul carbon fossile", no. 3512 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol.XII, 74-5.

⁷⁴¹ Francesco Henrion, *L'Italiano istruito sopra tutte le specie del carbon fossile e della turfa* (Florence: Pietro Allegrini, 1792).

⁷⁴² Giuseppe Toaldo, see *Treccani Enciclopedie* online <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-toaldo/>

⁷⁴³ Giuseppe Toaldo to Beccaria (Padua, 18 November 1769), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B232.

for his use of Newtonian mechanics in hydrodynamics;⁷⁴⁴ the celebrated mathematician Francesco Venini sends Beccaria his educational treatise *Principii delle cognizioni umane ad uso dei fanciulli* (Beccaria was also in possession of Francesco Venini's *Elementi di matematica ad uso delle Regie Scuole*);⁷⁴⁵ Pietro Segardi promises Beccaria a copy of the agronomist Cosimo Trinci's *L'agricoltore sperimentato, che insegna la maniera più sicura di conoscere, piantare, allevare e condurre sino dalli più teneri anni età per età alla lor perfezione alcune piante più utili e necessarie al vivere umano, con altre considerazioni intorno al tempo e maniera di arare e seminar le terre, e di stagionare e conservare l'ulive e l'olio*;⁷⁴⁶ Isidoro Bianchi, Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy at Palermo, sends Beccaria his own *Delle scienze e belle arti*;⁷⁴⁷ and Alberto de Simoni, a fellow Milanese reformer, sent Beccaria his *Della ragione di esigere il danaro al corso del tempo del contratto nella redenzione de' censi, nella estinzione de' capitali e ne' ritratti convenzionali*.⁷⁴⁸ We can also find trace of "useful" publications in the bibliosphere more generally. There are texts concerning agronomy, such as Carlo Mazza Carcano *Su alcuni ferri da innesto e altre osservazioni agronomiche*; Thomas Hale's *Le gentilhomme cultivateur, ou Corps complet d'agriculture*,⁷⁴⁹ which dealt encyclopaedically with all branches of agriculture and husbandry, including methods of improving land cultivation and preventing disease; and Jean Bertrand's *Essais sur l'esprit de la législation, favorable à l'agriculture, à la population, au commerce, aux arts, aux métiers, &c. pièce couronnées par la Société oeconomique de Berne*,⁷⁵⁰ We see apicultural publications by Thomas Wildman (*Trattato sopra la cura delle api contenente l'istoria naturale di quest'insetti co' varj metodi sì antichi, come moderni di governarli; e l'istoria naturale delle vespe, e de' calabroni, co' mezzi di distruggerli,*

⁷⁴⁴ Paolo Frisi to Beccaria (Modena, 9 August 1765), letter 40 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 109–10.

⁷⁴⁵ Francesco Venini to Beccaria (Parma, 22 July 1767), letter 194 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 554–5.

⁷⁴⁶ Pietro Bindi Segardi to Beccaria (Pisa, 2 January 1771), letter 360 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. V, 229–31. Cosimo Trinci, *L'agricoltore sperimentato, che insegna la maniera più sicura di conoscere, piantare, allevare e condurre sino dalli più teneri anni età per età alla lor perfezione alcune piante più utili e necessarie al vivere umano, con altre considerazioni intorno al tempo e maniera di arare e seminar le terre, e di stagionare e conservare l'ulive e l'olio*, (Lucca: S. e G. Marescandoli, 1726).

⁷⁴⁷ Isidoro Bianchi to Beccaria (Palermo, 23 October 1772), letter 417 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. V, 361–63.

⁷⁴⁸ Alberto de Simoni to Beccaria (Morbegno, 7 July 1776), letter 470 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. V, 481.

⁷⁴⁹ Thomas Hale, *Le gentilhomme cultivateur, ou Corps complet d'agriculture, traduit de l'anglais [...] par M. [Jean-Baptiste] Dupuy Demportes*, 8 vols (Paris: P.-G. Simon, 1761–64).

⁷⁵⁰ Jean Bertrand, *De l'esprit de la législation pour encourager l'agriculture* (Berne: Oekonomische Gesellschaft, 1766).

ornato di rami)⁷⁵¹ and Daniel Wildman (*Guida sicura pel governo delle api in tutto il corso dell'anno*)⁷⁵² both of which Beccaria owned. Beccaria likewise owned works of hydrostatics, such as Paolo Frisi's *Del modo di regolare i fiumi, e i torrenti*⁷⁵³ and Antonio Lecchi's *Memorie idrostatico-storiche delle operazioni eseguite nell'inalveazione del Reno di Bologna, e degli altri minori torrenti per la linea di Primaro al mare dall'anno 1765 fino al 1772*,⁷⁵⁴ as well as medical and public health related treatises such as the *Dissertazione epistolare sopra la covetta ed il pane di munizione* from the *Dissertazioni sopra una gramigna che nelle Lombardia infesta la segale* and the *Istruzione sopra l'uso e il valore di alcuni medicamenti contenuti in una spezieria portatile* by Gian Ambrogio Sangiorgio. Among Beccaria's manuscripts we find a text from by Angelo Gatti entitled *Notizie intorno all'uso di un medicinale*,⁷⁵⁵ and his publications, including *Lettre à M. Roux, docteur régent de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris, Réflexions sur les préjugés qui s'opposent aux progrès et à la perfection de l'inoculation en France* and *Nouvelles Réflexions sur la pratique de l'inoculation*, feature heavily in the biblioscope. Additionally, we see J. Keyser's *Parallèle des différentes méthodes de traiter la maladie vénérienne*,⁷⁵⁶ and we know that Beccaria owned both Pietro Moscati's *Indice de' discorsi anatomici che si tengono pubblicamente nel teatro della Regia Università di Pavia, fatto per uso de' giovani studenti di medicina e chirurgia. Parte prima, che contiene la descrizione de' visceri*,⁷⁵⁷ and Michele Rosa, *Oratio de instauranda medicinae simplicitate ad tyrones habita in audit. magno gymn. quum trad. medic. munus publi. auspicaretur postrid. kal. jun. ann. 1767*⁷⁵⁸ and Anselme-Louis-Bernard Bréchillet Jourdain, *Préceptes de santé, ou Introduction au Dictionnaire de santé... contenant les moyens de corriger les vices de son tempérament, et de le fortifier par le seul secours du régime et de*

⁷⁵¹ Thomas Wildman, *Trattato sopra la cura delle api contenente l'istoria naturale di quest'insetti co' varj metodi sì antichi, come moderni di governarli; e l'istoria naturale delle vespe, e de' calabroni, co' mezzi di distruggerli, ornato di rami* (Turin: Fratelli Reycends, 1771).

⁷⁵² Daniel Wildman, *Guida sicura pel governo delle api in tutto il corso dell'anno* (Cremona: Lorenzo Manini, e Comp. a S. Niccolò, 1775).

⁷⁵³ Paolo Frisi, *Del modo di regolare i fiumi, e i torrenti* (Lucca, Giovanni Riccomini, 1762).

⁷⁵⁴ Antonio Lecchi, *Memorie idrostatico-storiche delle operazioni eseguite nell'inalveazione del Reno di Bologna, e degli altri minori torrenti per la linea di Primaro al mare dall'anno 1765 fino al 1772*, (Modena: Società Tipografica, 1773).

⁷⁵⁵ Angelo Gatti, *Notizie intorno all'uso di un medicinale* (Chanteloup, 13 March 1779) (manuscript), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta Beccaria, B.232.

⁷⁵⁶ Note that Beccaria's awareness of this treatise was based upon his search to find a cure for his wife's declining health. See J. Keyser's *Parallèle des différentes méthodes de traiter la maladie vénérienne* (Amsterdam: François Changuion, 1764).

⁷⁵⁷ Pietro Moscati, *Indice de' discorsi anatomici che si tengono pubblicamente nel teatro della Regia Università di Pavia, fatto per uso de' giovani studenti di medicina e chirurgia. Parte prima, che contiene la descrizione de' visceri* (Milan: Galeazzi, 1768).

⁷⁵⁸ Michele Rosa, *Oratio de instauranda medicinae simplicitate ad tyrones habita in audit. magno gymn. quum trad. medic. munus publi. auspicaretur postrid. kal. jun. ann. 1767* (1770).

l'exercise.⁷⁵⁹ We can also find Nicolas-Gabriel Le Clerc, *Histoire naturelle de l'homme considéré dans l'état de maladie: ou la Médecine rappelée à sa première simplicité*⁷⁶⁰ and Gian Ambrogio Sangiorgio's *Istruzione sopra l'uso e il valore di alcuni medicamenti contenuti in una spezieria portatile* amongst the citations. As we shall see in greater detail in Chapter V, we also find literature and manuscripts in Beccaria's collection regarding nascent veterinary medicine, including Claude Bourgelat's *Le nouveau Newcastle ou nouveau traité de cavalerie geometrique, theorique et pratique*⁷⁶¹ and Niccolò Rosselmini's *Dell'obbedienza del cavallo* and *Lettera critica, ed istruttiva di Rosselmini sopra il vero metodo di addestrare il cavallo*,⁷⁶² which are similarly discussed in terms of public utility. Other medical and botanical titles were cited by correspondents, including Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'anarchie médicinale, ou la médecine considérée comme nuisible à la société*⁷⁶³ publications relating to botany, Jacques Barbeau du Bourg, *Le botaniste français, comprenant toutes les plantes communes et usuelles disposées suivant une nouvelle méthode et décrites en langue vulgaire*,⁷⁶⁴ Etienne-François Geoffroy & François A. de Garsault, *Description, vertus et usages de sept cens dix-neuf plantes, tant étrangères que de nos climats: et de cent trente-quatre animaux, en sept cents trente planches, gravées en taille-dome, sur les desseins d'après nature*.

What is particularly striking about Beccaria's manuscript collection is that they predominately date from the later part of his career. While the biblioscope demonstrates that the number of books that Beccaria receives from booksellers decreases later in his life (although we saw in the previous chapter that his correspondence with booksellers remains the same in real terms), we see that the manuscript collection commences around this same period, perhaps indicating a shift in the mode in which Beccaria participated in scholarly discussion. Manuscripts, as opposed to books, were more current, more exploratory and more exclusive – even the ways in which manuscripts were circulated often tended to be more direct, requiring fewer professional intermediaries such as booksellers and merchants

⁷⁵⁹ Bernard Bréchillet Jourdain, *Préceptes de santé, ou Introduction au Dictionnaire de santé... contenant les moyens de corriger les vices de son temperament* (Paris: Jacques Vincent, 1772).

⁷⁶⁰ Nicolas-Gabriel Le Clerc, *Histoire naturelle de l'homme considéré dans l'état de maladie: ou la Médecine rappelée à sa première simplicité par M. [Nicolas-Gabriel Le] Clerc*, 2 vols (Paris: Lacombe, 1767).

⁷⁶¹ Claude Bourgelat, *Le Nouveau Newcastle ou nouveau traité de Cavalerie geometrique, theorique et pratique* (Paris: Au Palais, 1747).

⁷⁶² Niccolò Rosselmini, *Dell'obbedienza del cavallo* and *Lettera critica, ed istruttiva di Rosselmini sopra il vero metodo di addestrare il cavallo* (Livorno: 1764).

⁷⁶³ Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, *L'anarchie médicinale ou la médecine considérée comme nuisible à la société* (Neuchâtel: Société typographique, 1772).

⁷⁶⁴ Jacques Barbeau du Bourg, *Le botaniste français, comprenant toutes les plantes communes et usuelles disposées suivant une nouvelle méthode et décrites en langue vulgaire* (Paris: Chez Lacombe, 1767).

– and this combined with the subject matter of the manuscripts suggests that Beccaria was increasingly concerned with more practically oriented material. Contrary to the wider reading culture that surrounded Beccaria, the manuscript exchange exhibits a narrower “useful” reading culture, which had more practical aims and highlights the multiplicity of smaller networks and forms of information circulation which existed within Beccaria’s wider epistolary network. However, what is most apparent is the national dimension of this manuscript exchange. While the manuscripts in Beccaria’s collection indicate that Beccaria was not discriminating with regards to specific disciplines, he almost exclusively maintained epistolary and academic exchanges with individuals based in Italian universities. This national dimension is not purely geographic but also political, as such knowledge exchange was meant to benefit the nation, which was seen in many cases to be falling behind the advancements of more civilised societies. While utility is the core concern of the discussions, with the scientific disciplines being framed in terms of civic worth, the value placed on Italian science for Italian society reveals the shared academic-administrative desires to strengthen the sciences in the face of significant competition from abroad. The exchange of manuscripts thus reflects the changing face of Italian science more generally, becoming more competitive, institutional, disciplinary, and more regulated by and connected to the administration. As René Sigrist has concluded, the République des sciences eventually “résultera surout de l’institutionnalisation de la recherche, et de la prise en charge administrative, dans un cadre souvent national, de toutes les questions pratiques liées à la conduite des investigations scientifiques”,⁷⁶⁵ and we see the very start of this long progression in Beccaria’s correspondence.

Conclusion

Reconstructing Cesare Beccaria’s biblioscape through tracing co-citation and multiple occurrences of texts has sought to complicate and expand upon our understandings of Beccaria’s reading context. In rebuilding his entire reading landscape, from the books he owned, to those he requested and recommended, to those he received from acquaintances and passed along to friends, we struggle to find any significant coherence in the publications circulating throughout this network and instead witness a strikingly diverse

⁷⁶⁵ René Sigrist, “Correspondances scientifiques du 18e siècle: présentation d’une méthode de comparaison,” *Schweizerische Zeitschrift Für Geschichte*, vol. 58 (2008): 176.

reading culture which is at times surprising in its geographical, linguistic and thematic breadth. Beccaria was no more immersed in a legal reading culture than he was in natural history, political philosophy or political economy; nor were Vico, Grotius and Locke, or other of Beccaria's key intellectual forebears any more present in his frame of reference than, say, Voltaire, Paolo Frisi, Buffon and Nicholas-Antoine Boulanger. Moreover, his immediate reading context was simultaneously current, circulating the newest, most contentious and popular publications, as well as tailored, not in terms of genre but, as we see in his manuscript collection, with regards to the perceived utility of a text. The biblioscope thus not only shifts our understandings of Beccaria's frame of cultural and intellectual reference, but provides a more generous account of the intellectual climate which nurtured him throughout his life.

Nonetheless, by comparing the biblioscope themes with the manuscript collection we can discern two parallel trends which have repercussions for our understanding of Beccaria's place within contemporary intellectual debates. Firstly, we see that the broader intellectual climate of Beccaria's writings was predominantly concerned with topics of political economy, political philosophy and natural history, though from strikingly different perspectives. Secondly, we see that Beccaria and his correspondents interpreted his work to be directly concerned practical matters, as opposed to purely theoretical. As the following chapter will demonstrate, these trends reflected Beccaria's own concerns for his philosophy.

– CHAPTER FOUR –

“From the shadows of ignorance to the light of philosophy”⁷⁶⁶

The tenets of Cesare Beccaria’s political philosophy

*La mia unica occupazione è di coltivare in pace la filosofia e di soddisfare nel medesimo tempo a tre vivissimi sentimenti, l'amore della gloria, quello della libertà e la sensibilità ai mali degli uomini oppressi dall'errore.*⁷⁶⁷

– Beccaria to André Morellet, 1766

It is with reference to those “principal philosophers” d’Alembert, Diderot, Helvétius, Buffon, Hume, d’Holbach and Condillac that Beccaria first presents himself and his sole occupation of “coltivare in pace la filosofia” to André Morellet in 1766.⁷⁶⁸ In the same letter, Beccaria famously attributes his “conversion to philosophy” to reading Montesquieu’s *Lettres Persanes* in 1761 and claims that Helvétius’ *De l’esprit* wrought “a revolution in me”, “pushing me powerfully in the direction of the truth and who first awoke my attention to the blindness and misfortunes of mankind”.⁷⁶⁹ It is far from the only allusion we find to his foremost dedication to philosophy. Throughout his correspondence and his opus, we see Beccaria repeatedly refer to his writings as works of philosophy, as being of a philosophical character, and to himself as a philosopher.⁷⁷⁰ Far from purely self-referential, Beccaria’s correspondents likewise heralded him as a *filosofo*,⁷⁷¹ a title which,

⁷⁶⁶ Beccaria in Bellamy, *Cesare Beccaria, On Crimes and Punishments and Other Writings*, 106.

⁷⁶⁷ Beccaria to Morellet, (Milan, 26 January 1766), letter 68 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 22.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁰ Beccaria “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 94: “La voce di un filosofo [Beccaria] è troppo debole contro i tumulti e le grida di tanti che son guidati dalla cieca consuetudine....”; “Frammento Sugli Odori,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 30: “Eccovi i deliri d’un filosofo”; Beccaria to Giambattista Biffi (Gessate, 20 June 1763), letter 26 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 78: “mi si sono risvegliate delle nuove idee e delle viste filosofiche”; letter 27 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 80: “Continuiamo a coltivare la filosofia nel segreto del nostro cuore, facciamo del bene agli uomini senz’aspettarne ricompensa e rendiamo sempre più stretta la nostra amicizia, che è uno dei maggiori beni di questo pianeta.”

⁷⁷¹ There are many, such as Cosimo Mari to Beccaria (Pisa, 26 July 1765), letter 39 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 107; Jean-Louis Teron to Beccaria (Geneva, June 1766), letter 108 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 326.

spanning beyond the many exuberant exaltations of Beccaria's "sublime philosophy"⁷⁷² after the success of *Dei delitti e delle pene*, Beccaria retained well into the 1780s.

Having resituated Cesare Beccaria in his intellectual networks and biblioscope, this chapter will now turn to his opus in order to outline what will be argued are the cornerstones of his philosophy: the social contract, happiness, and public utility, before then offering an image of how Beccaria envisioned societal reform. While happiness and public utility formed the ends of the social contract, it will be argued that several key institutional reforms would provide the means to these ends, namely the system of law offered in *Dei delitti e delle pene*; Beccaria's interpretation of a proto-free-market economy; and the destruction of perpetual social, legal and economic privileges. Using *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764); the *Elementi di economia pubblica* (delivered as lectures in 1769, but only published posthumously in 1804) and its related publications *Prolosione nell'apertura della nuova cattedra* and *Materiali preparatori e stesure rifiutate*; the *Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costume*; and the *Pensieri sopra la Barbarie*, the chapter will examine in turn, Beccaria's vision of the social contract; the role of public utility; the role of happiness and his sensationist epistemology based upon the motivating forces of pain and pleasure; the transition from barbarity to civilisation and the role of the arts and sciences, and finally Beccaria's ideal vision of society as based upon the social contract. They will be placed within the wider philosophical debates on these themes, not only in terms of the clear points of intellectual parity, but also with regards to the subsequent historiography addressing the intellectual origins of Beccaria's thought.

The writings addressed here, though all from the 1760s, have been selected to represent different periods and foci of Beccaria's career. *Dei delitti e delle pene*, published in 1764, was the product of vibrant discussions within the Accademia dei Pugni. It was only Beccaria's second published work and, though a mere pamphlet, remains his most famous. The *Elementi di economia pubblica*, by contrast, were first delivered as a series of lectures in 1769 during Beccaria's time as chair of cameral science at the Palatine School. While the inaugural lecture (*Prolosione nell'apertura della nuova cattedra*) was translated immediately into French and English, it was not until 1804 that the lecture notes were first published and it is only since 2014 that Beccaria's economic works more generally have become available in

⁷⁷² Troiano Odazzi to Beccaria (Livorno, 24 July 1766), letter 112 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 334.

the Mediobanca critical edition. The lectures that remain today are: *principii e viste generali, agricoltura politica, arti e manifatture and commercio*. The lectures on police however, which included taxation, have never been recovered, leaving much unanswered about Beccaria's views on this critical aspect of cameral science.⁷⁷³ The *Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costumi* and the *Pensieri sopra la Barbarie*, are undated, unpublished fragments from Beccaria's proposed book, *Ripulimento delle nazioni*. Referenced as early as 1764 and sent to the publisher Giuseppe Aubert in 1768,⁷⁷⁴ the extracts were copied out in 1771 by Giuseppe Biumi, one of Beccaria's students at the Palatine School.⁷⁷⁵ However, the *Ripulimento delle nazioni*, despite being referenced extensively in Beccaria's correspondence, never materialised. Based upon the content of the fragments and on investigation into Beccaria's book purchasing during this period, it has been projected that Beccaria's idea for the *Ripulimento* would have concerned the state of nature, having been described by Pietro Verri as concerned with "indagine sul progressivo incivilimento della società umana".⁷⁷⁶ Yet, although seemingly in discussion of different topics and the products of different periods of Beccaria's professional life, these works all contain reflections on the social contract and variously demonstrate Beccaria's interest in the "science of man" and the facets of human nature which are striking in their continuity. Whether discussing the law, economics, or the nature of manners and customs, Beccaria consistently grounds his views in a coherent vision of human nature and its role in shaping society. Due to this thematic continuity, one important piece by Beccaria, the *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile* (1770) and its earlier incarnation *Frammento sullo stile* are not addressed at any length in this chapter, though occasionally referenced, as they are primarily a treatment of aesthetics and propose a radical renewal of literary genres.⁷⁷⁷ Consequently they will only be referenced with regards to Beccaria's sensationist theory, which they briefly address. Other writings, such as the *Frammento Sugli Odori*, are referenced where fitting.

In looking across Beccaria's writings more broadly, this chapter intends to show the centrality of the social contract, happiness and public utility in Beccaria's opus, as well as

⁷⁷³ "Nota al Testo," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 659–702.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 428.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 427.

⁷⁷⁶ Gianmarco Gaspari, "Scritti letterari e frammenti," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 434.

⁷⁷⁷ For a thorough analysis of the *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile* see Philippe Audegean, *La Philosophie de Beccaria: Savoir Punir, Savoir écrire, Savoir Produire* (Paris: Vrin, 2010).

the coherence in Beccaria's reflections on these themes throughout his works. However, this is a controversial undertaking. In methodological terms, the debate concerning the "myth of coherence" still divides intellectual historians.⁷⁷⁸ More specifically, in terms of Beccaria's philosophy, the issue of coherence is equally contested, both with regards to whether any continuity does exist in his thought and if so, where it lies. Four works in particular stand out for their treatment of this issue, all of which examine a different selection of Beccaria's works. Perhaps the most notable is Philippe Audegean's *Philosophie de Beccaria: Savoir Punir, Savoir Écrire, Savoir Produire*. Referring to what he describes as the "problème Beccaria",⁷⁷⁹ Audegean states that the *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile* presents a problem in the clear coherence of Beccaria's work, which calls for a new perspective on the continuity of Beccaria's œuvre. He proceeds to argue that the overarching coherence in Beccaria's work lies in the methodological or analytical coherence of Beccaria's work: in the prioritisation of the epistemological conditions of new institutions over the institutional conditions for new knowledge.⁷⁸⁰ Beccaria's is a "philosophical system which only exists in its non-philosophical actuality: criminal law, stylistics, political economy," and thus we must not seek the coherence of what he says, but of the way in which he says it.⁷⁸¹ Audegean argues that there is an "oeuvre Beccaria": mais ce système et cette oeuvre imposent leur propre renouvellement et leur propre diversité" and consequently, due to what he argues is the discernible singularity of each of Beccaria's works, Audegean states that the texts must be examined autonomously.⁷⁸² This is partially a reaction to Giuseppe Zarone's *Etica e Politica nell'utilitarismo di Cesare Beccaria*. In his attempt to write a "una storia unitaria delle idee politiche e sociali di Beccaria", Zarone states that Beccaria produces a theory of knowledge upon which he builds his philosophical and economic theories.⁷⁸³ He argues that Beccaria produces "an overall interpretation of human life and of man in the

⁷⁷⁸ Quentin Skinner's "myth of coherence" has been most famously criticised by Mark Bevir, see M. Bevir, "Mind and Method in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory*, vol. 36, no. 2 (1997), 167–89. A more recent discussion of this debate can be found in Sami Syrjämäki, "Mark Bevir on Skinner and the 'Myth of Coherence,'" *Intellectual History Review*, vol. 21, no. 1: *Post-Analytic Hermeneutics: Themes from Mark Bevir's Philosophy of History*, (2011).

⁷⁷⁹ Audegean *La Philosophie de Beccaria*, 12.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 12, and 32–3.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 30: "Le système de Beccaria est un système philosophique qui n'existe que dans son actualité non philosophique: droit pénal, stylistique, économie politique."

⁷⁸² *Ibid.*, 36.

⁷⁸³ Giuseppe Zarone, *Etica e Politica nell'utilitarismo di Cesare Beccaria* (Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1971), chap. 1.

perspective of improvement, reform, progress of society”.⁷⁸⁴ Still, Zarone ultimately reaches a similar conclusion to Audegean, claiming that we can reduce Beccaria’s approach to a mentality or “a mode of seeing and feeling ethical, political, scientific and human problems”.⁷⁸⁵ However, while both Audegean and Zarone have addressed the internal coherence of Beccaria’s philosophy, this thesis rather aligns itself with the works of Gian Paolo Massetto and Carlo Scognamiglio Pasini (as introduced in Chapter I),⁷⁸⁶ which have addressed the continuity in Beccaria’s philosophical, economic and even administrative writings.

If examined in exhaustive detail, Beccaria’s political philosophy will never be watertight. Spanning almost a decade, Beccaria’s writings do contain inevitable elements of deviation and contradiction, some of which are addressed at points later in this chapter. Nonetheless, the coherence of his thought is predominant, especially when his writings are examined in conjunction with his administrative papers, perhaps (borrowing from Audegean here), less in what he says than in how it ought to effect change. The purpose of this chapter therefore is to lay out the political philosophy that Beccaria presents regarding human nature and society, which is similarly the vision of society presented and championed in Beccaria’s administrative endeavours, as will form the basis of Chapters V and VI. This vision will be placed in discussion with trends from Beccaria’s networks and biblioscope. In particular, his views will be placed within wider discussions of the social contract, physiocracy, physical and political anthropology. Overall, this chapter will suggest that Beccaria’s philosophy was based upon an anthropological approach to human nature, society and politics.

⁷⁸⁴ Zarone, *Etica e Politica nell'utilitarismo di Cesare Beccaria*, 10: “complessiva interpretazione della vita umana e dell'uomo stesso, nella prospettiva di un miglioramento, una riforma, un progresso della società.”

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid.,10: “E si riduce, nel caso di Beccaria, ad un modo di vedere e di sentire i problemi etici, politici, scientifici, umani, in una parola ad una mentalità che, nella discontinuità degli stessi toni culturali, nella giustapposizione di motivi diversi e non di rado contrastanti, ha la possibilità di riemergere sempre e sempre riaffermarsi.”

⁷⁸⁶ Carlo Scognamiglio Pasini, *L'arte della ricchezza: Cesare Beccaria Economista*; Gian Paolo Massetto, “Beccaria tra diritto penale ed economia”.

Beccaria's social contract

*The greatest happiness shared among the greater number*⁷⁸⁷

It is within the pages of *Dei delitti e delle pene* that one first catches sight of Beccaria's formulation of the social contract. Beccaria starts from an interpretation of a violent and solitary state of nature. Tired of living in a constant state of war, individuals come together to live in security and tranquillity, finally able to enjoy their liberty which has been, until then, rendered useless by the sheer uncertainty of retaining it. To form such a union individuals must sacrifice the smallest possible portion of their liberty to the good of all and these portions of individual liberty, when collected together, form the sovereignty of the nation. In forming such a union, Beccaria states that every individual is bound to society and likewise, society is bound to every individual member by a pact which, by its very nature, obligates both parties. This obligation descends from the palace to the hovel, binding all men equally and the violation of this pact, by even one man, begins to legitimate anarchy.⁷⁸⁸ The union results in the creation of several defined bodies: the laws, which are the conditions under which isolated men unite in society; the legislator, who represents the whole of society united by the social contract;⁷⁸⁹ and the sovereign, who forms the legitimate repository and administrator of this collective liberty, responsible for protecting it from the private usurpations of individuals who are keen to extract not only their own portion, but those of others (from which stems the right to punish).⁷⁹⁰ It is consequently the obligation of these bodies to preserve the good of all, which Beccaria interprets to be "la massima felicità divisa nel maggior numero",⁷⁹¹ the greatest happiness divided among the greater number. This interpretation bears no similarity to utilitarian arguments promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number, but rather requires the sovereign

⁷⁸⁷ This translation follows that of Richard Davies in Bellamy, *Cesare Beccaria, On Crimes and Punishments and Other Writings*, 7.

⁷⁸⁸ Beccaria, "Dei delitti e delle pene," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 34-5.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., 33: "il legislatore, che rappresenta tutta la società unita per un contratto sociale."

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., 25-6: "Le leggi sono le condizioni, colle quali uomini indipendenti ed isolati si unirono in società, stanchi di vivere in un continuo stato di guerra e di godere una libertà resa inutile dall'incertezza di conservarla. Essi ne sacrificarono una parte per goderne il restante con sicurezza e tranquillità. La somma di tutte queste porzioni di libertà sacrificate al bene di ciascheduno forma la sovranità di una nazione, ed il sovrano è il legittimo depositario ed amministratore di quelle; ma non bastava il formare questo deposito, bisognava difenderlo dalla private usurpazioni di ciascuno uomo in particolare, il quale cerca sempre di togliere dal deposito non sola la propria porzione, ma usurparsi ancora quella degli altri."

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., 23.

to ensure that the “greatest happiness” be fairly distributed amongst all citizens, even if this means that the majority are less happy than they would be in the utilitarian schema. Thus, the social contract, born out of individuals’ desire to enjoy their liberty, interprets the public good and the purpose of government as the provision of individual happiness. In so doing, Beccaria manages to combine the two often-considered opposing doctrines of utilitarianism and social contract theory: framing the state’s obligation towards the public good in utilitarian terms whilst ensuring that the individual’s rights can in no way be sacrificed to the majority. The value of the individual consequently sets the boundaries for Beccaria’s distributive notion of happiness and contractarian utilitarianism, as he challenges the potential sacrifice of the individual within classical utilitarianism by arguing that there can be no freedom when the laws permit a man to cease to be a person and become a thing.⁷⁹² The utilitarian goal of good government is thus to obtain the greatest possible happiness of each citizen individually, as the interests of all ought to be the product of the interests of each.⁷⁹³ The objective of ensuring the greatest possible happiness for each individual equally consequently prevents the aggregate happiness of classical utilitarianism, as equality of happiness is of greater importance than the degree of happiness obtainable. While this means that the degree of happiness obtainable is ultimately less than in a utilitarian framework, it ensures that there can be no sacrifice of individual happiness to the majority. We find this balance between utilitarianism and contractarianism in Beccaria’s discussion of punishment and the death penalty. Beccaria’s argument against the death penalty presents the clearest application of such a compromise theory: the state possesses no right to employ the death penalty as under no circumstance could it be perceived as useful to the individual’s interests. Beccaria argues that realistically the individual would never have surrendered the right to their own life within the fraction of liberty they sacrifice to the social contract, therefore as the state derives its legitimacy from these portions of liberty, with the aspiration of protecting the public interest equitably, the death penalty stands as antithetical to the utilitarian calculation protecting the individual and generating the state’s authority. We can also take the closing axiom of *Dei delitti e delle pene*:

In order that punishment should not be an act of violence perpetrated by one or many upon a private citizen, it is essential that it should be public, speedy, necessary, the

⁷⁹² Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 72–3: “Non vi è libertà ogni qual volta le leggi permettono che in alcuni eventi l’uomo cessi di esser *persona* e diventi *cosa*.”

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*, 104: “L’interesse generale sia il risultato degli’interessi di ciascuno.”

minimum possible in the given circumstances, proportionate to the crime, and determined by the law.⁷⁹⁴

This statement, containing both the proportionality of punishment to the crime and the necessity of punishment,⁷⁹⁵ presents the reader with two elements which respectively, adhere to classical retributive and utilitarian philosophies. While utilitarianism would theoretically subject the innocent individual to punishment providing it was useful in deterring the majority from repeating the crime, retributive theories rely on the equal proportion between crime and punishment, based on guilt and proportional suffering rather than concern for public utility. Although Beccaria expresses the need for proportion between crimes and punishments, this retributive application appears to be in opposition to his utilitarian purpose of punishment, which questions the utility of any punishment and does not seek to torment a sentient creature, instead aiming to ensure both the protection and further deterrence of all individuals who have covenanted together. It is understandable from this, why many have questioned the balance of utilitarianism and contractarianism in Beccaria's work. Yet, there is no escaping Beccaria's deliberate juxtaposition of these elements and it becomes clear that the social contract limits the utilitarian purpose of punishment by ensuring the equal right of protection for all individuals. By stating that punishment is determined by the law, which Beccaria defines as the terms under which men come together to live peaceably in society,⁷⁹⁶ he ostensibly demonstrates that the social contract required the state to follow general utilitarian tenets, rather than determine all specifics by utilitarian factors, again preventing any utilitarian sacrifice of the individual to the aggregate in practice. While it might be deemed useful to the aggregate to inflict punishment on an innocent person, the social contract and rights of the individual counteract any such considerations of utility. Beccaria in short, presents a contractarian form of utilitarianism in which utilitarian objectives of governance are prevented from descending into utilitarian systems of demonstrative and disproportional punishment through the social contract's fundamental powers of legitimacy. The only possible way of achieving the utilitarian goal of distributive and public happiness is thus through a rights-based social contract. What Beccaria consequently presents is a balance between rights and utility: a "contractarian utilitarianism".

⁷⁹⁴ Beccaria in Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 113.

⁷⁹⁵ Beccaria aligns "useful" with "necessary" in Venturi, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, 48.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 67.

We find this equal distribution of happiness repeated near-verbatim in both the *Frammento sugli Odori* and Beccaria's *Pensieri Sopra la Barbarie e Coltura delle Nazioni e su lo Stato Selvaggio dell'Uomo*, stating respectively, that the public good⁷⁹⁷ consists of nothing more than “the maximum sum of pleasures divided equally between the maximum number of men”⁷⁹⁸ and that the highest state of union achievable among men is “the greatest possible happiness divided among the greatest number possible”.⁷⁹⁹ The image of equal division likewise features in the *Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costumi* where Beccaria claims that “the slightest ills necessary to a nation should be so far as possible equally divided, just like the greatest happiness”,⁸⁰⁰ which reiterates Beccaria's concern for fair distribution above the degree of happiness obtainable. Beccaria's further writings demonstrate how distributive happiness is placed within a political and administrative framework. In the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, Beccaria outlines the sovereign's role as the “fair and equitable distributor of the public happiness”,⁸⁰¹ where public happiness is “the happiness of all those individuals who are subject to him”.⁸⁰² As the sovereign is obliged through the reciprocal nature of the social contract to protect the interests of all those whose aggregate liberty constitutes the legitimacy of the state, equally distributed happiness becomes the duty of good governance, lest it break the terms of the social contract.

Public happiness, public utility and the public good are interlinked and interchangeable concepts in Beccaria's opus which are inextricably connected to the social contract and individual happiness. Claiming that, “It is a false idea of utility to sacrifice the thing to the name and to separate the public good from the good of each individual”,⁸⁰³ Beccaria

⁷⁹⁷ Beccaria, “Frammento Sugli Odori,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 35: “il ben pubblico”.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid., “massima somma di piaceri, divisa egualmente nel massimo numero d'uomini”.

⁷⁹⁹ Beccaria, “Pensieri sopra la Barbarie e coltura delle nazioni e su lo stato selvaggio dell'uomo,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 284: “massima unione che possa darsi fra gli uomini”, “massima assoluta felicità possibile divisa nel maggior numero possibile”.

⁸⁰⁰ Beccaria, “Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costumi,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 303: “ma il minimo de” mali necessari ad una nazione deve essere, per quanto si può, egualmente diviso, come il massimo di felicità”.

⁸⁰¹ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 342: “distributore giusto ed equabile della pubblica felicità, cioè della felicità di tutti quegl'individui che gli sono sogetti”.

⁸⁰² Ibid.: “distributore giusto ed equabile della pubblica felicità, cioè della felicità di tutti quegl'individui che gli sono sogetti”.

⁸⁰³ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 119: “Falsa l'idea d'utilità è quella che antepone gl'inconvenienti particolari all'inconveniente generale, quella che comanda ai sentimenti in vece di eccitargli, che dice alla logica: servi.”

explicitly outlines his understanding of the public good as the product of the good of each individual, and utility is consequently measured by this same calculation, comprising merely the utility for each individual. By making this connection Beccaria ensured that there is a clear division between utility and public utility which ultimately poses limits on the actions of rulers and legislators who must determine their actions by this calculation. While Beccaria dedicates little time to setting out this concept on paper, as we will see in Chapter VI, within his administrative practice, considerations of utility are always determined by the social contract and individual rights. Arguably useful measures, such as inoculation, could not be deemed to be of public utility, if they compromised the rights protected by the social contract.

Beccaria's concept of "la massima felicità divisa nel maggior numero" has been the cause of great debate. Often translated or interpreted as "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" (as opposed to "greater"), this aggregate sentiment has provoked a strong tradition of utilitarian interpretations of Beccaria's work, often highlighting the proximity between Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham. Bentham's statements acknowledging his debt to Beccaria's work do, to a degree, help to account for the strictly utilitarian readings of Beccaria works.⁸⁰⁴ However, while Beccaria undoubtedly influenced Bentham's thought, there is little evidence, despite some recent attempts,⁸⁰⁵ to suggest that we find Bentham's aggregate sentiment in Beccaria's understanding of happiness. Even if we were to follow F. Rosen and H.L.A Hart's arguments that Bentham acknowledged that distributive happiness would have to be sacrificed to the "greatest number" in cases where equalised happiness was not possible, would continue to divide his and Beccaria's outlooks.⁸⁰⁶ Beccaria, who saw distributive happiness as the objective of good governance, does not address this potential scenario of sacrifice, but values equal distribution of happiness over the maximisation of happiness in all occasions, as public happiness based on a distributive system is the objective of sovereignty and governance, whose legitimacy is derived from the

⁸⁰⁴ John Bowring ed., *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. III (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1838–43), 158.

⁸⁰⁵ Cara Camcastle, "Beccaria's Luxury of Comfort and Happiness of the Greatest Number," *Utilitas*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Mar. 2008): 1–20.

⁸⁰⁶ Both scholars have argued that Bentham took a distributive outlook to happiness, though from very different perspectives. See, F. Rosen, "Individual Sacrifice and the Greatest Happiness: Bentham on Utility and Rights," *Utilitas*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Jul. 1998): 130; Herbert Lionel Adolphus Hart, "Beccaria and Bentham," in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale su Cesare Beccaria*, Turin 4–6 Oct. 1964 (Turin: Accademia delle Scienze, 1966), 29–30.

social contract. However, even Hart has claimed that “if Beccaria was a utilitarian his utilitarianism was qualified in ways which Bentham thought absurd”.⁸⁰⁷ Claiming that Beccaria “set his own utilitarian doctrines of punishment within a framework of a theory of social contract”,⁸⁰⁸ Hart articulates how Beccaria’s familiar “Benthamite” utilitarian sentiments regarding punishment have caused confusion regarding his statements on happiness, which at no point stretch to include a notion of aggregate happiness. This is a crucial distinction. While utilitarian sentiments can be traced in Beccaria’s theory, they are not found in his consideration of happiness. David Young has gone even further in demonstrating that utilitarian ideas were secondary to Beccaria’s theory, providing only the system of measurement for specific offences and for minor deterrence.⁸⁰⁹ Claiming that Beccaria was “fundamentally a retributivist...[and] incorporated utilitarian ideas into his work, albeit in a secondary capacity”,⁸¹⁰ Young interprets Beccaria’s retributive framework as deriving from the social contract, which generates the right to punish within society when its terms have been abused. So strong is this retributivism, that Young sees echoes of Kant and Hegel at points.⁸¹¹

Although a handful of scholars like Mondolfo, Pietro Marongiu and Graeme Newman have criticised Beccaria for his “irresolvable contradictions”,⁸¹² many readings acknowledge the “fusion, not confusion” of Beccaria’s work, recognising both the utilitarian and

⁸⁰⁷ Hart, “Beccaria and Bentham”; John Rawls, “Two Concepts of Rules,” *The Philosophical Review*, vol. 64, no.1 (Jan.1955): 28.

⁸⁰⁸ Hart, “Beccaria and Bentham,”; Rawls, “Two Concepts of Rules,” 27.

⁸⁰⁹ David B. Young, “Cesare Beccaria: Utilitarian or Retributivist?” *Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol. 11 (1983): 324.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*: 319.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*: “This is a difficult analogy to make as Beccaria undermines the fundamental retributivist notion of *lex talionis* by adopting a forward-looking, utilitarian perspective, which sees punishment as having no other purpose than preventing an offender from causing further damage to fellow citizens who are equally entitled to protection deriving from the social contract, as well as deterring others from similar behaviour. It ultimately results in a theory of punishment defined by a utilitarian purpose and limited by rights determined by the social contract.”

⁸¹² Pietro Marongiu and Graeme Newman, “Penological Reform and the Myth of Beccaria,” *Criminology*, vol. 28, no. 2 (1990): 326 and 334–5; R. Mondolfo, *Cesare Beccaria* (Milan: Nuova Accademia editrice, 1960),43: [Beccaria] “non avverte l’incongruenza di un collegamento tra utilitarismo e contrattualismo”; See also, Mario Ricciardi, “Rodolfo Mondolfo e Cesare Beccaria,” in ed. Mauro Barberis, *Un pacifico amatore della verità: 250 anni dopo Dei delitti e delle pene di Cesare Beccaria* (Milano: Giuffrè Editore, 2014).

contractarian elements, though to varying degrees.⁸¹³ This has resulted in scholarship which sees the binary categories of “utilitarian” and “contractarian” as reductive and not necessarily incompatible. Gianni Francioni, for one, has argued for the need to expand upon the inherent and irreconcilable Benthamite interpretations of utilitarianism and Hobbesian views of the social contract.⁸¹⁴ By doing so, he claims that similar compromise theories can be found, such as those of Helvétius, and more recently, Rawls and Hart, in which utility and rights are not contradictory, but in fact complementary.⁸¹⁵ Luigi Ferrajoli has likewise argued in favour of what he refers to as Beccaria’s “truncated utilitarianism”. Underlining how Beccaria appears to combine two divergent strains of moral philosophy, as exemplified by Bentham and Kant, Ferrajoli states that “not only is there no contradiction between, on the one hand, the *contractarian utilitarianism* that makes Beccaria a precursor to Bentham and, on the other, his view of *person as ends in themselves* that makes him a precursor to Kant, but the former actually entails the latter”.⁸¹⁶ Giuseppe Zarone similarly states that “tra l’utilitarismo individualistico ed il liberalismo riformatore di Beccaria non ci sono intermittenze né soluzioni, ma esiste invece un’ammirevole continuità”.⁸¹⁷ Audegean has also drawn attention to the ambiguous meaning of “utilitarianism”:

Le terme d’‘utilitarisme’ est d’autre part ambigu. Il désigne d’abord une doctrine philosophique formée d’une métaéthique et d’une théorie morale et politique normative: en ce sens, il n’y a cependant pas d’utilitaristes avant Bentham, sinon des ‘précurseurs’ ou des ‘avant-coureurs’ (qui intéressent donc les historiens de l’utilitarisme plus que ceux des siècles précédents). Le terme a toutefois une seconde acception: il désigne des analyses et théories plus ou moins autonomes qui, à l’intérieur d’une doctrine plus générale, accordent une importance nouvelle à l’utilité. En ce seconde sens, le terme est parfois employé pour décrire l’anthropologie de l’intérêt et de l’utile qui se développe en Europe après Machiavel (Hobbes et les jansénistes, Spinoza et Mandeville, Helvétius, etc.). Or, comme on l’a vu dans le premier chapitre, cet utilitarisme resté a été la cible de nombreux jusnaturalistes:

⁸¹³ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 26: “Una voluta fusione (non ‘confusione’, come scrisse il Mondolfo) di due diverse teorie unisce in Beccaria il contrattualismo all’utilitarismo, che costituisce l’aspetto dominante della sua filosofia”

⁸¹⁴ Gianni Francioni, “Beccaria filosofo utilitarista,” in *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e l’Europa* (Milan: Cariplo – Laterza, 1990), 69: “Molti critici hanno rilevato nei *Delitti* una confusione di due correnti teoriche distinte e di fatto incompatibili. Ma si tratta di un’accusa formulabile solo assumendo come pienamente rappresentativa dell’utilitarismo la concezione di Bentham.”

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 77: “idea del contratto e principia di utilità non sono, in Helvétius come in Beccaria, incompatibili o contraddittori.”

⁸¹⁶ Luigi Ferrajoli, “Two hundred and fifty years since the publication of *On Crimes and Punishments*: The currency of Cesare Beccaria’s thought,” *Punishment & Society*, vol 16, no. 5 (2014): 504–5.

⁸¹⁷ Zarone, *Etica e Politica nell’utilitarismo di Cesare Beccaria*, 230.

il existait donc bien dès avant Bentham un conflit entre certaines formes (jusnaturalistes) de contractualisme et certaines formes (restreintes) d'utilitarisme. Ce dernier terme sert également à désigner les théories de l'état ou de la justice qui font prévaloir la considération de l'utilité politique sur le respect des normes morales ou religieuses (de Machiavel aux doctrines de la raison d'état, jusqu'aux théories du plus grand bonheur du plus grand nombre).⁸¹⁸

Richard Bellamy and Alberto Burgio in their critical introductions to two recent English translations of the *Dei delitti e delle pene*, have also made similar conclusion.⁸¹⁹ Both authors underline the role of Beccaria the “philosopher” in promoting a philosophical framework which straddled what are traditionally considered as two incompatible philosophical forms.

The discussions regarding Beccaria's contractarian utilitarianism tie into wider debates concerning the intellectual heritage of his theory, above all with regards to natural law. Beccaria's thought, especially concerning the right to punish, is most commonly seen as deriving from the work of Locke, Grotius, Hobbes, Rousseau, Pufendorf, Helvétius, Montesquieu and Bacon, though to varying degrees of modification. Above all, there exists an extensive corpus of literature which contextualises Beccaria's thought with regards to the most prominent social contract theories of the Enlightenment, namely those of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, and it is consequently unnecessary to outline these familiar theories in any depth here. In particular, the balance between the influence of Locke and Hobbes on Beccaria's social contract has garnered much scholarly attention, mostly regarding natural law and the state of nature. Some, such as Mondolfo and Zarone, have claimed that while Hobbes shaped Beccaria's understanding of the state of nature, Locke influenced his vision of the social contract.⁸²⁰ Other more recent interpretations however, such as that of Gianni Francioni and Phillippe Audegean,⁸²¹ claim that Beccaria's concept of the social contract is fundamentally based upon Locke's political theory, in which “l'état de nature qui précède l'institution de la société politique est gouverné par la loi naturelle, qui

⁸¹⁸ Audegean, *La Philosophie de Beccaria*, 126.

⁸¹⁹ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments and Other Writings*; Alberto Burgio “Introduction,” in *On Crimes and Punishments and Other Writings* ed. Aaron A. Thomas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

⁸²⁰ Zarone, *Etica e Politica nell'utilitarismo di Cesare Beccaria*, 185-6; Ricciardi, “Rodolfo Mondolfo e Cesare Beccaria,” 643-4.

⁸²¹ Audegean, *La Philosophie de Beccaria*, 125.

oblige tous les hommes et leur enjoint de respecter l'indépendance d'autrui sans nuire à sa liberté et à ses intérêts".⁸²²

We shall return to the state of nature in later sections; however, it is worth noting immediately that Beccaria's social contract theory is predominantly attributed to an intellectual tradition commencing more than fifty years before the publication of *Dei delitti e delle pene*. This is not to deny that this is indeed the foundation of Beccaria's thought, but it raises questions not only regarding whether there were additional later intellectual traditions which were also shaping Beccaria's work, but also whether Beccaria was rather responding to later alterations, interpretations and reincarnations of this tradition itself. Returning to Beccaria's networks it is possible to expand upon this well studied intellectual heritage. Having rebuilt Beccaria's biblioscope, what is particularly striking considering the importance of Hobbes and Locke in the development of Beccaria's thought, is the almost total absence of the broader English, Scottish and Irish seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century tradition of natural law and political philosophy, within which their works were situated. We find no trace of Berkeley, Shaftesbury, or Cumberland, and Hutcheson is cited but once without reference to any of his writings, which is particularly striking considering the connections drawn between *Dei delitti e delle pene* and his *System of Moral Philosophy*.⁸²³ Neither do we see Filmer, John Toland, James Harrington, and our only reference to Bolingbroke is the inclusion of his "Some reflections on the present State of the Nation" included in a copy of Hume's *Discours politiques* owned by Beccaria. We do find works by Antony Collins, Samuel Clarke and Algernon Sidney.⁸²⁴ However, these texts were all owned by Beccaria in French translation, which does more than just reflect Beccaria's linguistic capabilities, but indicates the passage and forms through which Beccaria was exposed to English language political and philosophical thought: namely through later eighteenth-century reprinted editions of translations carried out earlier in the century by Huguenots like Pierre des Maizeaux and Rousset de Missy, which were

⁸²² Gianni Francioni, "Beccaria, philosophe utilitariste," in Audegean, *Le bonheur du plus grand nombre*, 32.

⁸²³ This argument is put forward, in particular, by Piers Beirne in *Inventing Criminology: Essays on the Rise of Homo Criminalis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

⁸²⁴ Anthony Collins, *Discours sur la liberté de penser*, Collins and Clarke in *Recueil de diverses pièces sur la philosophie, la religion naturelle, l'histoire, les mathématiques, &c. par messieurs Leibniz, Clarke, Newton & autres auteurs celebres*; Algernon Sidney, *Discours sur le gouvernement par Algernon Sidney. Traduit de l'anglois par P.A. Samson*.

complete with additions, printed in the Netherlands by editors such as Henri De Sauzet and Henri Scheurleer and distributed via the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel by booksellers like Barthélemy Chirol.⁸²⁵ Being such, these texts raise questions as to the repercussions of consuming English ideas, not from the source, but in mediated forms as well as introducing the possibility that they were no longer rooted in the same Anglo-tradition of natural law and political philosophy, but were integrated into later continental debates.

Happiness, pain and pleasure

*Ditemi cosa fa bisogno per essere meno felici, se pure questo nome di felicità esiste*⁸²⁶

The distributive concept of happiness stands as the objective of Beccaria's compromise theory of governance. This utilitarian prerogative is prevented by the rigorous conditions of the social contract from potentially sacrificing any individual happiness. By surrendering a fraction of their liberty to the social compact, therein generating the legitimacy of the state, each individual is entitled to the equal opportunity to pursue happiness. This is preserved by both the limits that individual rights impose on governance and the utilitarian purpose of preserving public happiness. Happiness thus plays a pivotal role in determining the compromise theory underlying Beccaria's work and it is through analysing his distributive understanding of happiness that it becomes impossible to reduce Beccaria's theory into either a pure utilitarian or social contract philosophy. Beccaria's contractarian form of utilitarianism ensures the well-being of both individual and state as the social contract provides terms protecting the individual's interests from being compromised by the state's claims to utility, thus securing the equality of individuals' happiness over any maximisation. However, while the centrality of happiness to the social contract in *Dei delitti e delle pene* is repeated throughout Beccaria's opus, it is only later in his writings that Beccaria clarifies his understanding of the relationship between happiness and the motivating sentiments of pains and pleasures. While this hedonistic calculation is stated in *Dei delitti e delle pene* in claims that "every act of our will is proportional to the force of the sensory impression

⁸²⁵ For more on this topic see Ann Thomson, *Bodies of Thought: Science, Religion, and the Soul in the Early Enlightenment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 135–175.

⁸²⁶ Beccaria, "Pensieri staccati," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 277.

which induces it”⁸²⁷ and “pleasure and pain are the motive forces of all sentient beings”,⁸²⁸ it is never explained in any detail and occurs only in relation to other discussions. Although we know that Beccaria interprets pain and pleasure as the motivating sentiments behind human actions, it is only later that he clarifies the psychology and physiology that lies behind these statements.

Overall, Beccaria claims that man is motivated by either the pursuit of pleasure or the escape from pain. While both are the sources of his actions, Beccaria repeatedly clarifies that “man rests in good times and acts when in pain”,⁸²⁹ indicating that it is the avoidance of pain that he interprets as the driving motivation behind man’s actions. This sentiment is repeated near verbatim across Beccaria’s writings from the *Pensieri staccati*: “La causa prossima delle azioni è la fuga del dolore, la cause finale è l’amor del piacere”,⁸³⁰ to the *Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costumi*: “La causa prossima e mottrice delle azioni è la fuga del dolore, la cause ultima è l’amore del piacere”⁸³¹ and the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, “Le sensazioni dolorose, che l’uomo soffre ne’ suoi bisogni, lo tolgono dalla naturale inerzia e dal sonnolento riposo in cui ritrovasi dopo soddisfatti quelli”.⁸³² Even in the later *Materiali preparatori e stesure rifiutate* for the *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile*, Beccaria describes pain as “spreading its despotic empire across the sphere of activity of sensitive beings”:

Il dolore stende il despotic suo impero in tutta la sfera d’attività degli esseri sensibili. Antico quanto il tempo, esteso quanto la natura, inesorabile come il destino, tutte le cose gli obbediscono fuggendo, ed al fine della loro carriera lo ritrovano come al principio, solo ingallibile esecutore delle leggi di natura. Egli si serve delle minime cose per atterare le grandi, e delle grandi per sconvolgere le piccole; ed i piaceri verso de’ quali ogni essere che senta gravità incessantemente, da lui ricevono la spinta e l’urto al cambiamento; onde instabili e fugaci ricreano, ma non assopiscono, gli animi, che diversamente nell’indolenza e nel letargo si giacerebbono.⁸³³

Beccaria’s vivid description of pain reiterates his assertion that it forms the root cause of natural human action. Pain is presented as “old as time, vast as nature, inexorable as fate,”

⁸²⁷ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 43: “Ogni atto della nostra volontà è sempre proporzionato alla forza della impressione sensibile, che ne è la sorgente.”

⁸²⁸ Ibid., 43–4: “Se il piacere e il dolore sono i motori degli esseri sensibili.”

⁸²⁹ Beccaria, “Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costumi,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 301-2: “L’uomo si riposa nel bene ed agisce nel dolore.”

⁸³⁰ Beccaria, “Pensieri staccati,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 283.

⁸³¹ Beccaria, “Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costumi,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 301.

⁸³² Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 595.

⁸³³ Beccaria, “Materiali preparatori e stesure rifiutate, Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 230.

which all obey by fleeing and consequently it is pain which provides the propulsion towards the pleasures, around which all beings unceasingly gravitate. However, pain and pleasure are not abstract concepts, but are physiological sensations which are communicated throughout the body, provoking cognitive responses. Echoing Locke, Beccaria claims that:

It may be supposed that we have within ourselves an inner sense with which all external senses communicate, which is not moved immediately by external objects, but only communicates the impression from the external senses moved by the objects. Perhaps due to the composition of this organ, it can not be moved by one perception, but by several together; perhaps the pleasurable perceptions in the external organ are not always sufficient to give pleasure to the internal organ, perhaps the first degrees of painful sensations, or images of painful sensations, which are the beginnings of pains, are just enough to produce a pleasant sensation in the internal organ, though the external pain grows, in the end even the internal organ is also pained... This is perhaps the seat of the associations of ideas, which is the seat of the moral sense, whose exterior appearances, though complicated and multiplied, we know and hear, ultimately result in simple affections of satisfaction or aversion, that is pleasing or painful, and which seem no longer definable and analysable and independent of reflection on our own interest.⁸³⁴

Beccaria perceives individuals to be in a state of permanent dissatisfaction, in flux between the passions and the capacity to rationally control these passions. The individual suffers both at the thought of potentially losing the pleasures he has gained and at witnessing the possible pleasures available to him, which he has not yet obtained. Pleasure is consequently short-lived and the individual is engaged in a constant struggle to improve his situation and remedy the pain and dissatisfaction caused by momentary pleasures which tempt him towards the obtainment of even greater ones. Thus, while pain is constant in the state of inactivity, pleasure, by contrast, is only momentary. It is in the *Elementi di economia pubblica* that Beccaria explains this at length. He argues that the painful sensations that man suffers

⁸³⁴ Beccaria, "Materiali preparatori e stesure rifiutate, Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 219-220: "potrà supporre esservi dentro di noi un senso interno al quale tutti gli esterni sensi comunicano, il quale non sia mosso immediatamente dagli oggetti esterni, ma solamente gli sia comunicata l'impressione dai sensi esterni mossi dagli oggetti. Forse per la tessitura di quest'organo, non può esser mosso da una sola percezione, ma da più insieme; forse le percezioni piacevoli nell'organo esterno non sono sempre sufficienti a produrre piacere nell'organo interno, forse i primi gradi di sensazioni dolorose, o le pitture di sensazioni dolorose, che sono dolori appena incominciati, appena bastano per produrre sensazione piacevole nell'organo interno, quantunque crescendo l'esterna impressione dolorosa, alla fine anche l'interno organo si addolori..... Questa forse è la sede delle associazioni delle idee, questa la sede del senso morale, le di cui esterne apparenze, benché complicate e molteplici, da noi conosciute e sentite, per ultimo risultato ci conducono a semplici affezioni di soddisfazione o di aversione, cioè piacevoli o dolorose, e che sembrano non più oltre definibili ed analizabili ed indipendenti dalla riflessione sul nostro proprio interesse."

in his needs pull him out of his natural state of inertia, so that he might satisfy them. Pleasure is found only at the end of his action; however, upon returning to rest he will find new irritations which spur him into action once again.⁸³⁵ This is defined by Beccaria in the *Materiali preparatori e stesure rifiutate* for the *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile* as the escape from unrelenting boredom:

In many cases, the pleasure that the images of pain produce in us, is born from the frustration and effort we put into escaping boredom which, being a continuous and uniform pain, captures all of our attention, and so we prefer pains that are interrupted, quickly overcome and varied, which divide our attention and diminish the painful sentiments we feel.⁸³⁶

Boredom is a part of human nature which derives from habit and which only slowly provokes change:

Boredom, which arises out of the smaller quantity of sensations which long-established manners offer compared with when they were new, slowly transforms those very manners albeit always following the law of graduated uniformity which applies as much in morals as in physics. People want novelty without effort, they change their practice while holding on to their opinion and vice versa.... The amount of attention we dedicate to any given undertaking depends on two factors: its importance and its difficulty. The less closely it touches on our own personal interests, the greater the influence the factor of difficulty will come to assume.⁸³⁷

This reluctance to relinquish one's opinions derives from natural mental laziness as it is easier to stick to one's opinions than to exert oneself in discovering new truths:

Opinions gain their ascendancy as a result of mental laziness: we are much happier sticking with the falsehoods we know than exploring new truths, and we allow ourselves to be beguiled by the ease with which something can be imagined or done, without assessing the clarity of our imaginings or the usefulness of our deeds.⁸³⁸

⁸³⁵ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 595-6: "Le sensazioni dolorose, che l'uomo soffre ne' suoi bisogni, lo tolgono dalla naturale inerzia e dal sonnolento riposo in cui ritrovasi dopo soddisfatti quelli. Il piacere trovasi sempre al fine della fatica, nel uquale vi si riposa, se nuove irritazioni non lo rispingtono nell'azione e nel moto. Cerca dunque l'uomo di aumentare le produzioni della terra, le quali poi egli modifica in diverse maniere, le altera e le trasmuta per gli usi differenti a cui le destina."

⁸³⁶ Beccaria, "Materiali preparatori e stesure rifiutate, Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 219: "In molti casi il piacere che le immagini del dolore ci producono nasce dall'abborrimento e dallo sforzo che facciamo per toglierci dalla noia, la quale, essendo un dolore continuato ed uniforme, incatena tutta la nostra attenzione, ed ad essa preferiamo dolori interrotti, rapidamente succedentisi e variati, pei quali, divisa l'attenzione, rendesi minore in noi il sentimento doloroso."

⁸³⁷ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 150.

⁸³⁸ *Ibid.*, 149.

As pleasure is only the momentary suspension of pain, the total sum of pleasures can never outweigh the total sum of pains. This consequently leaves man feeling unfulfilled and primed for action. Pleasure therefore does not exist in obtainment, but in pursuit and while pain motivates man to act, the pursuit of pleasure forms his ultimate ambition. This calculation leads Beccaria to remark that:

Is it true that while a pleasure touches us, while it has not entered the bounds of indifference or boredom, we do wish not wish for something greater? And that the strongest pleasures are subject to the greatest inconveniences? This perhaps may be a reason for preferring those quieter pleasures, those that are the most lasting, to the livelier ones.⁸³⁹

This statement from the *Pensieri staccati* indicates not only the transient nature of pleasure as has already been outlined, but also alludes to the type of pleasures which are most satisfying. Beccaria claims it is better to pursue quieter pleasures than livelier ones as they are longer lasting. Once one tires of a pleasure, one must find an even greater pleasure, thus the livelier the pleasure, the harder it is to find a superior pleasure and the satisfaction wears off more quickly and we see this repeated in Beccaria's reflections on luxury, where he claims that the greater the pleasure the quicker one wishes for something greater.

In claiming that one ought to choose quieter and longer lasting pleasures, Beccaria hints at man's capacity for reason in the face of the passions, as man is able to rationally calculate which pleasures will prove the most satisfying. Beccaria, unlike Hume for instance, conceived of humankind as able to control and direct their passions, turning them into a productive force which brought about civilisation and progress. The passions and reason are not entirely separate entities but respectively coexist as impetus and action:

Men reason on the basis of their own feelings, and the strongest and more lasting impressions are those to which we give the most weight, in keeping with that general impulse, that force of gravity, that natural bent by which sensible beings draw in new impressions and unite them with old, existing ones.⁸⁴⁰

At face value, Beccaria seems to be contradicting himself, suggesting that passions determine man's reasoning. However, this is neither mechanistic nor deterministic. Rather,

⁸³⁹ Beccaria, "Pensieri staccati," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 278: "Est-il vrai que pendant qu'un plaisir nous touche, pendant qu'il n'est point entré dans les limites de l'indifférence ou de l'ennui, nous n'en souhaitons pas un plus grand? et que les plaisirs les plus forts sont sujets aux plus grands inconvénients? Voilà peut-être une raison de préférer les plaisirs plus tranquilles, qui sont mêmes les plus durables, aux plus vifs."

⁸⁴⁰ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 142.

man reasons by combining his feelings with previous experiences and impressions. Rationality and the passions are thus intimately connected as human reason is responsible for the ordering of our impressions, but this is always hierarchical. The ability to reason in the face of the passions prompted Beccaria to distinguish between passion and feeling, claiming that “sudden revolutions which come about from strong passions are destructive; only those which are conducted gradually, by reflection and lesser passions, that is by feelings, are constructive”.⁸⁴¹ The singular ability of humankind to rationally control the passions consequently results in the rise of civilisation.

Yet, although reason cannot fall slave to the passions, the passions are central to human nature and, like Locke and Helvétius before him, Beccaria attributes all human knowledge to sensory impressions. Beccaria perceives the proclivity towards one or another pleasure as the source of individual character and he argues that these inclinations are determined by the positive primary sensations one experiences as a child.⁸⁴² Here Beccaria articulates an understanding of human nature and behaviour which is dependent on primary experience, which, alongside the continued exposure to experiences, determines man’s sensitivity to pains and pleasures. Additionally, it is not purely individual experience which preconditions man’s actions. Claiming in *Pensieri sopra la Barbarie e coltura delle nazioni e su lo stato selvaggio dell’uomo* that “distrust is always proportional to the number of unhappy experiences known either about others or experienced firsthand, the latter being more powerful than the former”,⁸⁴³ Beccaria states that not only is man sensitive to his own experiences, but to those of others, albeit to a lesser extent. It echoes his remarks in *Dei delitti e delle pene* that the arbitrary and habitual use of torture and the death penalty results in a more violent society as it desensitises individuals to cruelty:

⁸⁴¹ Ibid.,155.

⁸⁴² Beccaria repeats this idea almost verbatim in “Pensieri Diversi,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 307: “L’inclinazione degli uomini ad un tale o ad un tal altro piacere è una grande sorgente della diversità dei caratteri; e questa inclinazione spesso proviene dalla prima sensazione piacevole che uno provò da bambino: egli sarà sempre avido di simili piaceri.” And in “Pensieri staccati,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 277: “Le penchant des hommes à un tel plaisir plutôt qu’à un tel autre est une des causes principales de la diversité des caractères. Et cela dépend des premières sensation agréables reçues par l’enfant: il cherchera, grand, les plaisirs qui ont été les premiers qu’il a prouvez.”

⁸⁴³ Beccaria, “Pensieri sopra la Barbarie e coltura delle nazioni e su lo stato selvaggio dell’uomo,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 285: “La diffidenza è sempre proporzionata al numero delle sperienze infelici o conosciute in altri o fatte in se stesso, ma molto più nell’ultimo che nel primo caso.”

The times and places in which the penalties have been fiercest have been those of the bloodiest and inhuman actions... As punishments become harsher, human souls which, like fluids, find their level from their surroundings, become hardened and the ever lively power of the passions brings it about that, after a hundred years of cruel tortures, the wheel only causes as much fear as prison previously did.⁸⁴⁴

We consequently see the force of others' experience on individuals' impressions and sensitivity. While individual experience has the greatest effect on human sensitivity, as mankind is in essence hedonistic, Beccaria presents human nature as sociable enough to render individuals sensitive, though perhaps not empathetic, to fellow man.

In demonstrating that not all individuals are the same in their sensitivities to pains and pleasures, Beccaria puts forward a striking dichotomy. While man is calculable in terms of the stimuli (pain/pleasure) which motivate his actions and in his continuity of motivation as based upon experience, he is unpredictable in terms of his sensitivity to stimuli, which forms the basis of individual character. This tension once again highlights the importance of the individual in Beccaria's thought. While mankind is calculable to an extent, it maintains the individuality necessary for creativity. It is consequently this tension that must be addressed in the social contract. Beccaria conceives the nature of humankind to be the rational and individualised channelling of the passions towards pleasure, which are achieved through pursuit, not obtainment. The social contract thus has to accommodate man's nature in its objective to secure "the greatest happiness shared equally among the greater number". The equal share of happiness awarded to each individual consequently has to contain the equal opportunity for each individual to rationally pursue what their sensations dictate will bring pleasure, which is specific to each individual. The inability to predict or regulate what this pursuit entails thus means that the social contract is upheld by ensuring equal access to the possible sources of pleasures in society: by the removal of institutionalised privileges and restrictions. We see therefore how human nature is central to the social contract. Far from being an entirely artificial imposition upon those who choose to come together as a society, the social contract serves to protect, satisfy and even profit from man's natural inclinations.

⁸⁴⁴ Beccaria, "Dei delitti e delle pene," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 84: "I paesi e i tempi di più atroci supplicii furon sempre quelli delle più sanguinose ed inumane azioni.... A misura che i supplicii diventano più crudeli, gli animi umani, che come i fluidi si mettono sempre a livello cogli oggetti che gli circondano, s'incaliscono, e la forza sempre viva delle passioni fa che, copo cent'anni di crudeli supplicii, la ruota spaventi tanto quanto prima la prigione."

The origins of Beccaria's sensationist theory

Beccaria's reflections on happiness are rooted in a diverse tradition of sensationist epistemologies and his writings are most commonly situated within the context of Locke, Condillac and Helvétius' contributions to this debate. We can find traces of each in Beccaria's writings, above all Locke's theory of motivation, Condillac's rejection of innate sensory and cognitive functions and Helvétius' entirely physical account of sensations.

Locke's hedonistic approach is found most extensively in the four volumes of the *Philosophical Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Starting from the premise that man has no innate knowledge, Locke proceeds to claim that all ideas are the product of experience.⁸⁴⁵ Experience is divided between sensation and reflection: the former informs individuals about the external world, while the latter reveals what is within our own minds. Simple ideas can only derive from these two forms of experience. However, once they are in the mind, they can be stored and combined to create more complicated ones. Moreover, simple ideas are divided between those we receive from one sense, such as sight; those from two senses, such as density; those which arise from reflection (the inner sense); and those, like pain and pleasure, which derive from the combination of both reflection and sensation.⁸⁴⁶

Consequently, Locke claims that pleasure and pain are attached to almost all of our ideas.⁸⁴⁷ If it were not for these associations, humankind would lack the impetus to act, create, take decisions or have different ideas and we would respond uniformly to all external stimuli:

We should have no reason to prefer [sic] one Thought or Action, to another; Negligence, to Attention; or Motion, to Rest. And so we should neither stir our Bodies, nor employ our Minds; but let our thoughts (if I may so call it) run a drift, without any direction or design; and suffer the *Ideas* of our Minds, like unregarded shadows to make their appearances there, as it happen'd, without attending to them.⁸⁴⁸

In making such a claim, Locke interprets pleasure and pain to be the fundamental motivating stimuli for all human action and thought. In fact, they were so vital for the human experience, that Locke interprets them to be a marker of existence itself:

⁸⁴⁵ John Locke, "Philosophical Essay Concerning Human Understanding," in *The Works of John Locke in Nine Volumes* (London: Rivington, 1824 12th ed.), vol.1, 6. 2.

⁸⁴⁶ Locke, "Essay", vol. I, 78–9.

⁸⁴⁷ Locke, "Essay", vol. I, 105.

⁸⁴⁸ Locke, "Essay", vol. I, 105.

For nothing can be more evident to us, than our own existence; I think, I reason, I feel pleasure and pain: can any of these be more evident to me, than my own existence? if I doubt of all other things, that very doubt makes me perceive my own existence, and will not suffer me to doubt of that. For if I know I feel pain, it is evident I have as certain perception of my own existence, as of the existence of the pain I feel: or if I know I doubt, I have as certain perception of the existence of the thing doubting, as of that thought which I call doubt. Experience then convinces us, that we have an intuitive knowledge of our own existence, and an internal infallible perception that we are. In every act of sensation, reasoning, or thinking, we are conscious to ourselves of our own being; and, in this matter, come not short of the highest degree of certainty.⁸⁴⁹

Classifying simple sensations as pleasurable, painful and indifferent, Locke claimed that the associations of pain and pleasure were the root of all human perception of good and evil, stating that things are:

Good or Evil, only in reference to Pleasure or Pain. That we call Good, which is apt to cause or increase Pleasure, or diminish Pain in us, or else to procure, or preserve us the possession of any other Good, or absence of any Evil. And on the contrary we name that Evil, which is apt to produce or increase any Pain or diminish any Pleasure in us, or else to procure us any Evil, or deprive us of any Good”.⁸⁵⁰

Good and evil were thus superficially relative, dependent on the existing association of pain and pleasure within an individual’s mind, good being that which brought the individual pleasure, evil being that which brings pain.⁸⁵¹ I say superficially, as Locke prevents any potential moral relativism by introducing the concepts of happiness and true happiness. While anything pleasurable ostensibly brings happiness, it does not necessary bring true happiness, which is what Locke interprets as the best direction for our cognitive faculties.

Locke interprets all individuals as desiring and acting in the pursuit of happiness. This state is one of what he calls uneasiness, which is where the desire for happiness invokes pain and which consequently motivates humankind to act to secure our happiness.⁸⁵² Locke claims that without this uneasiness, individuals would not be stimulated to act and obtain pleasures and this uneasiness means that pain is always experienced in between the sensation of pleasure, meaning that pleasures cannot accumulate. Locke’s concept of uneasiness is clearly echoed in Beccaria’s statements that pleasures cannot be obtained and

⁸⁴⁹ Locke, “Philosophical Essay Concerning Human Understanding,” in *The Works of John Locke in Nine Volumes* (London: Rivington, 1824 12th ed.), vol. II, 187.

⁸⁵⁰ Locke, “Essay”, vol. I, 216.

⁸⁵¹ Locke, “Essay”, vol. I, 216.

⁸⁵² Locke, “Essay”, vol. I, 241.

that mankind feels permanently unfulfilled by pleasures. The “pursuit of happiness”, as Locke claimed, is a similar motivating force to that behind Beccaria’s theory, as humankind is driven by the pain experienced by either not having pleasure, or being dissatisfied by the obtainment of this pleasure. We find further points of parity in Locke’s claims that joy is found above all in the imagination in the pursuit of happiness:

Joy is a delight of the mind, from the consideration of the present or assured approaching possession of a good; and we are then possessed of any good, when we have it so in our power that we can use it when we please. Thus a man almost starved has joy at the arrival of relief, even before he has the pleasure of using it: and a father, in whom the very well-being of his children causes delight, is always, as long as his children are in such a state, in the possession of that good; for he needs but to reflect on it, to have that pleasure.⁸⁵³

However, unlike Beccaria, Locke’s separation of happiness and true happiness means that the obtainment of pleasure does not necessarily mean achieving true happiness. In claiming this, Locke adds a moral dimension to his calculus, concluding that some pleasures are more worthy than others.⁸⁵⁴ Arguing that individuals should attempt to align their desires with the intrinsic good of things, Locke indicates that contemplating upon our desires is ultimately in our best interests as we will discover the true value of that which is before us and ultimately change our desires in proportion to an object’s newly revealed worth.⁸⁵⁵ Locke proceeds to further distance himself from Beccaria’s reflections claiming that:

If therefore Men in this Life only have hope; if in this Life they can only enjoy, 'tis not strange, nor unreasonable, that they should seek their Happiness by avoiding all things, that disease them here, and by pursuing all that delight them; wherein it will be no wonder to find variety and difference. For if there be no Prospect beyond the Grave, the inference is certainly right, *Let us eat and drink*, let us enjoy what we delight in, *for tomorrow we shall die*.⁸⁵⁶

Here, Locke reveals the Christian morality which prevents him from condoning the mere pursuit of happiness, as opposed to true happiness. If there were no God to judge us, we could live by the whims of our desires alone. In fact, Locke ultimately sees pleasure and pain as part of God’s design, claiming that God has attached these feelings to our ideas in order to ensure that humankind’s faculties do not remain idle, but are put into perpetual

⁸⁵³ Locke, “Essay”, vol. I, 217.

⁸⁵⁴ Locke, “Essay”, vol. I, 252–3.

⁸⁵⁵ Locke, “Essay”, vol. I, 254–5.

⁸⁵⁶ Locke, “Essay”, vol. I, 255–6.

motion.⁸⁵⁷ Thus, the desires we pursue must be aligned with God's plan, not our own instinctive tastes.

The significance of Locke's interpretation of the motivation of pain and pleasure was its deviation from Hobbes. Claiming that the absence of pleasure motivates human beings, as opposed to the expectation of future pleasure and pain, Locke inverted the theory originally proposed by Hobbes that future hunger for pleasure determines human endeavour, proposing in its place a negative (the removal of pain) as opposed to positive (the expectation of pleasure) view on the hedonistic forces. Locke's work was thus a turning point in the sensationist tradition and as Lisa Shapiro has stated, "we can read the eighteenth-century discussion as beginning from efforts to preserve the Lucian model of sense perception while resolving the tensions around pleasure and pain inherent in his account".⁸⁵⁸ Of great importance for addressing Beccaria's work, Locke's *Essay* had great impact upon Condillac, whose theory of sensations in the *Essai sur l'origine des connoissances humaines* and *Traité des sensations* is often seen as a radicalisation of Locke's theory on sensations combined with the influence of Berkeley and Hutcheson. Condillac sees pain and pleasure as fundamental to all sensory experiences, but what is most pertinent regarding Beccaria's writings, is that Condillac addressed the issue of sensations with greater reference to human physiology than did Locke and treated pain and pleasure as primary sensations akin to light, colour, movement and rest.⁸⁵⁹ Deviating even further from Locke, Condillac presents all sensations as either agreeable or disagreeable, pleasant or painful: there are does no indifferent sensations.

Like Locke, Condillac presented the human mind at birth as a tabula rasa, which he claims operates and develops purely through sensations. To demonstrate this, in his *Traité des sensations* Condillac famously invoked the thought-experiment of the statue, in which he gradually brought the statue to life through each sense in turn, demonstrating how the senses aid one another and form the mind and mental faculties.⁸⁶⁰ It was here that he

⁸⁵⁷ Locke, "Essay", vol. I, 105–6.

⁸⁵⁸ Lisa Shapiro, "Pleasure, Pain and Sense Perception," ed. Aaron Garret, *The Routledge Companion to Eighteenth Century Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 2014), 401.

⁸⁵⁹ Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, ed. Hans Aarsleff, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 11.

⁸⁶⁰ Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Traité des sensations*, vol. I, (London: 1754).

presented the absolute centrality of pain and pleasure as motivating forces. Upon feeling pleasure, Condillac claims, the individual simply wants to preserve that sensation and in experiencing pain, the individual wants to end that feeling.⁸⁶¹ Condillac defines this desire for prolonging pleasure and ending pain as “attention” or awareness, which is not only a key element in self-awareness, as we also see in Locke, but is also vital in the development of memory, which is merely the strengthening of this same awareness.⁸⁶² Once the individual develops memory, they are able to compare experiences, based upon the intensity of the pain or pleasure being experienced, which then leads to acquiring further abilities. Pain and pleasure are thus fundamental in shaping cognitive ability and it is here that we find Condillac truly deviating from Locke. While he supported Locke’s rejection of innate principles and innate ideas, Condillac could not accept his belief in innate mental and sensory faculties, which he also saw as having to be learned from the experience of pain and pleasure. He consequently used the statue to demonstrate that only as it acquires its senses and, in turn, its cognitive abilities, does it become able to experience and perceive its environment. Pain and pleasure are thus not only fundamental, but ultimately play a productive role, as only through these sensations can the cognitive faculty be built up and consequently augment and complicate the experience of pain and pleasure themselves.

The development of the statue enabled Condillac to give a more detailed account than Locke of the process by which external forces act upon the sensory organs and how this was processed by the mind and affected our perception of the world around us. While this was not a complete account, Condillac’s interpretation was the first to bring mind and human physiology as close as he did, claiming that sensitivity was the result of connectivity between the sensory organs and the brain.⁸⁶³ Condillac’s belief in the embodied nature of the senses, above all touch, took him even further away from Locke’s propositions. Condillac thus offered an account of pain and pleasure which not only accounted for human motivation, as had already been provided by Locke, but which transformed the connection between the senses and human knowledge.

⁸⁶¹ Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Traité des sensations*, vol. I, (London: 1754), 9.

⁸⁶² Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, ed. Hans Aarsleff, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.19–26.

⁸⁶³ Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Traité des sensations*, vol. I, (London: 1754), 28.

Beyond this material dimension, Condillac interpreted sensations to be both the response to external objects acting upon our sensory organs and the images of these objects. The latter he saw as the treatment of sensations as ideas – an ability exclusive to human beings – and he denied that sensations were independent from ideas, merely modifying them from the outside. Sensations, he claimed, were as representative of any other thought experienced by the mind.⁸⁶⁴ Like Locke and Beccaria he saw the imagination as a powerful device in the human perception of pain and pleasure

In this state, being entirely absorbed by the perceptions I receive from the senses and by those which the imagination reproduces, I enjoy the most lively pleasures. But arrest the action of the imagination, and it is all gone as if I had been bewitched; I have before my eyes the objects to which I attributed my happiness; I pursue them, but I no longer see them.⁸⁶⁵

However, despite this development in the sensationist tradition, Beccaria did follow Condillac in perceiving pain and pleasure as inseparable from ideas, but rather interpreted them as real feelings with a specific nature.

Just as Condillac took up Locke's views, so Helvétius in turn derived a great part of his theory from Condillac's reflections on sensations. Starting from Condillac's version of Lockean sensationism, Helvétius claimed that mankind is motivated exclusively by the innate desire to augment their pleasures and minimise their pains and this motivation was consequently the driving force behind human industry.⁸⁶⁶ In doing so, he presented a vision of society in which all individuals, regardless of social standing or ability were equally driven by this shared human nature. Like Locke, Helvétius interpreted pleasure to be the momentary cessation of pain and proceeded to argue that pain was the motor of industry, the sciences, arts, intellect, vice and virtue and which formed ideas, desires and actions. However, in contrast to Condillac's analytical investigation into the senses, Helvétius claimed outright that the mind was merely a passive receiver of that which was experienced by the senses and that all sensibility could be reduced to physical sensation alone. While Condillac had advanced a more physiologically based theory than Locke, Helvétius offered

⁸⁶⁴ Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, ed. Hans Aarsleff, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 19–23.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 59–60.

⁸⁶⁶ Claude Adrien Helvétius, *De l'Esprit*, vol. 1, (Sansou, 1784), 256.

an entirely physical sensibility.⁸⁶⁷ While Condillac sees sensations as the source of knowledge, but which will always be replaced by the faculty of reason, Helvétius claimed that sensibility could lead man to both enlightenment and his primitive nature.

It is an account which has obvious parallels with Beccaria's detached view on pain and pleasure. However, perhaps the greatest point of influence that Helvétius' views on sensations had on Beccaria's work more generally, was his conclusion that all individuals are fully equal, not in God's eyes, but in their natural self-interest and fundamental reaction to the impulse of pain and pleasure. Like Beccaria, Helvétius did not put this on a moral plane, but concluded that as this drive inherently and indiscriminately determines all human behaviour, virtue could not be said to rest in the sacrifice of one's desires. Helvétius offers no moral judgement on this self-love; however, he sees the natural and unchangeable self-interest of individuals as problematic for society.⁸⁶⁸ Even in the sociable state, he claims, men cannot turn their attention to the general interest and therefore, considering that they cannot divert their attention away from their own interests, it is better to rid society of the concepts of good and evil, which are synonyms for pain and pleasure and ultimately meaningless, and replace them with the concepts of useful and harmful. While Locke had made the providential claim that individuals should direct themselves towards better pleasures and thus true happiness, Helvétius claimed that men should be directed, by higher powers, towards the "useful", though it is less clear as to how he intended for this to happen. Harcourt has seen this outlook partially mirrored in Beccaria's economic writings. He claims that:

The task of public economy was to mold individuals into more reciprocal and public-minded actors, to diminish self-interest, to correct human foibles. Men needed to be trained, disciplined, made rational in a public-minded way. Left to their own devices, men were weak, biased, and lazy—and these traits needed to be corrected. "It is characteristic of human beings to throw themselves blindly into their present and immediate concerns, neglecting the future," Beccaria declared in his inaugural lecture; "they wish to do much, but with the least possible effort; they are stimulated and regulated by certainty, as much of good as of evil, and are disheartened by arbitrariness and uncertainty."⁸⁶⁹

In truth we find little evidence that Beccaria was as interested in correcting human foibles as he was in profiting from them. As later sections will show, according to Beccaria, society

⁸⁶⁷ Claude Adrien Helvétius, *De l'Esprit*, vol. 1, (Sanson, 1784), 12.

⁸⁶⁸ Claude Adrien Helvétius, *De l'Esprit*, vol. 1, (Sanson, 1784), 184.

⁸⁶⁹ Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets*, 67.

would benefit from men pursuing pleasure, as long as it was not harmful to others, as this was an almost exclusively economic endeavour which would stimulate the circulation of wealth and drive the economy. Moreover, it was not so much individuals who needed directing towards utility as the government responsible for upholding the social contract. However, as Gianni Francioni has underlined, Helvétius' work, above that of Condillac and Locke, did provide Beccaria with a more complete account of human nature and society, which shaped Beccaria's philosophy, not only with regards to his views on sensations, but also the combination of social contract theory and utilitarianism which lies at the heart of *Dei delitti e delle pene*. Francioni claims that Helvétius offered Beccaria "an analysis of society (through a continuous passage from the plane of psychological study to anthropology, from sociology to law, from morality to politics), through a precise and detailed description of the individual, that is, of the simple element in which the complex whole of society can be decomposed and then recomposed."⁸⁷⁰ However, despite his great influence on Beccaria's thought, Helvétius' utilitarian vision ultimately clashes with Beccaria's concerns for the individual.⁸⁷¹

However, while Beccaria was clearly engaged with the core sources of this debate, we see through his networks and biblioscope that he was also responding to a discussion which had arisen out of these theories on sensations, but which approached it from a different perspective, namely from the standpoint of the life sciences and natural history. It is thus possible to partially resituate Beccaria's theory of sentiments in subsequent derivatives of this sensationist tradition, above all Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*, which we have already seen is a recurrent point of analogy with Beccaria's own work. Buffon was greatly influenced by these canon authors, he had even recreated Condillac's statue in the *Histoire Naturelle*, though he sided with Locke on the majority of sensory issues. Nonetheless, Buffon interpreted the sensationist debate from the perspective of the history of nature, providing a far more physiological-anthropological, or "vitalist" account of sensations which bridged philosophical and biological thinking and which we see reflected in Beccaria's understanding of human nature. Buffon's natural history was not only exceedingly popular

⁸⁷⁰ Francioni, "Beccaria, philosophe utilitariste," in *Le bonheur du plus grand nombre*, 33.

⁸⁷¹ Claude Adrien Helvétius, *De l'Esprit*, vol. 1, (Sanson, 1784), 171.

and well-circulated (it was the third most commonly owned publication in France),⁸⁷² it was of particular influence on Pietro Verri's views on happiness and on the *Il Caffè* group more generally. Silvia Contarini has attributed the development of Verri's views on pain and pleasure to Buffon, claiming that the introduction of his assertion that pain is the original sentiment in the later editions of the *Discorso sull'indole del piacere e del dolore* is directly attributable to his reading of Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*.⁸⁷³ However, while Contarini is hesitant to make similar claims for Beccaria, it is vital to note that he too had personally expressed his admiration for volumes XII and XIII of Buffon's natural history – the volumes on quadrupeds in which Jacques Roger claims Buffon “discreetly presented his more daring ideas”⁸⁷⁴ – and Buffon's two opposing views of nature, one being living nature, the other being the infinite universe.⁸⁷⁵

It is above all in Beccaria's claims regarding the communication between the inner and external senses that we find the almost verbatim expression of Buffon's sensory theory. Like Beccaria, Buffon saw no connection between the experience of sensations and the physical sensations acting upon our organs. In discussion of the sensations of animals, Buffon maintains that external objects act upon sensory organs, which then proceed to transmit an impression to the brain, which transforms it into a sensation. From here, the sensation is passed onto the nerves and the muscles, from where it then puts the organism into motion.⁸⁷⁶ These external sensations are found to be pleasant or unpleasant depending on the state and disposition of the animal, which is determined by the inner sense. However, again like Beccaria, Buffon rejects a mechanistic interpretation of this process, stating that sensations do not always stimulate the same reactions but are subjected to a deliberation within the brain in which the sensation is compared to previous experience. Referring to the brain as a solely material organ of “general and common sense”, Buffon argues that this internal sense preserves the memory of sensations the same way that the impression of a bright light remains in the eye long after its passing. His concern in optics

⁸⁷² Daniel Mornet, “Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750-1780),” in *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 17 (1910), 460.

⁸⁷³ Silvia Contarini, “Nota introduttiva,” in *Discorso sull'indole del piacere e del dolore*, eds. Pietro Verri, and Silvia Contarini (Rome: Carocci, 2001).

⁸⁷⁴ Jacques Roger, *Buffon: A Life in Natural History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1997), 153.

⁸⁷⁵ Beccaria to André Morellet (Milan, 26 January 1766), letter 68 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 222–3.

⁸⁷⁶ Roger, *Buffon: A Life in Natural History*, 243.

was not purely metaphorical however, as Buffon, following on from Locke's response to the Molyneux Problem, claimed that intellectual capacity depends upon the senses. He argued that individuals with poor eyesight or who were hard of hearing lacked the sensory tools with which to develop superior intellect as sight, above all, was fundamental to knowledge.

A crucial element of Buffon's argument was the difference he claimed to exist between human beings and animals. While both experienced sensations which were processed by the internal sense, only human beings, by way of the soul, were able to form ideas. Buffon's insistence upon the human soul in his public writings has been the cause of great speculation. Both Jacques Roger and Ann Thomson suggest that Buffon was, if not at heart a materialist, at least doubtful of the immateriality of the soul. Condillac too accused Buffon of materialism believing him to have been contradictory in stating both that matter was insensitive and that animals experience feelings.⁸⁷⁷ Nonetheless, in the *Histoire Naturelle* Buffon claimed that the soul is responsible for all thought, reflection, understanding, memory and reason. It was not a favourable theory for other proponents of the sensationist tradition. Helvétius positioned himself in opposition to Buffon's views at the very start of *De l'esprit* claiming that "Ou l'on regarde l'esprit comme l'effet de la faculté de penser (et l'esprit n'est, en ce sens, que l'assemblage des pensées d'un homme) ou on le considère comme la faculté même de penser".⁸⁷⁸ While Buffon saw the fundamental difference between man and the animals as his possession of a soul that enabled him to think and reflect, Helvétius concluded that there was only a mere physical difference between them, such as the dexterity of their hands. Although he followed Buffon's assertion that thoughts were formed by comparison, or the "association of sensations", Helvétius permitted animals such a faculty, accounting for the inferiority of animals in the lesser number of their thoughts rather than their inability to have them. Condillac too, criticised Buffon's assertion of the soul, claiming that should beasts feel, they feel like human beings do.⁸⁷⁹ Beccaria however, though with much less consideration and conviction, acknowledges the soul resting at the centre of the cognitive process, but his

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid., 341.

⁸⁷⁸ Claude-Adrien Helvétius, *De l'esprit* (Paris, 1758), essay I, ch. 1, esp. n.1.

⁸⁷⁹ Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, "Traité des animaux," (1755) in *Oeuvres philosophiques*, 3 vols, ed. G. Le Roy (Paris, 1947–51).

conclusions regarding the difference between men and animals rest somewhere between those of Helvétius and Buffon. Like both, he too saw mankind as innately superior. Nonetheless, he made the following claim about animals:

Those fierce and shaggy beasts which we see armed with fearful fangs, in addition to being restricted to hot climes and being short-lived and, for that reason, with their more momentary needs, less observant, must be held back from perfecting themselves by the natural perfection of some of their organs and the lack or dullness of others; and since there exists this imbalance in their faculties, all of them will be directed to the operation of the more perfect organs. If an animal is to perfect itself and improve its condition, its needs must be various and distributed across all its faculties; needing and lacking everything, it must have adaptable organs and, at the same time, it must experience enough resistance from the objects surrounding it to necessitate a constant varied experimentation on its part.⁸⁸⁰

Beyond the clear parallels between Beccaria and Buffon's notions of how sensations work physiologically, Buffon also presented a similar vision of the inner turmoil which keeps mankind in a state of displeasure. Unlike animals, who are happy because they are guided purely by feelings, mankind's possession of a soul and thus, reason, renders him unable achieve this state of happiness in adulthood. Individuals reach a state of internal conflict, unable to rationally enjoy what they have as they are tormented by their involuntary passions, which eventually drive them to resent reason itself. This, he claims, is the "point of deepest boredom and that of horrible self-disgust, which leaves us with no other desire than death, and allows us only enough power as is necessary to destroy ourselves".⁸⁸¹ Like Beccaria, Buffon sees individuals as expecting pain even when pursuing pleasure. However, while Beccaria interprets this productively, asserting that the passions can be subdued by reason and that man is continually stimulated to act by this state of boredom, Buffon returns to the issue of the soul, claiming that happiness ought to derive from the peaceful enjoyment of our soul and contemplation and by surrendering to the reality that humankind will never find satisfaction. However, it is possible that Beccaria was also exposed to Buffon's theory via Diderot, whose reflections on sensations, especially regarding the "internal sense", borrowed heavily from the *Histoire Naturelle*. Buffon and Diderot had remained close throughout the period of Buffon's writing and Diderot had demonstrated his dedication to Buffon's theory on multiple occasions. The article

⁸⁸⁰ Beccaria, "Reflections on Barbarousness and Civilisation," in Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 145.

⁸⁸¹ Roger, *Buffon: A Life in Natural History*, 251.

“Animal” in the *Encyclopédie* for instance was merely an annotated extract from the first chapter of Buffon’s history of the animals and the *Pensées sur l’interprétation de la nature* directly cited Buffon’s work. Moreover, Diderot used Buffon’s internal sense in the famous *Lettre sur les aveugles*, originally published in 1749.

There are other clear signs in Beccaria’s networks that he was responding to a further derivative of Buffon’s approach to sensations which was manifesting in Milan among the enlightened reformers and medical community. We see this through his connections to his close friend and colleague Pietro Moscati, the doctor responsible for circulating vitalist ideas in Italy and translating Buffon’s *Natural History* for the Galeazzi publishing house.⁸⁸² Like Buffon, Moscati believed strongly that discussions concerning the nature of the soul and the function of the brain and nerves needed to be connected to the anatomy of the human body and although responsible for spreading Buffon’s ideas in Italy, was also commended for his own works of natural history, especially in Kant’s lectures on anthropology.⁸⁸³ Like Buffon, Moscati’s views were of great influence on the *Il Caffè* group and the article “La Medicina” contained a passionate defence of the vitalist stance against a purely mechanistic interpretations of organisms, repeating Moscati’s words to the letter:

La medicina altro non è che la fisica applicata al corpo umano, cioè a quella macchina la quale anche al dì d’oggi è molto imperfettamente conosciuta e non lo sarà forse mai in tutta la sua estensione. Le parti nobili del corpo umano non potiamo noi vederle mai nell’esercizio loro, ma bensì inerti e già mutate da quel fenomeno insigne che chiamasi morte, per cui dallo stato di materia organizzata passa la spoglia umana a quello di semplice materia: né coll’aiuto de’ nostri sensi, benché assistiti da’ più perfetti stromenti ottici, possiamo noi ragionevolmente lusingarci di seguitare l’organizzazione sino ai minimi elementi da’ quali forse deriva il principio fisico del moto, della circolazione, della traspirazione, del nodrimento e di tant’altre riparazioni e perdite e modificazioni diverse di materia che rendono mirabile egualmente che oscura l’indole di un corpo organizzato. Che se sì denso è il velo che ci nasconde i principii per i quali vive, movesi, genera e si nutre un corpo posto in sanità, cioè un corpo posto in quello stato sul quale ci è lecito fare maggior numero di sperienze, poiché stato comune alla maggior parte degli uomini; quanto più dovete voi credere che siano oscuri i principii che guastano l’ordine della economia

⁸⁸² For more on Moscati see Edoardo Proverbio, “Sulle ricerche pneumatiche, sulla respirazione, circolazione e composizione del sangue, sulla salubrità dell’aria e sullo studio delle arie, su nuovi strumenti meteorologici e sui primi strumenti a registrazione continua progettati e utilizzati a Milano nella seconda metà del settecento, come applicazione delle nuove scienze di chimica dei gas alla medicina sociale: il contributo di Pietro Moscati,” in *Atti Della Fondazione Giorgio Ronchi*, vol. 62 (2007).

⁸⁸³ Pietro Moscati, trans. Johann Beckmann, *Von dem Körperlichen wesentlichen Unterscheide zwischen der Struktur der Tiere und der Menschen* (Gottingen, 1771).

animale, e fanno passar l'uomo dallo stato di sanità a quello di malattia!⁸⁸⁴

Moreover, it is Moscati's work which predominately shapes Beccaria's reflections on the senses in his *Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile*. It is here that Beccaria demonstrates his knowledge of the key debates concerning the sensory organs, though he declines to offer more than some "general observations" and views of "excellent authors". He does however provide a rare reference to Moscati's *Indice de' discorsi anatomici che si tengono pubblicamente nel teatro della Regia Università di Pavia, fatto per uso de' giovani studenti di medicina e chirurgia. Parte prima, che contiene la descrizione de' visceri*, though he does not attribute it to Moscati directly:

Ognuno che ha lumi su di questa importante materia fa che gli organi de' sensi, i quali ricevono le impressioni degli oggetti esterni per mezzo de' nervi che servono ad un tal uso trasmettono tali impressioni nella sostanza del cervello, ove questi stessi nervi hanno una comune origine; ora questa comune origine chiamasi sensorio comune, ai movimenti del quale poi corrispondono altrettante e diverse idee dell'anima: cossichè se i movimenti son molti, molte sieno le idee, se i movimenti sieno distinti, distinti sono le idee, se quelli sieno deboli o confusi, parimenti poco vivaci o perturbate siano queste. Ciò supposto; in quella maniera che l'anima distingue le percezioni in lei eccitate all'occasione dell'impressioni della luce, che l'occhio trasmette dalle percezioni eccitate all'occasione delle impressioni del suono per mezzo dell'orecchio prodotte in questo comune sensorio, nella stessa maniera possono eccitarsi nell'anima percezioni distinte, e diverse dall'percezioni della luce e del suono, quando la luce ed il suono trasmettendo le impressioni loro nel comune sensorio possano eccitare oltre i movimenti, che occasionano le dette percezioni, altri movimenti ancora.⁸⁸⁵

Moscati claimed that:

The physical structure of man is not substantially different to that of beasts in the external composition of the body, nor is the internal organisation of the organs, that serve to nourish, keep them alive and multiply, nor finally in the more complicated composition of the sensory organs: So if any bodily difference exists between the human structure and that of beasts, it cannot be this, that in the brain and in the nerves, the parts only necessary for the larger animals.⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁸⁴ Pietro Verri, "La Medicina," in *Il Caffè*, 201–2.

⁸⁸⁵ Beccaria, "Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 135–6.

⁸⁸⁶ Pietro Moscati, *Delle corporee differenze essenziali che passano fra la struttura de' bruti, e la umana. Discorso accademico letto nel teatro anatomico della regia università di Pavia dal dott. Pietro Moscati ... l'anno de' cristiani 1770, e primo della restaurazione della università* (Milan: Galeazzi, 1770), 46: "Non è la fisica struttura dell'uomo sostanzialmente diversa da quella de' bruti nella esteriore costituzione di corpo, non lo è nella interna organizzazione delle viscere, non finalmente nella fabbrica più complicata degli organi de' sensi: Sicchè se alcuna differenza corporea pur è fra l'umana struttura e quella de' bruti, non può questa essere, che nel cervello, e ne' nervi, le quali parti sole necessarissime alla vita degli animali più grandi."

Moscatti, like Buffon before him, saw the human ability to reflect and reason as the fundamental divergence between man and beast. However, he deviated from Buffon's position, like Helvétius, to conclude that it was the quantitative as opposed to qualitative output of the brain that made such distinction possible. Moreover, Moscati did not follow Buffon in claiming that the soul was the essence of the thinking mind, but merely the structure of the nerves and of the brain. This assertion did not escape the notice of the Milanese academic community. In an exchange of letters between the Verri brothers, we find Pietro promising to send his brother Moscati's *Delle corporee differenze essenziali che passano fra la struttura de' bruti e l'umana* and he remarks with enthusiasm not on Moscati's anatomical arguments, but rather on the cultural and philosophical repercussions of the text's materialist leanings.⁸⁸⁷ Other contemporary commentators were unsurprisingly less enthused, but only one in particular, *Della naturale umana bipede posizione. Lettera critica scritta dall'autore de' Contadini al signor dottor Pietro Moscati* by Giovan Battista Vasco, provided an articulate and "scientific" refutation of Moscati's theory of bipeds and quadrupeds, and which, unlike the more incensed works of Giuseppe Po and Silvio Donato, we can also trace in Beccaria's biblioscope.⁸⁸⁸

The admiration for Moscati's work among the Milanese reformers was not purely due to his views on sensations, but also with respect to his ambition to reclassify nature. Dissatisfied with both the Linnaean and Buffonian taxonomies which he found to be too arbitrary, Moscati planned to categorise nature by anatomy alone. Again, this provoked great discussion among the Verri brothers:

Moscatti is currently printing his course of anatomy lessons... He wants to prove that the divisions that have been made in natural history are quite arbitrary... Linnaeus puts the shrimp in the flea class and the bat with the cat. Buffon divides the animals to fit the need and usefulness of man. But the horse, the dog, the ox may not be closer to the Greenlander or the Laplander and the natural history must be for the human race. Moscati would like to count on the anatomy of the animals and the inherent differences between them will generate the classes. Other animals, such as the octopus, are merely a simple muscle, others have neither brain, nor nerves, others no blood, nor arteries etc.; These would be the real classes to divide the living. From which, perhaps, very important theories would arise, for which we would see the fierce true being of each, who have that part, sensitivity, prudence, agility, memory, perhaps the combination of ideas; With time, we will

⁸⁸⁷ Pietro Verri to Alessandro Verri (Milan, 14 February 1770), in *Carteggio di Pietro e di Alessandro Verri*, vol. III, eds. F. Novati and E. Greppi, (Milan: Cogliati, 1911), 215.

⁸⁸⁸ Giovan Battista Vasco, *Della naturale umana bipede posizione. Lettera critica scritta dall'autore de' Contadini al signor dottor Pietro Moscati*.

see the classes of such muscles or intestines.⁸⁸⁹

As Verri makes clear, the repercussions of Moscati's taxonomy would bring to light the sensations, the mind and the ideas of each class, perhaps giving a better understanding of how the human mind works and its relation to that of the animals. The enthusiasm for Moscati's system is particularly pertinent considering Beccaria's use and criticism of the Linnaean classification throughout the *Elementi di economia pubblica* where he claims that "economists are wont to divide the arts solely for the class of materials they employ, and as these are natural productions, so they divide them into the animal kingdom, the vegetable kingdom and the mineral kingdom."⁸⁹⁰ However, while this division can be used to give "an exact nomenclature" it is not sufficient to successfully categorise them and thus should indicate the importance to any nation of promoting the natural sciences for the benefit of political economy. The classification of nature thus appears to have been interpreted by the Milanese reformers as a useful endeavour in other sciences of the state, such as economics and good governance.

Moscati and Diderot's works alongside Beccaria's interaction with the sensationist views of Buffon, Condillac Locke and Helvétius, inevitably brings us back to the question of Beccaria's dialogue with materialist views. Materialism is by no means reducible to sensationist arguments alone, nor is it a tradition which remained stable throughout the eighteenth century, but as the previous two chapters have shown, Beccaria was exposed to a particular set of materialist writings and circles in France, of which Buffon and Diderot were a part. Beccaria was not engaging with other, often connected, dimensions of the materialist tradition, such as atheism, but was reacting to a smaller subset of French materialist views which focused in particular on the physiological underpinnings of

⁸⁸⁹ Pietro Verri to Alessandro Verri (Milan, 9 January 1768) in *Carteggio di Pietro e di Alessandro Verri*, vol. I, (Milan: Cogliati, 1910), 129–130: "Moscati stampa attualmente il suo corso di lezioni di anatomia... Egli vuol provare che le divisioni che si sono fin'ora fatte nella storia naturale sono troppo arbitrarie: ... Linneo pone il gambero nella classe della pulce e il pipistrello col gatto. Buffon ha diviso gli animali a misura del bisogno e utilità dell'uomo. Ma il cavallo, il cane, il bue forse non sono i più vicini all'uomo groenlando e lapone e la storia naturale debb'essere per l'uman genere. Moscati vorrebbe che da molti si tentasse l'anatomia sugli animali e dalla intrinseca differenza di essi ne nascessero le classi. Altri animali, come il polipo, non sono che un semplice muscolo, altri non hanno nè cervello, nè nervi, altri non sangue, nè arterie ecc.; queste sarebbero le classi reali da dividere i viventi. Da ciò ne nascerebbero forse delle teorie importantissime, per le quali vederessimo la ferocia essere propria di quei soli, che hanno la tal parte, la sensibilità, la prudenza, l'agilità, la memoria, la combinazione delle idee forse; col tempo le vedremo proprie delle classi dotate dei tali muscoli o intestini ecc."

⁸⁹⁰ Beccaria, "Elementi di economica pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 256.

sensations. We see this in Beccaria's interest in other texts, such as d'Holbach's *Système de la Nature*, which had also connected the physiological composition of the body to the existence of the mind, the formation of ideas and the activity of sensation and perception, as well as the absence of core materialists, such as La Mettrie, who were less involved in the biological discussions. More generally speaking, beyond the similarities in the physiological basis of their theories of sensations, Beccaria's approach to philosophy echoed the strain of materialism which relied on an embodied set of theories deriving from discussions in the life sciences and medicine. The preference of eighteenth-century materialists to turn to these life sciences for explanation above the more traditional fields of mathematics, physics and mechanics, is not only explicitly stated in Beccaria's theoretical writings, but is found in his practical administrative endeavours. However, Beccaria does not embrace materialism any more deeply than this. While his account of human nature addresses the senses, the mind, language, happiness and intelligence, in greater and lesser detail, he stays clear of any dedicated discussion on the nature of the soul and certainly does not question its existence. On this note, we can remark on the absence of any reflection on generation in Beccaria's writings. Despite the importance of Buffon's work in shaping Beccaria's understanding of sensations, we curiously find little evidence that Beccaria was actively responding to his views on reproduction or the more general debate on this issue as had preoccupied materialists such as Diderot and Maupertuis. This is made even more surprising considering the connections we have found him to have had with key figures in this discussion, such as Lazzaro Spallanzani. Moreover, his biblioscope shows that he clearly had a keen awareness of the subject. The works of Charles Bonnet in particular, feature heavily both in citations and Beccaria's book purchasing habits, and we have already seen that Spallanzani sent Beccaria the manuscript of his response to Bonnet's *Contemplation de la nature*. Nonetheless, Beccaria's engagement with Buffon's physiological account of sensations and the corresponding views of Moscati and Diderot in parallel with his receptiveness to the philosophical interpretations of Locke, Helvétius and Condillac is an important juncture in his thought. While he might not have fully embraced materialist topics in his own work, he was clearly intrigued and knowledgeable of the spectrum of materialist literature.

Pain, pleasure and political economy

Beccaria's hedonistic reflections on happiness were also grounded in a strong Italian tradition of political economy and political philosophy, which we have already seen formed a large portion of his biblioscope. While earlier Italian works such as Muratori's 1747 *Della pubblica felicità* had presented paternalistic outlooks on happiness couched within the context of enlightened Catholicism, reflections from the 1760s onwards demonstrated a clear trend wherein sensationist interpretations of happiness variously formed the foundation for arguments in favour of a free market. The role of pain and pleasure was particularly important for the proponents of the Milanese school of political economy which, Porta has argued, was the result of two strains of intellectual influence: moral newtonianism, above all that found in Smith's *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* and *History of Astronomy*, and the sensationalism and materialism of La Mettrie, Maupertuis, Condillac, d'Alembert, d'Holbach, Diderot, Helvétius and Sade.⁸⁹¹ The most important exponent of this theory was Pietro Verri whose *Meditazioni sulla felicità* (1763) is among the most frequently occurring titles in Beccaria's biblioscope. Verri's argument has clear resonance in Beccaria's writings on happiness. Verri defines the end of the social pact as "the wellbeing of each individual who joins together to form society, who do so in order that this wellbeing becomes absorbed into the public happiness, or rather the greatest possible happiness divided with the greatest equality possible".⁸⁹² Like Beccaria, Verri similarly perceived pain to be the motivating principle stimulating man to act, claiming that it was a natural stimulus goading man out of his vegetative state and propelling him instinctively towards self-improvement.⁸⁹³ Beccaria followed Verri not only in his acknowledgement of happiness as the ends of the social contract and as stimulated by pain and pleasure, but also in his identification of happiness as being unobtainable, almost like "a dream".⁸⁹⁴ Verri argued that man was tormented by his imagination which drove him to strive for new pleasures and prevented him from enjoying existing possessions. The imagination amplifies

⁸⁹¹ Pier Luigi Porta, Text of the Blanqui Lecture entitled: "The School of Milan: Competition and Public Happiness in Pietro Verri's Political Economy," delivered at the XIII ESHEP Annual Conference, Thessaloniki, 23 April 2009, 9.

⁸⁹² Pietro Verri, "Meditazioni sulla felicità," in *Scritti Vari di Pietro Verri*, vol. I, ed. Giulio Carcano (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1854).

⁸⁹³ Pietro Verri in *Meditazioni sulla economia politica*, ed. Renzo De Felice (Milan: Edizioni Bruno Mondadori, 1998), 19: "Il bisogno, cioè la sensazione del dolore, è il pungolo col quale la natura scuote l'uomo e lo desta da quell'indolente stato di vegetazione, in cui senza questo giacerebbe."

⁸⁹⁴ Pietro Verri, "Meditazioni sulla felicità," in *Scritti Vari*.

the evils and pains man fears, alongside the desires he craves, provoking him to value capricious over real needs as he is constantly seeking the improvement of his existing condition.⁸⁹⁵ This is echoed in Beccaria's assertion that happiness does not come from momentary enjoyments, but from the constant pursuit of pleasure which derives from the anxiety of pain. However, Verri interpreted happiness to be more explicitly calculable than is articulated in Beccaria's writings. While Beccaria described his theory of happiness using mathematical language,⁸⁹⁶ he stopped short of Verri's assertion that happiness was achieved through reducing the mathematical difference between, on the one hand the desires stimulated by sensitivity to pains and, on the other, the "power" required to satisfy these desires. Using this algebraic formula to calculate happiness, Verri argued that the excess of desires above the "power" to achieve these desires was consequently the measure of unhappiness. Happiness could thus be reached through either the subtraction of desires, or the addition of "power" to the equation.⁸⁹⁷ The addition of power was the more constructive option, as Verri suggests that it is better suited to man's inherent desire for gain and can be capitalised upon by the economy through increased labour and circulation of wealth. Although Verri uses an equation to reach this conclusion, it is little different to Beccaria's view that the social contract ought to facilitate the greatest access to pleasures to all contracting individuals. In fact, both authors similarly interpreted that the power needed to pursue these desires should stem from engagement in commerce. For Verri and Beccaria, the only remedy available to empower the individual is thus to extend economic

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid., 69: "L'immaginazione d'ogni uomo è sempre disposta ad ingrandire i mali che temiamo e i beni egualmente che desideriamo".

⁸⁹⁶ Beccaria's work is more generally filled with metaphors from mathematics and the experimental sciences, for example: Beccaria, "Dei delitti e delle pene," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 121: "è meglio prevenire i delitti che punirgli. Questo è il fine principale d'ogni buona legislazione, che è l'arte di condurre gli uomini al massimo di felicità o al minimo d'infelicità possibile, per parlare secondo tutt'i calcoli dei beni e dei mali della vita. Ma i mezzi impiegati fin ora sono per lo più falsi ed opposti al fine proposto. Non è possibile il ridurre la turbolenta attività degli uomini ad un ordine geometricosenza irregolarità e confusione. Come le costanti e semplicissime leggi della natura non impediscono che i pianeti non si turbino nei loro moviment, così nelle infinite ed oppostissime attrazioni del piacere e del dolore, non possono impedirsene dalle leggi umane i turbamente ed il disordine."; Ibid., 84: "A misura che i supplicii diventano più crudeli, gli animi umani, che come i fluidi si mettono sempre a livello cogli oggetti che gli circondano, s'incalliscono, e la forza sempre viva delle passioni fa che, copo cent'anni di crudeli supplicii, la ruota spaventi tanto quanto prima la prigione."

⁸⁹⁷ Pietro Verri, "Meditazioni sulla felicità," in *Scritti Vari di Pietro Verri*, vol. I, ed. Giulio Carcano (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1854), 68: "L'eccesso de'nostri desiderj sopra il potere è la misura della infelicità", "Le operazioni adunque da farsi per allontanarci dall'infelicità sono o diminuire i desiderj, o accrescere il potere, o l'uno e l'altro insieme."

freedoms and equality of enterprise. If the “greatest happiness distributed with the greatest equality possible”⁸⁹⁸ forms the objective of good governance, there is consequently an obligation to ensure that each individual has the equal opportunity to pursue happiness, as interpreted as the pursuit of wealth. This responsibility requires the government to realise man’s natural inclination towards improvement, providing the necessary tools to empower him in his pursuit of desire. Through the removal of monopolies, primogeniture inheritance and privilege, and restrictions to the market, each individual is granted equal liberty to engage in economic activities which potentially maximise their own happiness within the boundaries of the social contract, in turn fulfilling the legislator’s aims of aligning both private and public interests. Verri stresses that privileges are diametrically opposed to the good of the state,⁸⁹⁹ and that it is difficult to find examples of industries which have benefitted from the privilege system.⁹⁰⁰ Instead, by removing those obstacles which lie in the way of man’s desire to improve his lot, the whole of society “gains vigour”, as equal opportunity in commerce based on civil liberty inspires the market competition necessary for economic development.⁹⁰¹ By removing economic restrictions, Verri’s model ensures that there is an equal distribution of opportunity to achieve personal wealth as well as maintaining a level of inequality proportional to the state’s economic growth.⁹⁰² As the free market system perpetuates individual competition due to the constant circulation of wealth arising from the individual’s pursuit of personal interests, it consequently prevents either gross inequalities or a perfect equality of wealth from occurring, both of which would be destructive to the economy.⁹⁰³ As in Beccaria’s theory, it is inequality between individuals, rather than between classes, which keeps the clockwork of political economy

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid., 93: “maggiore felicità possibile ripartita colla maggiore uguaglianza possibile.”

⁸⁹⁹ Pietro Verri, “Meditazioni sulla economia politica,” in *Scritti Vari di Pietro Verri*, ed. Renzo De Felice, 46: “tutte le privative e tutti i privilegi esclusivi sono diametralmente contrario al bene di un Stato.”

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., 47: “ma difficilmente me si troverà una coltura, una fabbrica, un artificio che siasi costantemente sostenuto ed abbia ridotto il suo oggetto a perfezione, ottentuto che ebbe il privilegio esclusivo.”

⁹⁰¹ Ibid., 39: “così nelle società accader deve che tutto prenda lena e vigore e si riscaldi, quando il desiderio di migliorare la sorte non incontri ostacolo, e possa per ogni dove spignersi e largamente e sicuramente signoreggiare.”

⁹⁰² Ibid., 124: “Un mercato fondato su una simile potenziale eguaglianza era la miglior possibile garanzia di prosperità economica.”

⁹⁰³ Ibid., 36: “Nella troppa disuguaglianza delle fortune, egualmente che nella perfetta eguaglianza, l’annua riproduzione si restringe al puro necessario e l’industria s’annienta.”

ticking over, especially as such inequality reflects nature itself, which would permit just enough inequality to perpetuate industry.⁹⁰⁴

While Beccaria's views on happiness appear to almost mirror those of Pietro Verri, we can find other points of parity within the Milanese tradition, such as Beccaria's fellow *Il Caffè* writer Giuseppe Gorani, whose works we find referenced in the biblioscope.⁹⁰⁵ Echoes are similarly found within the Neapolitan tradition of political economy. Most importantly, we can situate Beccaria's neo-Epicurean outlook within the tradition of *economica civile* of Antonio Genovesi, the first person to hold a chair of political economy and Ferdinando Galiani, another remarkable Neapolitan economist (though not strictly of the Neapolitan school) who, like Beccaria, ended up serving in the Neapolitan administration. Although Genovesi and Galiani's economic theories are strikingly different, both ultimately approached happiness as a hedonistic calculation, as did another Neapolitan, Giacinto Dragonetti, author of *Delle virtù de' Premi* published in 1766 (also featured in Beccaria's biblioscope), who likewise claimed that "the science of the politician consists in fixing the true point of happiness and freedom. Those men would deserve the gratitude of ages, who should discover a mode of government that contained the greatest sum of individual happiness, with the least national expense".⁹⁰⁶ All these writers, both Milanese and Neapolitan, interpreted the hedonistic calculation above all in economic terms and it was this economic focus, perhaps more so than the philosophical reflections of Locke, Condillac and Helvétius, which was vital in shaping Beccaria's understanding of happiness as it placed human nature into an institutional framework – the economy – and enabled Beccaria to propose reforms which were both grounded in human nature and obtainable within the existing societal structures.

Within this same genre of political economy, the biblioscope and Beccaria's networks have repeatedly raised the issue of Beccaria's relationship to physiocratic thought. Scholarship

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., 26: "Ed ecco come la natura medesima, quando da sé sola operasse, prenderebbe a trattare gli uomini tutti da madre benefica, correggendo gli eccessi e i difetti in ogni parte, distribuendo i beni e i mali a misura dell'attività e sapienza dei popoli, e lasciando fra di essi quella sola disuguaglianza di livello che basti a tenere in moto i desideri e l'industria".

⁹⁰⁵ Giuseppe Gorani, *Imposte secondo l'ordine della natura; Il vero dispotismo; Riflessioni in risposta ad una lettera del signor Linguet al celebre marchese Beccaria*.

⁹⁰⁶ Giacinto Dragonetti, *Delle virtù e de' premj* (Venice, 1767), 154: "la scienza dei politici consiste in trovare il vero punto, fin cui gli uomini possano essere felici e liberi."

more generally has often underplayed the relevance and acceptance of physiocracy among the Milanese reformers. Hochstrasser, for instance, claims that “the physiocratic agenda was subordinated to the increasingly divergent local visions of an agricultural or manufacturing future for Lombardy”.⁹⁰⁷ He continues to argue that the political implications of Physiocracy’s political economy, were not:

Regarded as pressingly relevant to Italian conditions, where consideration of how to increase the size of the population and the abundance of commodities tended to weigh more heavily. Moreover, Galiani’s critique of physiocracy (together with Forbonnais’ *Elements du commerce* of 1754) swayed opinion away from physiocracy by questioning its moral integrity and political reliability in tandem, and helped to direct attention towards consideration of Rousseau’s political economy instead, especially his account of social inequality. These are some of the issues, alongside the role of public opinion and public education, that are treated with real sophistication by Gaetano Filangieri in his *Scienza della legislazione* (1780–5).⁹⁰⁸

In this same vein, Bernhard Harcourt, who interprets Beccaria predominately as a cameralist, has made great efforts in demonstrating that the economic and political philosophy lying behind Beccaria’s and the physiocrats’ beliefs were incompatible, claiming that Beccaria’s model of *police* and his desire not for “the liberalization of trade, but rather the intense administration of markets and commerce,” was anathema to the physiocratic doctrine. Moreover, he claims, the physiocrats (Du Pont especially) saw Beccaria’s thought as essentially cameral in nature. It is true that Du Pont repeatedly criticised Beccaria’s economics. The announcement of Beccaria’s appointment of the Chair of Cameral Sciences in the *Ephemerides du Citoyen* included a detailed and disparaging description of the differences between Beccaria’s and the physiocrats’ views, above all regarding the right to property.⁹⁰⁹ When the journal later published the translation of Beccaria’s inaugural lecture, it was again accompanied by damning criticism in Du Pont’s voice.⁹¹⁰ In his extended critique, Du Pont concluded that Beccaria’s views were shortsighted and dangerous, that he mistook error for truth, and that his vision of politics and economics would ultimately impoverish the nation. When not purely deriding Beccaria’s statements for being

⁹⁰⁷ Timothy Hochstrasser, “Physiocracy and the Politics of Laissez-faire,” in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, eds. Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 439.

⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 439.

⁹⁰⁹ *Éphémérides du citoyen, ou bibliothèque raisonnée des sciences morales et politiques*, 1769, vol. 3, 159–181.

⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 53–152.

meaningless,⁹¹¹ Du Pont criticised specific aspects, such as his views on smuggling and contraband and other more cameral policies, like the subsidization of transportation, the increase in exports of manufactured goods and the increase of tariffs on these exports.⁹¹²

However, while Harcourt has emphasised that Beccaria was probably not exposed to physiocratic thought during his time in Paris, holding that “he first came to the attention of the physiocrats in 1769 as a result of the publication in Italy of his inaugural lecture delivered in Milan on January 9 of that year; the chevalier Louis Claude Bigot de Sainte Croix, secretary to the French embassy in Turin and a disciple of Quesnay, initiated contact with Beccaria in March 1769 and offered to translate the inaugural lecture into French”,⁹¹³ the networks recovered in the previous chapters indicate that Beccaria might have had a longer standing and greater connection to this group and their ideas than Harcourt’s interpretation suggests, principally in terms of the physiocratic literature within his view and especially with regards to Du Pont, Quesnay and the *Éphémérides du citoyen*.⁹¹⁴ With this in mind, we can look beyond the physiocrats’ criticism of Beccaria’s economic policy to their interpretations of human nature where we find a clear connection between Beccaria’s views on the motivating forces of pains and pleasures and those of Du Pont and Quesnay, in particular, regarding their role in both individual cognitive and societal development. Quesnay claimed that sociability stemmed from “involuntary sensibility to physical pleasure and pain” which motivated individuals to provide for themselves and, upon realising the need to secure the fruits of their labour, stimulated them to unite in society.⁹¹⁵ Nature, “wanted the reunion of men in society; it is she finally who makes *sensible* to them the necessity of society, and that of the conditions to which they must submit in order for society to form and perpetuate itself.”⁹¹⁶ This interpretation subsequently led the physiocrats to conclude that the state must not be artificial but based upon natural governance. It is a vision of the origins of society that no doubt spoke to Beccaria. He too saw pain and pleasure as the motivation to act and as forming the basis of the social

⁹¹¹ Ibid., 68.

⁹¹² Ibid., 68.

⁹¹³ Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets*, 60.

⁹¹⁴ We know that Beccaria was sent the work of both these authors: Pierre-Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, *De l’origine et des progrès d’une science nouvelle* (1768); and Quesnay and Du Pont de Nemours, *Physiocratie, ou Constitution naturelle du gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre humain*.

⁹¹⁵ Quesnay in Mercier de la Rivière, *L’Ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques* (1767), 610.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid., 610.

contract. Although the ensuing economic programme resulting from this understanding of nature differs significantly between the physiocrats (who, interpreting agriculture to be the only productive part of the economy, believed that only it – nature – should be taxed. By contrast, industry and commerce, which merely transformed agriculture’s value, should not) and Beccaria, the degree to which they start from a similar anthropological perception of human nature is discernible. Take the description offered by Baudeau in the *Éphémérides du citoyen* for instance, where, as in Beccaria’s thought, the natural stimulus of pain and pleasure drove natural man to survive and it likewise drives contemporary man to engage in economic activity:

Man is born to seek his preservation and his well-being. His heart is fervent and even insatiable for the enjoyments which form his happiness; he flees and detests pain and displeasure. The Author of nature has placed in all our souls this universal source and primary motivation of human action: it was necessary for the perpetuation, multiplication and the happiness of the species. It is through this that the reasonable, free man can know the principles of the moral and political order, the natural law and the social law.⁹¹⁷

The physiocrats, possibly more than any other group, demonstrate the links between natural history and economics, as was of such importance in Beccaria’s thought. The very name “physiocracy” was coined by Nicolas Budeau to mean “the rule of nature” and Quesnay, co-founder of the school, was a “student” of Hermann Boerhaave and Stephen Hales. Much has been made of the figurative connection of nature and economy in the physiocratic doctrine, especially regarding the analogy between the body politic and the human body, the Cartesian influence upon Quesnay’s circulatory system of wealth, and the impact of Franklin’s theory of negative and positive electricity,⁹¹⁸ as well as the personal fascination of the physiocrats with developments in the physical sciences. However, this connection stretched beyond the use of concepts and imagery alone. It cannot be argued that Beccaria was actively embracing physiocracy, but he was nonetheless responding to its views regarding the origins and nature of humankind (above all those of Du Pont and Quesnay) to a greater degree than scholars like Hochstrasser have claimed (“physiocratic ideas were welcomed, but only at points where they were most easily assimilable to debates that were already under way”).⁹¹⁹ Although Beccaria outright rejected the core economic

⁹¹⁷ *Éphémérides du citoyen*, vol. 1, 17-18.

⁹¹⁸ Jessica Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility: The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 57.

⁹¹⁹ Hochstrasser, “Physiocracy and the Politics of Laissez-faire,” 439.

principles of physiocracy, such as market regulation, we can take his knowledge of physiocratic principles as testament to his concern with how knowledge of human nature and the evolution of society ought to shape the institutional framework of society.

It is interesting here to compare Beccaria's response to physiocracy to that of cameralism, as the two are often considered antagonistic forms of political economy. As we have just seen, Beccaria was academically much more responsive to physiocracy in terms of literature and key individuals, but as Chapter V and VI will show, he appears to have embraced cameralist practices to a much higher degree. However, there are points of commonality between Beccaria's views on human nature and those of forerunning cameralist thinkers, above all regarding the concept of happiness or *Glückseligkeit*. Like Beccaria, many cameralists had tried to ground their economic and political arguments philosophically. Justi, for instance, had presented what he termed his "political metaphysics" (*politische Metaphysik*), whereby he addressed human nature, the state and natural law in order to provide a foundation for the cameral sciences.⁹²⁰ Justi embraced an anthropological approach to the state and society, claiming that natural rights originate from the human instinct towards individual well-being. Social life is thus the result of engaging in cooperation, which makes individual well-being more achievable. From this Justi makes the claim that, "now if it is the particular will and ultimate purpose of every individual to be happy, the united will and ultimate purpose of a group of individuals can only be collective well-being."⁹²¹ Basing his understanding of society on human nature in this way, Justi, much like Beccaria, proceeds to present a negative and individualistic picture of liberty where society is formed by independent individuals in order to protect and augment their well-being. The state, being formed by such individuals, has the exclusive function of providing the circumstances under which such well-being is achievable.

The connections made by Justi between human nature, society, and the purpose of the state, are foundational precepts not dissimilar to those underpinning the arguments of Beccaria and even Du Pont and the physiocrats, and we can posit that while Beccaria was

⁹²⁰ J.H.G. von Justi, *Die Natur und das Wesen der Staaten, als die Grundwissenschaft der Staatskunst, der Policy, und aller Regierungswissenschaften, desgleichen als die Quelle aller Gesetze*, (1771 [1760]). (Reprint of the second edition: Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1969).

⁹²¹ *Ibid.*, § 31.

neither physiocrat nor cameralist, he shared a similar concern with grounding his political philosophy in human nature. These two approaches both presented frameworks of economic, social and state systems based upon anthropological precepts, as did Beccaria. There was a broader political anthropology underlying these three systems, but as each then proceeded to address the subsequent practicalities of this foundation in very different terms it is worth questioning whether Beccaria was just providing another possible practical framework of institutional and social reform which, like those of physiocracy and cameralism, attended to the core question of how best to provide and use this individualist and instinctive human nature for the public good.

Ignorance, enlightenment and the stages of civilisation:

Beccaria's political anthropology

Beccaria first lays out his impression of the state of nature in *Dei delitti e delle pene*, describing how isolated and independent human beings, tired of living in a continual state of war, unite in society.⁹²² It is not until he writes the *Elementi di economia pubblica* that we see Beccaria reflect at any length on the state of nature and mankind's formation of society producing an anthropological account of human history. Here, Beccaria provides a more detailed account of the transition to sociability, which appears to be a slower process of acclimatisation than is presented in *Dei delitti e delle pene*. Starting from the same foundation of isolated human beings, Beccaria claims that individuals unite in society because their needs continuously bring them together. Naked, unarmed and weak when alone, when organised, human beings can put their hands and abilities together to abet any need or defeat any enemy and are able to work the land to their advantage:⁹²³

Gli uomini sono riuniti in società perché hanno reciproci bisogni che gli riuniscono incessantemente. Nudi e disarmati, e perciò deboli da per se stessi, ma organizzati in modo che la riunione delle loro braccia e della loro forze diventa riparatrice d'ogni bisogno, e terribile contro ai nemici... in tali circostanze gli uomini sono costretti a procacciarsi l'alimento colla industria e colla fatica, non bastando le spontanee produzioni della terra; debbono coprire le ignude carni non vestite dalla natura, debbono mettersi al coperto dalle

⁹²² Beccaria, "Dei delitti e delle pene," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 25–6: "quali uomini indipendenti ed isolati si unirono in società, stanchi di vivere in un continuo stato di guerra e di godere una libertà resa inutile dall'incertezza di conservarla."

⁹²³ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica, materiali preparatori e stesure rifiutate," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 595.

intemperie delle stagioni, mentre la facile di loro moltiplicazione gli spande in tutti i climi; devono armarsi e difendersi contro gli assalti delle bestie feroci.⁹²⁴

It is a vision of the state of nature which is in contrast to both poles of the social contract debate. On the one hand, Beccaria criticises the Rousseauian notion of the state of nature that “some melancholy philosophers” have presented, wherein men, “girded with strength and vigour” are “represented as enjoying a state of somnolence or indolence rather than the boredom that oppresses or goads civilised men”.⁹²⁵ On the other hand, he criticises the Hobbesian interpretation of the state of nature. As a writer who left few explicit intellectual landmarks, Beccaria denial in “To the Reader” of Hobbes’ claim that no obligations existed in the state of nature is particularly remarkable, and places him closer to Locke’s perspective on natural law:

It would be... mistaken for anyone discussing the state of war which obtained before the establishment of society to interpret it in Hobbesian sense, that is, to deny that there were duties and obligations anterior to the establishment of society, instead of interpreting this state as a fact born of human corruption and the lack of any express sanction. It would also be a mistake to accuse a writer, who is pondering the commandments of the social contract, of denying that there are any duties or obligations prior to the contract itself.⁹²⁶

For Beccaria it is the exhaustion from fear, as opposed to fear itself, which stimulates humankind to come together in society as, in Beccaria’s understanding, individuals are not purely driven by survival, but by the desire to enjoy their liberty which is rendered useless by the uncertainty of retaining it. Consequently, the incentives for uniting in society are not purely concerns for subsistence and protection, but rather desires for a more comfortable life and, in presenting man as able to make such a judgement, Beccaria introduces the existence of a rational, pre-social humankind. Despite presenting an inexplicably contradictory view on the origins of the social contract in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, which claimed that “Le nazioni sono una moltitudine di uomini forzati a vivere in società per difendersi reciprocamente da ogni forza esteriore e contribuire nell’interno al bene

⁹²⁴ Ibid., 595-6.

⁹²⁵ Beccaria, “Pensieri sopra la Barbarie e coltura delle nazioni e su lo stato selvaggio dell’uomo,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 288: “alcuni malinconici filosofi”; “Si dipingono gli uomini in quello stato nudi e erranti, ma circondati di forza e di robustezza, né timidi né feroci, opponendo ai pochi mali della natura la durezza del temperamento, una coraggiosa ignoranza, una fortunata imprevidenza; dipingonsi godenti o il sonno o l’indolenza invece della noia che opprime o eccita gli uomini socievoli.”

⁹²⁶ Follows Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 5.

comune procurando il ben proprio”,⁹²⁷ for which he was fiercely criticised by Pietro and Alessandro Verri, it is this vision of the state of nature and origins of the social compact that are repeated throughout Beccaria’s writings. Mankind comes together to enjoy their liberty, not because their very survival dictates they must.

Beccaria presents two sets of concepts which are central to his understanding of the rise of society. Most profound, is the binary of *selvaggio/socievole* (savage/sociable) which distinguishes the type of social bond that exists between individuals. There are degrees of savagery and sociability however, which are determined by the distance of the nation from achieving the highest possible union and the “massima assoluta felicità possibile divisa nel maggior numero possibile”.⁹²⁸ Upon reaching the sociable state, humankind must still progress through the stages of sociability before reaching the highest point of society, which is the division of the greatest possible happiness among the greater possible number. The second set of concepts are *barbaro/colto* (barbarous/civilised) which determine the degree of culture within a nation, as opposed to the state of union (*selvaggio/socievole*). Humankind progresses through various stages of barbary and civilisation both in the state of nature and in society. Barbary, Beccaria claims, is nothing more than the “ignorance of the things which are useful to the nation and the means by which to obtain them which are most conducive to the happiness of each individual”. By contrast, knowledge of these things makes a civilised nation.⁹²⁹ Once a nation possesses the knowledge of what is conducive to all individuals’ needs and happiness, it can no longer be called barbarous; however, it can be more or less barbarous depending on its proximity to this knowledge and it can be more or less civilised depending on the refinement of this knowledge. Consequently, depending on the combination of these two concepts,⁹³⁰ nations can be both savage and barbarous (ignorant of that which is useful to the nation and how to obtain it,

⁹²⁷ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 99.

⁹²⁸ Beccaria, “Pensieri sopra la Barbarie e coltura delle nazioni e su lo stato selvaggio dell’uomo,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 284: “Finché le cognizioni e le opinioni sono in equilibrio cio bisogni e colla massima felicità conosciuta di ciascheduno in particolare, non può chiamarsi barbara una nazione, ma può essere più o meno selvaggia, termine che esprime la maggior o minor lontananza dalla massima unione che possa darsi fra gli uomini, e dalla massima assoluta felicità possibile divisa nel maggior numero possibile.”

⁹²⁹ Ibid.: “La barbarie di una nazione, se si prenda in un senso preciso e filosofico, non è altro che la ignoranza delle cose utili a quella e dei mezzi più pronti e più conformi alla felicità particolare di ciascheduno per ottenerla; la coltura di una nazione è la cognizione di tutto ciò.”

⁹³⁰ Ibid.: “Una nazione può essere selvaggia e barbara, può essere selvaggia e non barbara, può essere molto barbara e molto socievole nel medesimo tempo.”

as well as having the greatest distance from achieving the highest possible union and the equal division of the greatest happiness); savage and not barbarous (aware of that which is useful to the nation and how to obtain it but without having achieved the highest possible union and the equal division of the greatest happiness); and very barbarous and very sociable at the same time. The savage and barbarous state, for example, is one of the earliest stages of development. Here, there are temporary pacts between men which are more a gathering of individuals than a way of life, which serve as protection from wild animals and in the formation of hunting parties. These necessities for survival encouraged the invention of weapons and stratagems which, as the population increased, thus distancing individuals' needs from the means of satisfying them, were incrementally used against humankind itself, giving way to war and the cruder arts which made temporary pacts (which Beccaria interprets as the first laws) all the more important.⁹³¹ With the continued multiplication of the species, the state of war transforms from individuals to nations, as those unions of savages seek to pursue their own needs.⁹³² However, these temporary pacts are born and perish with the necessity of the moment.⁹³³ While they provide protection and survival, these temporary pacts are not sufficient to allow individuals to enjoy their liberty, which is the impetus for forming more permanent pacts. By contrast, the final form, very barbarous and very sociable, is where the nation is close to achieving the highest possible union and the equal division of the greatest happiness without knowing that which is useful to the nation and how to obtain it. It would seem to be contradictory; however, by this Beccaria means that the needs which keep men together are at their highest, whilst the ways of satisfying them are not yet adequate to obtain the greatest happiness of the greater number. This is the final state before the final evolutionary stage where the nation is neither savage, nor barbarous, but rather sociable and cultured where happiness is divided equally among all individuals and the things which are useful to the nation are known, as are the means of obtaining them which are most conducive to individual happiness. Humankind thus slowly progresses through these various stages of barbary, civilisation, savagery and sociability, and it becomes apparent that

⁹³¹ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 146.

⁹³² Beccaria, "Dei delitti e delle pene," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 30: "la moltiplicazione del genere umano, piccola per se stessa, ma di troppo superiore ai mezzi che la sterile e abbandonata natura offriva per soddisfare ai bisogni che sempre più s'incrocchiavano tra di loro, riunì i primi selvaggi. Le prime unioni formarono necessariamente le altre per resistere alle prime, e così lo stato di guerra trasportossi dall'individuo alle nazioni."

⁹³³ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 105-6.

the advanced nation is one which identifies the necessity of distributive happiness as complementary to utility and which institutes through governance, methods with which to achieve the parallel interests of both individual and state.

Returning to Beccaria's perception of human nature, we see that he interprets the sensory response to stimuli to differ at different points of civilisation. Comparing more and less civilised states, Beccaria claims that

The passions of the former [savages] taken as a whole are powerful, but they are disconnected, with repeated episodes of effort and of rest, of violence and of calm. But in the latter [civilised men], the passions are generally divided up into small parcels which are methodologically linked together, one dwindling as the other grows stronger, in minute, imperceptible stages...In this way, civilised peoples come close to the savage stage with respect to the strongest passions and savages approach the customs of civilised peoples in their superstitions, which are their form of civilisation. Anyone can see that every savage has some sort of civilisation, that every man has some savage side to him, and that these two states are closely bound up with each other and impossible to separate.⁹³⁴

Here we again see the importance of innate human nature in shaping Beccaria's thought, as well as the complicated stages of civilisation which are the direct result of this nature. In the savage state man is unable to use reason to control the passions, whereas civilised man is able to divide and rationalise these passions. However, neither of these responses is determined. Civilised man, if faced with strong enough passions, can regress back to savage responses and the savage can weaken his response through the effects of superstition. The differing responses of the savage and the civilised man also result from the habits which have developed within society:

The fewer preconceived models a man has with which to compare new feelings which arise in him, the more willing he will be to make changes. Thus, savages are quick, enterprising and utterly confident about the means they adopt to satisfy their wants. But, at the same time, they are hesitant and easily manipulated when confronted by new and unfamiliar things, because they seem much newer and more unfamiliar to them than they do to civilised men. Civilised men, by contrast are slow and diffident in all matters because they have many needs to coordinate and to balance; they are slow to make changes

⁹³⁴ Beccaria, "Pensieri sopra la Barbarie e coltura delle nazioni e su lo stato selvaggio dell'uomo," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 286: "Le passioni dei primi sono in masse considerabili e sconnesse, con intervalli continui di forza e di riposo, di furore e di tranquillità; ma nei secondi le passioni sono divise per lo più in piccole parti connesse metodicamente fra di loro, che si fortificano e d'indeboliscono reciprocamente per insensibili gradi d'accrescimento e diminuzione. Così nelle passioni forti i popoli colti allo stato selvaggio si accostano; così i selvaggi nella superstizione, che è la loro coltura, si avvicinano ai costumi dei popoli colti. Osserva ciascuno che ogni selvaggio ha qualche sorta di coltura, ogni colto ha qualche lato di selvaggità, e che questi stati d'intralciano e si confondano reciprocamente."

because, among the many ideas and possibilities they revolve, they always find some tried and tested model which seems good to them and which saves them the trouble of thinking – something they will only have recourse to when forced into it by necessity and a sense of want.⁹³⁵

The uniformity of habits among savages, Beccaria claims, is purely negative as it “only lasts until there arises some occasion to depart from it”. In contrast, such uniformity among civilised men is positive, as it arises from “diffidence and foresight”, thus enabling a reasoned treatment of the passions.⁹³⁶ This leads Beccaria to conclude that the “laws of savages are the sum of the combination of their passions. The laws of civilised nations are, when just, the result of the difference of those same passions, which make up the common reason.”⁹³⁷ Returning to the fundamental impetus of boredom in stimulating human beings to pursue pleasure, we see that Beccaria determines boredom to presuppose an already enlightened nation. Claiming that boredom has no power over savages to “make them change their ways”, Beccaria argues that boredom is “better adapted to improve civilised nations than to hold back those which are already corrupted”.⁹³⁸

Beccaria introduces other factors which similarly affect the civilising process, such as the effects of climate on the development of society and on the subsequent political constitution. Beccaria divides the effects of climate between the traditional perceptions of an industrious north and a passionate south:

All societies formed by scattered and savage men are based on the individual ownership of goods... Thus, it may be in the sterile and freezing north, the republican spirit of freedom and independence of those peoples was the product of respect for things acquired, which were rendered valuable by the effort expended on the miserly soil and the blood spilt by rivals. Indeed the authority of the sovereign in those nations was limited by his being accorded tributes only by choice and spontaneously, and, therefore, at each step of the way there was a brake on feudal power. By contrast, the abundance which is more common in southern climates could make those peoples less fiercely and stubbornly acquisitive and more open to fearful ideas of religion and the soft feelings of love, which prevail where other needs are less pressing. Perhaps for this reason, they were more easily subjugated by despotism. Therefore we find opinion ruling in the South and necessity in

⁹³⁵ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 142–3.

⁹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁹³⁸ Beccaria, “Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costumi,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 294-5: “la noia suppone una nazione già illuminata, e non ha potere sopra i selvaggi per indurli a cambiamenti; essa è più fatta per perfezionare le colte nazioni che per frenare le già corrotte; essa fa bensì circolare con rapidità le cose usate ed i movimenti dell’animo, ma non fa correre direttamente gli uomini, per il che hanno bisogno d’essere strascinati dalla necessità o spinti dalle sorprese.”

the North; in the latter opinions are subordinated to needs, in the former needs obey opinions.⁹³⁹

However, despite this clearly Montesquieuan interpretation, Beccaria states that climate is not the most fundamental factor in determining the character of a nation:

Climate does not figure as a prominent and immediate cause of the underlying nature of the various nations, but only as a partial and remote factor. Instead we should attend to the fertility or sterility of humankind and of the earth, neither of which is the product of climate alone. And, to forestall objections on this point, we must distinguish the untilled abundance of the soil from its abundance under cultivation.⁹⁴⁰

Here, Beccaria clarifies that climate alone cannot be responsible for the products and economy of a nation, which are managed and mismanaged by numerous artificial practices, be they agricultural or political.

A more vital element in determining the development of society, is ignorance. Having left the state of nature, sociable humankind must now struggle along the course towards enlightenment, from error to truth, progressing through and out of the stages of ignorance and superstition along the way. It is ignorance and superstition, Beccaria states, which are the most dangerous threat to the population, but which are yet to be truly challenged by the strengths of science and reason, and, more importantly, it is enlightenment that must accompany liberty: “Do you want to prevent crimes? Then see to it that enlightenment accompanies liberty. The evils that are born from knowledge are in inverse proportion to its diffusion and the benefits are in direct proportion.”⁹⁴¹ During the process of civilisation, ignorance must be overcome as ignorance and sensibility are the root causes of savagery.⁹⁴² However, this is not an immediate transition, but occurs in two stages. The first, which

⁹³⁹ Ibid., 302: “Tutte le società, che da uomini dispersi e selvaggi si formano, sono fondate su la proprietà particolare de’ beni, come quelle, che dalle società istesse si formano, sono fondate nella comunione delle cose. Perciò forse nello sterile e gelato Settentrione la stima delle cose acquistate, rese preziose per la fatica sostenuta su l’avarò terreno e per il sangue sparso de’ competitori, dovette far nascere in que’ popoli lo spirito repubblicano di libertà ed indipendenza: di fatti in quelle nazioni i tributi solo ad arbitrio e spontaneamente accordati al sovrano ne limitarono l’autorità, poscia frenata ad ogn’ora dalla potenza feudale che anch’essa nasceva dalla preziosità delle possessioni.”

⁹⁴⁰ Bellamy, “Reflections on Manners and Customs,” in *On Crimes and Punishments*, 157-8.

⁹⁴¹ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 122: “Volete prevenire i delitti? Fate che i lumi accompagnino la libertà. I mali che nascono dalle cognizioni sono in ragione inversa della loro diffusione, e i beni lo sono nella diretta.”

⁹⁴² Bellamy, “Reflections on Manners and Customs,” in *On Crimes and Punishments*, 142: “Savagery is born from the womb of sensibility and ignorance.”

marks the initial step out of savagery, is the creation of false gods and an invisible universe intended to dazzle men. Beccaria claims that as the population increases, so do its needs, thus stronger and more lasting impressions are required to prevent humankind from slipping back into its original state of unsociability. This is consequently the period in which great societies are formed, bonded together by their awe of the supernatural. However, in this age “knowledge” is ultimately harmful.⁹⁴³ These “sciences”, born out of error, divide *ad infinitum* turning men into a blind and fanatical mob:

the effects... of so called ancient simplicity and good faith: humanity groaning under the weight of superstition, greed, the ambition of a few staining with human blood the coffers of gold and the thrones of kings, hidden betrayals, public massacres, every nobleman a tyrant of the common people and ministers of the holy word sullyng in blood the hands which daily touch the God of meekness.⁹⁴⁴

It was “dense and invincible ignorance”, Beccaria claims helped to perpetuate the rule of fear and slavery. Upon escaping from the state of nature, individuals rushed to occupy the land and to enslave others who then accepted this state of slavery rather than face certain death. Asserting that this is the “first and last of states through which nations pass that simply respond to immediate evils rather than being guided by foresight, something which can only be learnt by experience of the very evils which ought to be avoided”,⁹⁴⁵ Beccaria draws a connection between ignorance and tyranny, oppression and slavery, which stretches beyond the first stage of sociability. While ignorance is equated with tyranny, knowledge is linked to liberty, as the passage from the “shadows of ignorance to the light of philosophy” is ultimately the passage from tyranny to freedom.⁹⁴⁶ We see this connection between tyranny and ignorance drawn in other contexts, such as Beccaria’s

⁹⁴³ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 123–4: “Queste furono le prime vicende di tutte le nazioni che si formarono da’ popoli selvaggi, questa fu l’epoca della formazione delle grandi società, e tale ne fu il vincolo necessario e forse unico. Non parlo di quel popolo eletto da Dia, a cui i miracoli più straordinari e le grazie più segnalate tennero luogo della umana politica. Ma come è proprietà dell’errore di sottodiversi all’infinito, così le scienze che ne nacquero fecero degli uomini una fanatica moltitudine di ciechi, che in un chiuso laberinto si urtano e si scompiagliano di modo che alcune anime sensibili e filosofiche regretarono persino l’antico stato selvaggio. Ecco la prima epoca, in cui le cognizioni, o per dir meglio le opinioni, sono dannose.”

⁹⁴⁴ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 18.

⁹⁴⁵ Beccaria, “Pensieri sopra la Barbarie e coltura delle nazioni e su lo stato selvaggio dell’uomo,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 291-2 “l’invincible e densa ignoranza contribuì a perpetuare la legge del timore e della schiavitù, che è il primo e l’ultimo degli stati per cui passano le nazioni che si reggono solo su i mali istantanei, non sopra gli antveduti, il che la sola esperienza de’ medesimi mali che si dovrebbero prevenire può insegnare.”

⁹⁴⁶ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 107.

discussion of sedition⁹⁴⁷ and his discussion of public peace,⁹⁴⁸ which likewise interpret ignorance as conterminous with tyranny and equally pernicious to society. So dangerous is ignorance, that Beccaria even interprets it to be the first cause of moral depopulation as ignorant and barbarous people are violent and destructive, ignore the causes of evils and the sources of good, neglect the intellect, obstruct the quiet and sedentary arts and neglect agriculture.⁹⁴⁹

After this period of superstition comes the second age, which Beccaria sees as the “terrifying passage from error to truth, from unknowing darkness to enlightenment”.⁹⁵⁰ In this age there is a mighty clash between the errors useful to a few powerful men and the truths useful to many weak men. Reflecting on various histories, Beccaria claims that in this period it is common for an entire generation to be sacrificed to the happiness of succeeding generations whilst fighting for the necessary transition from ignorance to liberty.⁹⁵¹ In this stage, truth is worshipped in the parliaments of republics and Beccaria questions, “who then will be able to say that the light which illuminates the multitude is more harmful than the shadows, or that a good understanding of the true and simple relations of things can ever be ruinous to men?”⁹⁵² However, there is an important caveat to this seemingly linear trajectory from ignorance to enlightenment, as Beccaria states that blind ignorance is less pernicious than mediocre or confused knowledge, as this latter adds to the former the mistakes of one who has “limited vision even within the bounds of

⁹⁴⁷ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 48: “La sola tirannia e l’ignoranza, che confondono i vocaboli e le idee più chiare, possono dar questo nome, e per conseguenza la massima pena, a’ delitti di differente natura, e rendere così gli uomini, come in mille altre occasioni, vittime di una parola.”

⁹⁴⁸ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 30: “relieving some blighted victim of tyranny or, equally lethal, ignorance.”

⁹⁴⁹ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 134-5: “Prima causa morale spopolatrice è la barbarie e l’ignoranza. I popoli barbari ed ignoranti, privi di tutti i piaceri dei popoli colti, che dissipano e disperdono il condensamento delle passioni, le hanno violenti e distruttive. Ignorano le cagioni dei mali e la sorgente dei beni, sacrificano dunque tutto ciò che ha l’apparenza dei primi a tutto ciò che sembra essere fra i secondi. Induriti ad una vita aspra e limitata ai più inesorabili bisogni, preferiscono l’ardire all’industria, il coraggio subitaneo del cuore alla lenta sagacità dell’intelletto. Giacciono oscure le arti tranquille e sedentarie, e le lunghe e tarde ricompense della laboriosa agricoltura sono ignorate e neglette.”

⁹⁵⁰ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 124: “La seconda è nel difficile e terribil passaggio dagli errori alla verità, dall’oscurità non conosciuta alla luce.”

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 124–5: “vi troverà più volte una generazione intera sacrificata alla felicità di quelle che le succedono nel luttuoso ma necessario passaggio dalle tenebre dell’ignoranza alla luce della filosofia, e dalla tirannia alla libertà, che ne sono le conseguenze.”

⁹⁵² Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 107.

truth". This reality calls for the careful guardianship of the laws by an enlightened man who can ensure that this confused knowledge is not detrimental to the existing progress of the state⁹⁵³ and who works to protect the efforts of the philosopher, who in loving truth for its own sake,⁹⁵⁴ scatters the seeds of truth among the multitude.⁹⁵⁵ However, while the ignorant are less dangerous than the misinformed, man's inability to return to a previous state of being dictates that this stage of half-knowledge must be overcome by the progression into a state of reason and truth. Beccaria claims that:

Just as the natural philosopher sees the current order of things on the face of the globe, but can also read in its innards the traces of the past disorders that created it and whose effects are still discernible in nature, so the moral philosopher sees in the advantages of the present and the progress of the science of happiness the effects of ancient disorders, and he can dare to predict that current evils are the inevitable movements and agitations after which the people will carry on towards a final, still remote state of equality and happiness.⁹⁵⁶

Here we see that Beccaria interprets the civilising process to be slow, but marching onwards in pursuit of equality and happiness. While perversions can occur along the way, there is a tells for humankind and consequently it is imperative that, upon entering into society, humankind should "progress as rapidly as possible towards... the highest civilisation", as Beccaria claims that as it is impossible to return to one of the extremes of our nature.⁹⁵⁷ Progress is thus thwarted by the very real and threatening phenomena of ignorance and superstition which exists even in the sociable and civilised state. However, ignorance and superstition can be countered by the arts and sciences, especially the

⁹⁵³ Beccaria, "Dei delitti e delle pene," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 123-5, "Se la cieca ignoranza è meno fatale che il mediocre e confuso sapere, poiché questi aggiunge ai mali della prima quegli dell'errore inevitabile da chi ha una vista ristretta al di qua dei confini del vero, l'uomo illuminato è il dono più prezioso che faccia alla nazione ed a se stesso il sovrano, che lo rende despositario e custode delle sante leggi."

⁹⁵⁴ Ibid.: "I filosofi acquistano dei bisogni e degli interessi non conosciuti dai volgare, quello principalmente di non ismentire nella pubblica luce i principii predicati nell'oscurità, ed acquistano l'abitudine di amare la verità per se stessa."

⁹⁵⁵ Ibid., 24: "e merita la gratitudine degli uomini quel filosofo ch'ebbe il coraggio dall'oscuro e disprezzato suo gabinetto di gettare nella moltitudine i primi semi lungamente infruttuosi delle utili verità."

⁹⁵⁶ Beccaria, "Pensieri sopra la Barbarie e coltura delle nazioni e su lo stato selvaggio dell'uomo," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. II, 292: "Come il filosofo fisico vede nell'esterno del globo l'ordine presente delle cose, e nelle viscere sue legge le tracce dell'antico disordine che lo produsse, e del quale ancora qualche ricordo ne dà la natura; così il morale filosofo vede i presenti vantaggi, i progressi della scienza del viver felice, e li trova effetti degli antichi disordini, ed i mali odierni osa vaticinarli necessari movimenti ed agitazioni, dopo le quali siano i popoli per riportarsi in un ultimo e remotissimo stato d'eguaglianza e di felicità."

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid., 291.

“useful” arts and sciences, which play a central role in Beccaria’s account of improvement and progress. Claiming that “the arts and the sciences thus grew in proportion to need, always with the smallest possible progress in the given circumstances, for the law of least action applies no less rigorously in morals than it does in physics”,⁹⁵⁸ Beccaria interprets these elements as resulting from need and their subsequent development as mirroring this need:

Even in a state of society... violent passions bring all ranks and creeds down to the same level; they unite the extremes; and they make all men either brother or competitors, because an extreme passion, which is nothing but the concentration of all the soul’s strength on a single object, leaves the whole range of adjunct feelings inoperative and unused. It was a case of the strong fighting the strong, therefore. But it was precisely because of this balance of power that the industry of warfare developed, that social conventions were established and new discoveries were made.⁹⁵⁹

Consequently, we see that the development of the arts and sciences, as well as progress more generally, are a direct result of competition and evolve in conjunction with humankind’s activity. Beccaria clarifies that there are those born of our primary needs – that is the needs which the solitary man experiences – and those which are born of the secondary needs of those united in society, such as curiosity, the desire to stand out, and boredom.⁹⁶⁰ However, Beccaria clarifies that “all of nature has felt the dominion of the sciences, and all the arts have been touched by the flame of invention, and with the ferment and competition of all the interests they have been refined of all their crudeness and imperfection”,⁹⁶¹ thus reiterating the role of competition in fuelling the refinement of the arts and sciences. Yet, Beccaria also claims that the light of the sciences and the voice of reason were not strong enough to dissolve the bonds of habit and prejudice (“la luce ancor vacillante della scienza, la voce ancor fiacca e tremante della ragione, le scosse

⁹⁵⁸ Ibid., 291: “Le arti e le scienze crebbero così in proporzione con i bisogni, e sempre coi minimi progressi possibili nelle date circostanze; perché la legge della minima azione non è meno infallibile in morale che nella fisica.” [Probably alluding to Maupertuis’ 1745 principle of the minima quantità d’azione].

⁹⁵⁹ Follows Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 146.

⁹⁶⁰ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 87: “Tutte le arti e le scienze sono nate dai nostri bisogni, siano da’ primari, cioè da quelli che l’uomo anche solitario ed abbandonato a se stesso risente necessariamente, siano da’ secondari, cioè da quelli che sentono gli uomini riuniti in società osservandosi ed imitandosi reciprocamente, come per esempio la curiosità, la voglia di distinguersi, la fuga della noia, mentre dall’una parte si rende più facile il soddisfare alle naturali necessità e cresce dall’altra l’attività dello spirito coll’addensamento degli esseri pensanti.”

⁹⁶¹ Ibid.: “Tutta la natura ha sentito il dominio delle scienze, e le arti tutte sono state tocche dall’elettrica fiamma dell’invenzione, e col fermento e colla gara di tutti gl’interessi si sono ripulite d’ogni rozzezza ed imperfezione.”

interrotte dell'eloquenza non bastano a disciogliere il glutine della consuetudine e della prevenzione”⁹⁶² and that the light of even the most useful sciences was only just beginning to topple the idol of peripatetic superstition.⁹⁶³ To be of value, to break through the superstition and habit that still determined mens' minds, the sciences needed perfecting and nurturing. Reflecting on this matter at various points across his writings, Beccaria presented the perfection of the sciences as a metaphor for the coterminous perfection of society and the progress of the human species.⁹⁶⁴ Reflecting on medicine in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, Beccaria describes how the discipline is perfected by the study of anatomy, natural history, chemistry and exact research into the properties and actions of the body. This knowledge cannot be perfected however without the “exact reasoning and the spirit of philosophy having the first degree of esteem among men.”⁹⁶⁵ He concludes by stating that all sciences must be protected, their efforts rewarded and their research supported.⁹⁶⁶ The reason for protecting the sciences in this way is because of their indirect benefit to the nation. Echoing David Hume,⁹⁶⁷ Beccaria claimed that the perfection of the sciences, regardless of how distant they might seem, would benefit arts and manufacture: “where astronomy will be perfected, there can be hope that the cloth will be perfectly worked”.⁹⁶⁸

⁹⁶² Ibid., 417.

⁹⁶³ Ibid., 94: “La luce delle scienze più utili comincia a scintillare in Europa, rovesciato l'idolo tenebroso della peripatetica superstizione.”

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid., 281: “Chi considera i progressi della spezie umana, trovera che essi camminano con un certo parallelismo, onde e le più sublimi, e da noi lontane cognizioni, e le più umili ed a noi vicine, si attraggono vicendevolmente. Non è possibile che le medesime cagioni che eccitano curiosità in taluni, o interesse per una classe d'idee, e che gli danno agio e facilità di soddisfarlo, non operino colla medesima forza su tali altri per diverse serie d'idee e di cognizioni, frattanto che la considerazione occupata da chi ha perfezionato un oggetto non lascia luogo che a cercar nuovi oggetti per occupare simile considerazione.”

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid., 130: “La medicina si perfeziona collo studio dell'anatomia, della storia naturale, della chimica, e colla ricerca esatta delle proprietà ed azioni dei corpi; e tutte queste cognizioni non si perfezionano senza che l'esatto ragionamento e lo spirito della filosofia abbiano il primo grado di stima fra gli uomini.”

⁹⁶⁶ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 130: “Le scienze tutte debbono essere protette; col premio si ricompensano le fatiche, colla speranza si animano le ricerche.”

⁹⁶⁷ David Hume, *Discours politiques*, vol. 1, 59: “On ne doit pas s'attendre que dans une nation où l'astronomie est ignorée et la morale négligée il se trouve des ouvriers capables de fabriquer une pièce de drap dans le degré de perfection dont elle est susceptible. L'esprit du siècle se communique à tous les arts.”

⁹⁶⁸ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 281: “Vede ognuno ch'io voglio parlare delle scienze, le quali hanno una troppo grande influenza sulle arti e manifatture, perché si debba ommettere ogni sforzo per ampliarle e facilitarne il progresso per ogni paese. Verissimo è quello che fu detto da alcuno, che dove si perfezionerà l'astronomia, ivi si può sperare che i panni saranno più perfettamente lavorati.”

The protection of the sciences was seen by Beccaria as a primary means for improving arts and manufacture. The sciences consequently needed protecting and nurturing, not only in order that they be perfected, but because their development contributed to the wider development of society.

However, while the sciences in general were of the utmost importance, they needed to be carefully ordered and refined so as to be most efficacious. In a lengthy criticism, Beccaria claims that:

No circuitous jurisprudence, nor a mysterious and empty collection of medical and traditional formulae, and not an incoherent and chance jumble of facts, nor the tortured and laborious imitation of the ancient models, nor the zealous and cowardly choice of words will ever be the sciences which improve the conditions of mankind and mother to the true riches and powerful prosperity of nations.⁹⁶⁹

In order to be a science which improves “the conditions of mankind and mother to the true riches and powerful prosperity of nations”, said science could not be based upon pure abstraction, but had to apply to the wider world. There were, according to Beccaria, great advantages to removing the sciences from their solitary state in private studies:

Finalmente, non picciolo vantaggio può arrecare lo studio di una scienza non rinchiusa nella solitudine di un gabinetto, non versante intorno ad oggetti remoti dall'uso promiscuo della vita, ma della quale tutt'i circoli e le radunanze risuonano, e gli avvenimenti giornalieri ci richiamano a continue applicazioni; onde gioverà sempre il guardarsi, per interno convincimento, e per quella luce tranquilla e chiara che le scienze solidamente studiate c'infondano, sia dai venerati pregiudizi che per domestica tradizione ci vengono tramandati sia da quell'abituale querulità e malcontentezza, che non cessa in ogni tempo ed in ogni luogo d'esser soffiata sulla diffidente e docile ignoranza. Eppure una scienza così necessaria ed utile è stata delle ultime a svilupparsi nello spirito umano, e non è ancor giunta a quell'ultimo grado di perfezione di cui sembra suscettibile.⁹⁷⁰

Reflecting on education in *Dei delitti e delle pene*, Beccaria highlighted the advantages of refining the sciences to be less “a sterile mass of subjects than in the precise and informed choice of topics; it replaces copies with originals in the study of both the physical and moral phenomena which either chance or effort presents to fresh young minds. It encourages virtue by the easy path of the feelings, and diverts men away from evil by the

⁹⁶⁹ Ibid., 282: “Non una circondata giurisprudenza, non un misterioso e vano circolo di mediche e tradizionali formole, e non una sconnessa e fortuita congerie di fatti, né la curva e laboriosa imitazione degli antichi modelli, né la divota e pusillanime scelta delle parole, saranno mai le scienze miglioratrici delle condizioni degli uomini, e madri di vera ricchezza e potente prosperità nelle nazioni.”

⁹⁷⁰ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 87-8.

infallible method of alerting them to the necessary ill consequences it brings, rather than by the uncertain method of ordering them what to do, which gains only a fleeting obedience.”⁹⁷¹

Across his writings, Beccaria reiterates the value of education and the sciences as a means for social improvement and order. Already in *Dei delitti e delle pene*, Beccaria argues that education is a sure way of preventing crime,⁹⁷² and later in his administrative writings we see that he repeats this sentiment, refusing to punish boys whose ignorance led them to commit a crime and stating that they should instead be educated.⁹⁷³ Education and the sciences, as Beccaria states in *Economia pubblica*, are the concern of *polizia*, alongside good order, security and public peace.⁹⁷⁴ In a particularly revealing section of the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, Beccaria addresses the lack of education for rural workers, claiming that they should not be condemned to the uniform and unchanging ignorance which leaves them open to be taken advantage of by the shrewd.⁹⁷⁵ Basic literacy, numeracy, accounting, and knowledge of the foundational methodological elements of their profession would equip workers to better administer their own resources. Education would serve to motivate individuals to see that they are not trapped at the lowest stage of existence, and to provide them with the means by which they can improve their situation and break out of the repulsive inequality which binds them to their misery.⁹⁷⁶ Reiterating that “ignorance is perhaps the most common cause of crime among the lowest class of men”,⁹⁷⁷ Beccaria interprets the institutionalised ignorance of the agricultural class as driving individuals towards crime, which would be avoided not only in terms of removing the need for crime,

⁹⁷¹ Follows Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 110.

⁹⁷² Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 126: “il più sicuro ma più difficil mezzo di prevenire i delitti si è di perfezionare l’educazione.”

⁹⁷³ “Libretti dei Molinari,” no. 144 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. VI, 222: “quando capisca che le annotazioni sul libretto procedano da pura ignoranza, non conviene molestarli, ma piuttosto istruirli; procedendo poi da mala fede, si osservino gli ordini.”

⁹⁷⁴ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 101: “Dunque le scienze, l’educazione, il buon ordine, la sicurezza e tranquillità pubblica, oggetti tutti compresi sotto il solo nome di polizia.”

⁹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 432: “ma non perciò debbono essere condannati all’uniforme ed immutabile ignoranza che non dà loro i mezzi di conoscere del loro stato, e gli rendono le vittime degli accorti, dai quali non trovano altro rimedio di garantirsi che a spese del giusto e dell’onesto.”

⁹⁷⁶ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 432-3.

⁹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 433: “ignoranza che è forse la più frequente cagione dei delitti dell’ultima classe degli uomini.”

but also in raising the awareness of the consequences of crime, by providing a basic, tailored education to this class.

The social contract in theory and history

It is with regards to Beccaria's longer historical account of the development of society that we most clearly find echoes of Locke's political philosophy and, though to a lesser extent, the approach of Rousseau's conjectural history. Like Beccaria, Locke presented two trajectories of humankind's development, one being the swift transition from the state of nature to society by means of the social contract, the other charting the gradual evolution of society, which Jeremy Waldron has referred to as Locke's "political anthropology":

On the first account, government is explicitly conventional: its institution is the deliberate act of free and equal individuals acting consciously and rationally together in the pursuit of their goals. On the other account, the growth of government is largely unconscious – it develops by what Locke calls 'an insensible change' – and retrospectively that development is a mystery to those involved in it. Equally, the periodization of history suggested by the two stories are utterly different. The first gives a clear division of history into political and prepolitical periods separated by the dramatic events of the social contract; while the second gives no distance periodization of this sort at all.⁹⁷⁸

The purposes of the two accounts are different, Waldron claims, "It is the function of the political anthropology to offer us an account of what actually happened, while the contract story offers us the moral categories in terms of which what actually happened is to be understood". Ultimately, Locke's historical and moral stories can be reconciled by not treating the sequence of events as a "single consensual exercise" but rather as a series of consensual instances. It raises questions regarding the purpose and coherence of Beccaria's similar combination of theoretical and historical accounts. Was the social contract story a treatment of history wherein events were to be interpreted as having been a product of either choice, obligation or oppression? Preempting this question, Richard Bellamy has claimed that "Beccaria employed the idea of a social contract more as a theoretical device for setting limits to the legitimacy of the law than as an actual historical act to explain its origins".⁹⁷⁹ Yet, while we can easily accept that Beccaria did not believe that the transition to society occurred in one fell contractual swoop, neither Waldron nor Bellamy's

⁹⁷⁸ Jeremy Waldron, "John Locke: Social Contract Versus Political Anthropology," *The Review of Politics*, vol.51, no. 01 (1989): 6.

⁹⁷⁹ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, xviii.

interpretations seem to sufficiently account for Beccaria's detailed historical analysis of the passage to modernity. The political anthropology he offers is more than just a description of "what actually happened" in the stages of political development, but expands laterally to include the physiological, psychological, intellectual and cultural maturity of humankind. This account is not purely an historical exercise understood through the moral categories of the social contract, but serves to justify future political decisions based upon historical reasoning and observation: the social contract is not just to make sense of the past, the past is to make sense of the future. This approach brings us back to Buffon's historicisation of nature and for whom history, "was liberating, allowing the natural philosopher to slough off the accretions of false development. It was conservative, insofar as it warned against placing too much trust in ahistorical forms of reasoning and falling too easily prey to contemporary intellectual fashions. And it served as a tool of scientific authorization and legitimization."⁹⁸⁰ It is consequently here that we see the extent to which Beccaria's philosophy is conversant with natural history as he borrows anthropological accounts from the natural sciences, above all from Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*. Buffon had reflected on the social contract and the state of nature with a similar combination of theory and history, claiming on the one hand that man sacrificed a portion of his will to live in peace and security,⁹⁸¹ while providing on the other a much longer account of natural and social man. Buffon's description of the origins of man were directly opposed to Rousseau and he rejected the premise that humankind had ever lived a solitary life as the nature of human gestation and the physical dependence of infants upon their parents made the family structure an absolute necessity.⁹⁸² The "state of pure nature" Buffon claimed, "is a known state: it is the savage living in the wild, with his family, recognising his children, known by them, using words, and making himself understood".⁹⁸³ Like Beccaria, Buffon saw early man as rational and sociable due to physiological necessity and it was from this familial state that language, gestures and sounds, which articulated basic feelings and needs, and consequently society itself, could evolve, as lasting attachments were inevitably made between parents and children during the long period of childhood dependency. In the

⁹⁸⁰ Peter Hanns Reill, *Vitalizing Nature in the Enlightenment*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) 63.

⁹⁸¹ Buffon, "Sur la nature des animaux," in *Histoire Naturelle*, vol. IV (Paris, Imprimerie royale, 1749–1767), 96.

⁹⁸² Buffon, "Les animaux carnassiers," in *Histoire Naturelle*, vol. VII, 29.

⁹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 28–9.

Elementi di economia pubblica, Beccaria had similarly interpreted family life to have marked the initial stage of nature, and which resulted from the realities of human infancy, repeating Buffon's words almost verbatim:

Atti a celebrare i matrimoni in ogni tempo alle donne, a differenza delle femine degli animali, alle quali è fissata soltanto dalla natura una venere periodica; viventi ed abituati alla vita compagnevole, non solo per i spessi incontri, in cui l'unico rimedio per sottrarsi dalle comuni calamità, o respingere i comuni nemici, è quello di agire di concerto, ma ancora per la lunga e debolissima fanciullezza, per cui si accostumano allo stato di famiglia e di socievolezza.⁹⁸⁴

Buffon saw the family structure as expanding over time into a small nation united by language and customs and claimed that these societies were an inevitable result of human propagation, as no individual would willingly abandon their helpless child, nor would any individual fail to develop an attachment to their own progeny.⁹⁸⁵ In so doing, Buffon not only showed that man had never existed without some form of sociability, but that human nature and biology inexorably lead to the further formalisation of society. Helvétius too had interpreted the family to mark the beginning of the primitive social state, though it would not be until later in *De l'Homme* where he would elaborate in detail on his understanding of the state of nature and the progression to society. We have already seen in the previous chapter that Beccaria was engaging with a number of texts concerned with the history of man and religion, the development of language and the history of linguistics more generally, all of which further attest to the importance of anthropological accounts in shaping Beccaria's understanding of humankind.

Beccaria ultimately presents an anthropologically based account of the state, upon which he superimposes a social contract theory which derives from an historical analysis of human nature. As in Locke's argument, these are not antagonistic, but serve different purposes, the former adhering to contemporary, "scientific" anthropological discovery, the latter seeking to explain and rationalise this trajectory for the benefit of current politics. In doing so, Beccaria is responding to a more diverse set of intellectual traditions which, like the natural law, the social contract and sensationist traditions, address the development of society and human nature, albeit from a more directly anthropological standpoint. All share

⁹⁸⁴ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica, materiali preparatori e stesure rifiutate," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 595.

⁹⁸⁵ Buffon, "Les animaux carnassiers," 30–31.

the common acknowledgement that no history of mankind can be written without being based upon anthropological observations, nor should any current system be founded upon principles which do not arise from these observations. Although each offer differing interpretations of the social and political framework of contemporary society, they are ultimately based on common foundational precept.

Other key authors found in Beccaria's networks provided similar, ostensibly anthropological readings of the social contract and the evolution into society, especially the physiocrats. Turgot, Mirabeau, Quesnay and Raynal, among other leading physiocratic thinkers had also presented detailed accounts of the stages of society, stretching from the state of nature to the current social state. In fact we can see a significant level of overlap between the anthropological accounts provided by both the physiocrats and Buffon. Both perceived nature to have an innate order which should be controlled by man, both interpreted humankind as driven by pain and pleasure, both viewed human history as a series of progressive stages of sociability and both saw sociability as an inevitable result of nature itself. These similarities and the known influence of Buffon's work on both the thought of the physiocrats and Beccaria is indicative of the degree to which natural history was increasingly conversant with other fields throughout the century and the desire by philosophers and economists alike to find more satisfactory explanations for social phenomena. Not only do we find parallels in their visions of the development of mankind, we can interpret their doctrines as similarly attempting to reconcile a "new system of value to an older one, to balance utilitarianism or rational exploitation with self-sacrifice and disinterested social responsibility". Both parties were highly critical of the existing economic framework in France and returned to nature to find solutions. Above all, they can be seen as sharing the attitude that knowledge ought to be useful and that natural history should be put to human use, and both parties consequently argued for the rational exploitation of agronomy and natural resources. Anthropology was not just a question of origins, it was a tool for future planning. It is consequently the use of anthropology proposed by both Buffon and the physiocrats, and which is in direct dialogue with philosophies of Locke, Condillac and Helvétius, that has the greatest resonance with Beccaria's philosophy. The physiocrats in particular used this vision of human nature and the development of humankind as an historical framework upon which to balance their

economic proposals for a more functioning society much, as the next section will show, Beccaria also did.

The means to an end

*Commerce and property ownership are not the ends of the social contract, but they can be means of obtaining it.*⁹⁸⁶

This thesis has claimed that *Dei delitti e delle pene* was a blueprint for institutional reform which was but one step required in the creation of a more equal society. However, so far this chapter has only addressed the origins, nature and ends of the social contract, without any focus on the forward-looking dimension of Beccaria's work. This section will consequently examine the vision Beccaria presented of how the social contract ought to be upheld: through which bodies and institutions, and through which reforms. Simply stated, it will query what were the means, as opposed to the ends, of the social contract? The most fundamental requirement in creating an equal society was the removal of impediments to the pursuit of pleasure or the escape from pains, which impeded the terms of the social contract. These impediments were interpreted by Beccaria to be the inflexible social, political and economic hierarchies which institutionalised inequality. While *Dei delitti e delle pene* outlined the removal of impediments in the law, similar inequalities needed to be dismantled in other crucial parts of the social fabric, namely in the economy. Consequently, we see a strong criticism throughout Beccaria's writing of all forms of elite privilege: the Church, the noble classes and even the patriarchal family. While Beccaria offers no real criticism of the elites themselves, he targets the perpetuity of their privilege as contradicting the social contract. Beccaria's writings are consequently not directed towards the absolute eradication of inequality, but the fair distribution of inequality; an equality of inequality, so to speak.

Beccaria believed in the value of labour and productivity in keeping the wheels of society turning and stagnant wealth was a particular point of concern. Political idleness,⁹⁸⁷ he

⁹⁸⁶ Beccaria, "Dei delitti e delle pene," in *Edizione Nazionale*, 111: (footnote a.) "Il commercio, la proprietà dei beni, non sono un fine del patto sociale, ma possono esser un mezzo per ottenerlo"

argued in *Dei delitti*, was no more than the refusal to contribute to society either through labour or wealth. The politically idle were not those who, in spending their inherited fortunes, dispensed “bread and a livelihood to the industrious poor, and who wages by means of his wealth the silent war of trade in peacetime”, as were criticised by the “stern moralists”, but rather those who did not serve to circulate wealth through either their own labour or the remuneration of the labour of others.⁹⁸⁸ Beccaria reiterated this sentiment in the Inaugural lecture for the Chair of Political Economy, underlining the “chain of reciprocal service” that binds all men together and which provokes us to value individuals not for their pomp and ostentation, but for their utility.⁹⁸⁹ Inverting the usual social hierarchy, Beccaria argues that “we learn how much respect is due to the proud indolence of those who lie in rags among the tattered images of their ancestors and how much to the hard-working and wholesome industry of the farmer; and, while we admire the solitary and austere monk, we do not despise the humble father who divides a loaf, earned through his sweat, between the tender children of the nation”.⁹⁹⁰ It was the nobility in particular that Beccaria identified as hindering the circulation of wealth. In the chapter “Pene dei nobili”, Beccaria, while prefacing his argument by saying that it is not the place to reflect on whether the distinction between nobles and commoners is of use to society, proceeds to question whether the nobility “is not rather a class which, a slave to itself and to others, restricts the circulation of credit and hope to a very narrow compass, like those fertile and pleasant oases that stand out in the vast and sandy deserts of Arabia,” and later in the *Economia pubblica*, Beccaria directly addresses the debate regarding whether the nobility should be involved in commerce, plainly stating that to remove the nobility from commerce only means destructively decreasing economic competition.⁹⁹¹ In Beccaria’s estimation, political idleness is comparable to breaking the laws which are the conditions under which men live peaceably in society.⁹⁹² While inequalities of property and wealth are

⁹⁸⁷ Note that Bellamy and Davies’ translation calls this “parasitism”. See *On Crimes and Punishments*, 56. Bar this one difference the following quotations from the Chapter “Oziosi” follow their translation.

⁹⁸⁸ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 78-9.

⁹⁸⁹ Beccaria, “Prolusione nell’apertura della nuova cattedra,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 86.

⁹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 87: “impariamo quanto debba rispettarsi l’orgogliosa indolenza di chi, lacero, poltrisce fra le sdruccite immagini degli avi, e l’industria operosa e benefica del ruvido agricoltore; ed ammirando il solitario ed austero cenobita, non disprezzeremo l’umile padre di famiglia, che divide un pane bagnato di sudore fra i teneri allievi della nazione.”

⁹⁹¹ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 390.

⁹⁹² *Ibid.*

inevitable, it is socially negligent to allow static wealth to inhibit further individuals from circulating wealth throughout the economy and society.⁹⁹³ Beccaria perceives this as a social obligation, whose neglect he likens to breaking the social contract: if each individual is granted equal distributive happiness and thus the opportunity to pursue individual wealth, the mechanics of this distributive equality must be upheld by the equal contribution of wealth or labour to society. It is a sentiment reiterated in the general principles of *Elementi di economia pubblica*, where Beccaria fuses his economic pragmatism to his notion of the social contract, arguing that those individuals who are united in society under the terms of the laws must provide the means to defend, protect and govern it in a reciprocal fashion.⁹⁹⁴ Beccaria is thus unapologetic in concluding that it is the greed arising from noble privilege which binds labourers to poverty.⁹⁹⁵ Through these reflections, we see that it is not just the law which needs reforming in order to adhere to the tenets of the social contract, but also the structure of the economy and commerce, in order to increase competition and the circulation of wealth to benefit all individuals. Beccaria addressed this issue most directly in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, offering a number of ways in which to invigorate the economy. One solution was to directly involve the nobility in commerce. Beccaria argued that in purely economic terms, the exclusion of the nobility from commerce was harmful as it reduced the number of individuals participating in trade. While he claims that he will not address the moral and political considerations for the exclusion of the nobility, Beccaria concludes his reflections with the loaded statement that: “to end this issue, one should define what is nobility, how it affects the nation, and how its privileges should not be the privileges of commerce”.⁹⁹⁶

The involvement of the nobility in commerce was both economically and socially necessary. Another means of holding up the social contract, was the incentivisation of

⁹⁹³ Ibid., 360: “questa eguale distribuzione di terre è una cosa impossibile.”

⁹⁹⁴ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 108: “tutti gli individui riuniti in società devono fornire i mezzi necessari a difenderla, proteggerla e governarla con sicurezza e tranquillità.”

⁹⁹⁵ Daniel M. Klang, “Cesare Beccaria, Pietro Verri e l’idea dell’imprenditore nell’illuminismo Milanese,” in *Cesare Beccaria tra Milano e l’Europa*, (Milan: Cariplo – Laterza, 1990), 397: “critiche nei confronti dei proprietari, la cui avidità, le cui pretese e i cui privilegi ereditari erano ritenuti responsabili della povertà e dello scarso rendimento dei contadini.”

⁹⁹⁶ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 390: “Per terminare la questione, si dovrebbe definire che sia la nobiltà, come influisca sulla nazione, come i privilegi di essa non debbano essere i privilegi del commercio.”

luxury, where again, the nobility would play an essential role. Contrary to many advocates of luxury who interpreted it as a fundamental element of a state, such as Mandeville and Melon, Beccaria defined luxury as “every expense incurred to rid us of the pains that are privations of pleasures”,⁹⁹⁷ therein making luxury an inherent component of human nature: any attempt to destroy luxury in the nation would be tantamount to trying to destroy one of man’s innate faculties.⁹⁹⁸ Luxury, he claimed, could be found under all conditions and at all times among sociable men.⁹⁹⁹ The more that men were able to distinguish themselves from the crowd, so grew the need for pleasures to compensate for the ensuing boredom, (which Beccaria defines as the unceasing feeling of being deprived), as well as the desire to stand out even further (vanity) and hence luxury stemmed from these two sources. As long as boredom and vanity exist, which are the inevitable consequences of human interaction, luxury shall always be present.¹⁰⁰⁰ Beccaria sees luxury as so deeply seated in human nature that it exists even among “savages”. In a singular criticism of European treatment of indigenous peoples, Beccaria claims of the indigenous that:

Their need for pleasures is manifested in the avidity with which they wolf down intoxicating liquors, which are employed by European colonisers to lure them into slavery, in all of their many festivals and war-dances, in all the complicated machinery of the long and solemn ceremonies which they too have (though we might think them so close to simple and unsophisticated nature and so far from our arts and institutions), to mark their funerals and their marriages and in all the turning-points of human life. Where their desire to distinguish themselves is concerned, moreover, there is clear evidence of this if we think about how much gold and how many uncut and rough jewels we have cheated them of in exchange for a few strings of coral and baubles of coloured glass, or if we think about the way in which Africans, who go around half-naked most of the time, still set great store by and take such pride in some battered hat and tattered jacket, the wretched cast-off of some European, who bartered it for gold and slaves, which then becomes the ceremonial dress of kings and great men.¹⁰⁰¹

Consequently, we see that Beccaria considers luxury to be an innate facet of sociability even in the most primitive stages of civilisation, and which is tied to his understanding of human nature. Luxury both reflects and temporarily satisfies the natural inclination of mankind

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid., 356: “definiremo il lusso ogni spesa che si fa per togliere i dolori, che sono una privazione dei piaceri.”

⁹⁹⁸ Ibid., 358: “Da ciò si può vedere che chi volesse schiantare il lusso da una nazione, farebbe lo stesso progetto che chi volesse distruggere alcuna delle facoltà inerenti all’uomo.”

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid., 356: “il lusso è di tutte le condizioni e di tutti i tempi fra li uomini sociabili.”

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰¹ Translation follows Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 164.

towards self-perfection and the achievement of personal interests.¹⁰⁰² Each individual, incentivised by the apparent happiness of those above them, endeavours to achieve this perceived happiness and raise themselves above the level of happiness of those below them. This improvement is then mirrored throughout the classes in a bid to accomplish the superficial happiness that derives from luxury, allowing the state to capitalise on man's desire for self-improvement.¹⁰⁰³ Due to its inherent nature, Beccaria pragmatically chooses to consider luxury as an economic phenomenon rather than engage in the moral discourse surrounding it.¹⁰⁰⁴ However, this economic dimension is only beneficial in a society where public happiness is based on security and a freedom limited exclusively by the laws. It is solely in this scenario of negative liberty, tempered only by the conditions of a social contract based on minimal sacrifice, that luxury is advantageous to the population as individuals will reject the stimulus of luxury if they feel that it is an instrument of tyranny which will not be even momentarily advantageous to their interests. Being so predictable, luxury can thus be harnessed to benefit the public good, provided that it is the correct form of luxury being incentivised. Luxury of action, or moral and political luxury, where one attempts to distinguish oneself by performing actions which have no practical effect or warrant any type of exchange, is of little use to the state. Luxury of contract, or economic luxury however, which is the indulgence in pleasures and comforts, presumes by its very nature, an exchange of good and services.¹⁰⁰⁵ Focusing on economic luxury, Beccaria demonstrated how it incentivises both production and consumption, therein increasing the circulation of wealth and he identified the vital role of the nobility in this process. It is only once the higher classes direct their spending towards luxury that economic benefits will be reaped, as, only with the increasing difference between their social positions, will the lower classes begin to mimic such spending habits. Most crucially however, Beccaria saw luxury as a way of ensuring employment. Claiming that:

¹⁰⁰² Beccaria, "Elementi di economica pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 614–5.

¹⁰⁰³ *Ibid.*, 620–1: "Onde ci sforziamo di eguagliare l'apparente felicità degli uni e d'innalzarci al disopra degli altri. Perciò, dirette che siano le primi classi dei cittadini verso le spese di lusso più conformi al vantaggio economico di uno stato, tutte le classi, per un retrogrado movimento".

¹⁰⁰⁴ See Koen Stapelbroek, "Commerce and Morality in Eighteenth-Century Italy," *History of European Ideas*, vol. 32, no. 4 (2006): 361–366.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Beccaria, "Elementi di economica pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 358: "Può chiamarsi la prima specie lusso di azioni, o sia morale e politico, ed a queste scienze appartiene l'esaminarne la natura e l'influenza. La seconda specie può chiamarsi lusso di contratti, o sia economico, del quale succintamente si debbono qui esporre le massime relative."

As the public economy is defined as the art of preserving and enhancing the riches of a nation and making the best use of it, one immediately finds that these riches are neither preserved nor increased except through the labour of useful and productive men. Now, as this is the end to which the public economy tends, it is immediately apparent that the fundamental and guiding principle of all of its operations must be to encourage all that incites men towards the greatest amount of labour possible, both in the productions of the soil and of the hand, and to oppose anything opposed to such productions.¹⁰⁰⁶

Beccaria states that “the riches of states arise from nothing other than the work of individuals, and the work of individuals has to be paid for; but men are reluctant to make such payments unless they can convert them into the means for enjoying those things which most satisfy them.” Beccaria interpreted luxury and the freedom of trade more generally, as a means with which to employ and make productive a larger labour force which could be supported in the current economic climate.¹⁰⁰⁷ Incentivising the spending of the rich was consequently fundamental to the survival of lower class workers, as the distribution of their reward was directly proportional to the spending of those who possessed more than was necessary to merely survive.¹⁰⁰⁸ Increasing consumption was not purely to benefit the state, but served to support a larger workforce.¹⁰⁰⁹ Thus, while luxury is natural, it also serves a social purpose, remedying inequalities arising from the concentration of wealth in noble hands through encouraging economic activity. Luxury provided a means of extracting wealth amassed through privilege alone, allowing it to be redistributed among the wider community, which reduces inequality between classes and provides the capital required to stimulate both the economy and facilitate individual

¹⁰⁰⁶ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 69: “Essendo definita la pubblica economia l’arte di conservare e di accrescere le ricchezze di una nazione, e di farne il miglior uso possibile, trovasi subito che queste ricchezze né si conservano, né si accrescono, se non per mezzo del travaglio degli uomini utile e produttivo; ora, questo essendo il fine a cui tende la pubblica economia, si vede subito che il principio fondamentale e direttore di tutte le di lei operazioni debb’essere di favorire tutto ciò che eccita negli uomini la più gran quantità di travaglio possibile, sia sulle produzioni del suolo, sia su quelle della mano, e di opporsi a tutto ciò che si oppone a tali produzioni.”

¹⁰⁰⁷ Translation follows Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 169. For more on this see Till Wahnbaeck, *Luxury and Public Happiness: Political Economy in the Italian Enlightenment*, Chapter 8.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” vol. III, 362: “Quelli che posseggono al di là del necessario fisico.”

¹⁰⁰⁹ Beccaria’s views on luxury can be situated within an Italian tradition which was distinct from other European perspectives on luxury. It was above all inspired by changing patterns of consumption and was then taken up by Italian authors in an attempt to bolster demands for political, economic and social reform. See Till Wahnbaeck, *Luxury and Public Happiness*; Cecilia Carnino, “Luxury and Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Italy: Intellectual History, Methodological Ideas and Interdisciplinary Research Practice,” *History of European Ideas*, vol. 40, no. 4 (2014).

enrichment. Beccaria had shifted luxury to the centre of the discussion about the role of consumption in economic development, modes of production, labour and employment. Yet, while luxury takes centre stage, we see already in *Dei delitti e delle pene*, that Beccaria considers that “The pleasures of luxury are not the principal elements of this happiness [of the nation], though they are a necessary remedy of inequality”.¹⁰¹⁰ Later in *Dei delitti*, Beccaria makes a similar comment stating that “commerce and property ownership are not the ends of the social contract, but they can be means of obtaining it.”¹⁰¹¹ Hence we see that luxury and commerce were crucial means of upholding the terms of the social contract and commercial society was a product of man’s predisposition towards bettering his position, combined with a natural self-interest to pursue pleasure and avoid pain.¹⁰¹² It was, as Beccaria claimed, “the most humane sort of war and more worthy of reasonable men.”¹⁰¹³

Beccaria’s views on luxury and his criticism of the moralistic interpretation of social parasitism remind us that, lest Beccaria appear to be offering a vision of classless and absolutely egalitarian society, he did not stand to eradicate poverty or social hierarchies altogether. Even at the time of writing, Beccaria’s notion of distributive happiness resulted in some misconceived interpretations of his “socialist” attitude to economics, which wrongly accused him of proposing an egalitarian redistribution of wealth and the abolition of private property.¹⁰¹⁴ Considering the impassioned language with which Beccaria describes the poor,¹⁰¹⁵ one can understand how such misunderstandings arose. Speaking about poverty in *Dei delitti e delle pene* Beccaria claims:

Who can fail to feel himself shaken to the core by the sight of thousands of wretches whom poverty, either willed or tolerated by the laws, which have always favoured the few and abused the masses, has dragged back to the primitive state of nature, and either accused of impossible crimes invented out of a cringing ignorance or found guilty of nothing but being faithful to their own principles, and who are then torn apart with

¹⁰¹⁰ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 105: “I piaceri del lusso non sono i principali elementi di questa felicità, quantunque questo sia un rimedio necessario alla disuguaglianza.”

¹⁰¹¹ *Ibid.*, 111: (footnote a) “Il commercio, la proprietà dei beni, non sono un fine del patto sociale, ma possono esser un mezzo per ottenerlo.”

¹⁰¹² Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 615–6.

¹⁰¹³ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 8.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ferdinando Facchini, *Note ed osservazioni sul libro intitolato Dei delitti e delle pene* (Venice, 1775), 188.

¹⁰¹⁵ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 431: “squallide abitazioni del povero”; 437: “più squallida povertà”.

premeditated pomp and slow tortures by men with the same faculties and emotions, becoming the entertainment of a fanatical mob?¹⁰¹⁶

However while Beccaria clearly implies that inequality ought to be “between classes rather than between individuals” and ought to be “continually destroyed and reborn” rather than perpetual, he never argues that inequality should not exist, but purely that all individuals should have the same opportunity to continually destroy and renew this inequality. In discussion of pecuniary punishments in *Dei delitti e delle pene*, Beccaria reveals by way of parenthesis, that the right to property, in leaving so many to live a life of “bare existence”, is perhaps not necessary, but this is the furthest he ever stretches in insinuating that inequality is not an essential part of the social fabric.¹⁰¹⁷ In fact, it is in Beccaria’s views on property that we see his belief in the equality of inequality most clearly articulated. Beccaria goes to great lengths to argue that as property is a social and not a natural right (“La sicurezza delle propria vita è un diritto di natura, la sicurezza dei beni è un diritto di società”),¹⁰¹⁸ it should not be allowed to remain tied up in primogeniture. Stating that property is the eldest daughter and not the mother of society,¹⁰¹⁹ Beccaria highlights that although property is deeply imbedded in society, thus making a degree of inequality inevitable,¹⁰²⁰ it is not outside the remit of the social contract which demands that obligations preserving public happiness must be observed, stretching from the palace to the hovel. Property, Beccaria argues, does not formally exist without the social contract. Before the union of men, possessions were precarious and uncertain, and the assurance of these possessions is only born out of the mutual defence granted by the social compact,¹⁰²¹ which is echoed in the *Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costumi*, where Beccaria claims that: “All societies formed by scattered and savage men, are based on the individual ownership of

¹⁰¹⁶ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 65.

¹⁰¹⁷ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 75-6: “il delitto di quella infelice parte di uomini a cui il diritto di proprietà (terribile, e forse non necessario diritto) non ha lasciato che una nuda esistenza.”

¹⁰¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁰¹⁹ Beccaria, “Elementi di economica pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 237: “Si deve cio non ostante considerare che la proprietà è figlia promogenita e non e madre della società.”

¹⁰²⁰ *Ibid.*, 413: “Data la proprietà dei beni, una disuguaglianza diviene inevitabile nella società.”

¹⁰²¹ Beccaria, “Elementi di economica pubblica,” vol. III, 237: “avanti l’unione più stretta e più intima degli uomini e delle famiglie, eravi possedimento, ma incerto e precario; uso delle cose, ma non proprietà certa ed assicurata; uso di fatto, e non di diritto, e che questo diritto e questa proprietà sono nati dalla difesa reciproca con cui gli uomini, senza espressa convenzione, ma per tacita adesione di comuni circostanze, di comuni interessi, si sono garantite le attuali loro possessioni, ed accostumati a riguardarle come difese in favore di ciascuno, da tutti contro ognuno.”

goods, just as those societies which are formed out of the first sort of society and which are based on the community of belongings”.¹⁰²² Property is consequently subject to the laws, which are written and intended to be for the universal good and the common weal.¹⁰²³ The result of this is “that everyone is equal in property, that is to say, that there is no property more or less subject to the laws and that the laws that restrict this property are universal in favour of everyone against all.”¹⁰²⁴ Within this framework, property is not harmful in and of itself, but if not administered equally by the laws, can break the tenets of the social contract.

The institutions of *fidecommessi* and *mani morte* which legally cemented privileges among an elite, were at the heart of Beccaria’s criticism. The “too numerous and bizarre” fidecomessi, Beccaria argued, should not only be enjoyed by the few and in perpetuity, but should be obtainable by all and with “steady circulation should accumulate and divide continuously”.¹⁰²⁵ In the appendix to the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, we see this outlook repeated even more clearly in discussion of the impediments to the developments of arts and manufacture:

It is necessary to absolutely remove the obstacles that the laws of barbarous centuries, the laws of feudal government, the laws of private and uncertain jurisprudence – inapplicable to the current circumstances of nations – have placed in the way of the industry of citizens.¹⁰²⁶

Criticising archaic feudal laws for preserving the longevity and illustriousness of particular families, Beccaria argues for the liberation of the land in order to facilitate individual industry. His concern that privilege should not be static but permanently renewed would

¹⁰²² Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 158.

¹⁰²³ Beccaria, “Elementi di economica pubblica,” vol. III, 237: “si vede chiaramente essere la proprietà soggetta alle leggi, siano scritte, siano supposte dal bene universale e dalla salute commune.”

¹⁰²⁴ Beccaria, “Elementi di economica pubblica,” vol. III, 237: “che tutti sieno in eguaglianza di proprietà, vale a dire che non ci sieno proprietà più o meno soggette alle leggi, e che perciò le leggi che limitano questa proprietà sieno universali in favore di tutti contro di tutti.”

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid., 137-8: “La troppa molteplicità e bizzaria de’ fideicommissi ammuccia su poche teste, e rende perpetuo in alcune famiglie, ciò che dovrebb’essere la speranza e lo scopo di tutte, e con assidua circolazione dovrebbe accumularsi e dividersi continuamente. Una famiglia che assorbe le rendite di venti famiglie comode, non fa tanto vantaggio come queste lo farebbero.”

¹⁰²⁶ Beccaria, “Elementi di economica pubblica,” vol. III, 499: “è necessario togliere di mezzo tutti gli impacci che leggi di secoli barbari, leggi di governo feudale, leggi di giurisprudenza privata ed incerta, inapplicabile alle circostanze attuali delle nazioni, hanno frapposto all’industria de’ cittadini.”

consequently have great repercussions for the nobility, the landowners (*padroni*) and, above all, the Church. While Beccaria does not explicitly condemn the land and fiscal privileges of the Church in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, his reference to the “excellent works which have been written on this delicate and important matter” which make any further comments “superfluous”, gives us a clear indication of his opinion on the matter.¹⁰²⁷ Beccaria’s criticism of the outdated *fidecommessi* and *mani morte* clearly articulates his belief that institutionalised inequality ought to be dismantled. Denying that property is a right in and of itself, Beccaria states that there “ought to be as many landowners as suffice to be counted as many times over relative to the population as a whole”.¹⁰²⁸ However, although framing property in terms of individual rights and arguing that the freedom of the land was a prerequisite of the social contract, Beccaria additionally saw this as a financially advantageous policy for the state. Dividing inequality between individuals as opposed to social classes heightened economic competition and redirected wealth back into a circulating economy.¹⁰²⁹

Economic inequality and privilege was not the only injustice that Beccaria wanted to resolve. Social and political inequalities were equally pressing. In both *Dei delitti* and the *Elementi* we see him address the limitations of the patriarchal family structure, which he perceives as reducing individuals to a state of slavery. By considering society as a union of families as opposed to a union of individuals, Beccaria claims that society is composed of small monarchies, where the larger percentage of persons are slaves to the head of the family who represents them. Beccaria underlines that as long as children remain under the jurisdiction of their father, they will become accustomed to submissiveness, fear and self-sacrifice for the *good of the family* which, he claims, is not necessarily the good of any of its individual members.¹⁰³⁰ This slavery also has larger ramifications for society as a whole:

¹⁰²⁷ Ibid., 176. While we do not know which books Beccaria was specifically referring to here, mortmain had become a highly debated topic across Europe, engaging Adam Smith, Jovellanos, Filangieri, Doria and Genovesi among many others. See Venturi’s article, “Church and Reform in Enlightenment Italy: The Sixties of the Eighteenth Century,” *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 48, no. 2 (Jun. 1976): 215-232; and Emilio Sereni, *History of the Italian Agricultural Landscape*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014) for a detailed description of attitudes towards mortmain on the Italian peninsula.

¹⁰²⁸ Translation follows Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 167.

¹⁰²⁹ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 413.

¹⁰³⁰ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 80-1: “Queste funeste ed autorizzate ingiustizie furono approvate dagli uomini anche più illuminati, ed esercitate dalle repubbliche più libere, per aver considerato piuttosto la società come un’unione di famiglie che

Since the laws and customs are the product of the habitual sentiments of the members of the republic, that is the heads of households, the spirit of monarchism will little by little enter the republic itself and the effects of this change will be limited only by the conflict of individual interests, and not by feeling of freedom and equality.¹⁰³¹

The Republic of Families consequently curbs the republican sentiment, not only by removing a large section of the population from the political sphere but also by instilling in them a submissiveness that leads men to spurn the pursuit of virtue. In a union of individuals however, subordination within the family is not by command but by contract. This contract mirrors the social contract writ large: children contract to their families in order to share in the advantages that this union brings. It is this contract that preserves the republican spirit as the large percentage of productive persons who, as slaves in the Republic of Families are removed from the community, are no longer torn between domestic and public morality: no longer taught to limit beneficence to the small number to whom one is obligated, but able to extend this to all individuals.¹⁰³² Beccaria thus clarifies the importance of political and legal independence, not only as essential to preserving the individual's happiness (the ends of the social contract) and liberty (the cause of social contract), but as a defence against despotism. Beccaria continues his criticism of paternal authority in the *Elementi di economia pubblica* when discussing the correlation between

come un'unione di uomini. Vi siano cento mila uomini, o sia ventimila famiglie, ciascuna delle quali è composta di cinque persone, compresovi il capo che la rappresenta: se l'associazione è fatta per le famiglie, vi saranno ventimila uomini e ottanta mila schiavi; se l'associazione è di uomini, vi saranno cento mila cittadini e nessuno schiavo. Nel primo caso vi sarà una repubblica, e ventimila piccole monarchie che la compongono; nel secondo lo spirito repubblicano non solo spirerà nelle piazze e nelle adunanze della nazione, ma anche nelle domestiche mura, dove sta gran parte della felicità o della miseria degli uomini. Nel primo caso, come le leggi ed i costumi sono l'effetto dei sentimenti abituali dei membri della repubblica, o sia dei capi della famiglia, lo spirito monarchico s'introdurrà a poco a poco nella repubblica medesima; e i di lui effetti saranno frenati soltanto dagli'interessi opposti di ciascuno, ma non già da un sentimento spirante libertà ed uguaglianza."

¹⁰³¹ Ibid., 81: "come le leggi ed i costumi sono l'effetto dei sentimenti abituali dei membri della repubblica, o sia dei capi della famiglia, lo spirito monarchico s'introdurrà a poco a poco nella repubblica medesima; e i di lui effetti saranno frenati soltanto dagli'interessi opposti di ciascuno, ma non già da un sentimento spirante libertà ed uguaglianza."

¹⁰³² Beccaria, "Dei delitti e delle pene," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 81-2: "Quando la repubblica è di uomini, la famiglia non è una subordinazione di comando, ma di contratto, e i figli, quando l'età gli trae dalla dipendenza di natura, che è quella della debolezza e del bisogno di educazione e di difesa, diventano liberi membri della città, e si assoggettano al capo di famiglia, per parteciparne i vantaggi, come gli uomini liberi nella grande società. Nel primo caso i figli, cioè la più gran parte e la più utile della nazione, sono alla discrezione dei padri, nel secondo non sussiste altro legame comandato che quel sacro ed inviolabile di somministrarci reciprocamente i necessari soccorsi, e quello della gratitudine per i benefici ricevuti, il quale non è tanto distrutto dalla malizia del cuore umano, quanto da una mal intesa soggezione voluta dalle leggi."

depopulation and the institution of marriage, especially among the “useful classes”. Beccaria condemns the obstructions to choosing one’s own partner, highlighting that reasonable men, both capable and old enough to make such a decision independently, should not be hindered by paternal authority.¹⁰³³ Instead of the rigorous scrutiny of the patriarch, Beccaria proposes that regulations between the “contracting parties” can be laid down, stating various provisions.¹⁰³⁴ By referring to the contracting parties, Beccaria transforms marriage into a legal exchange between consenting individuals who possess the legal independence required to make such a contract. However, paternal authority is not the only impediment to marriage as Beccaria also interprets poverty and feudal privilege as preventing marriage. On the most fundamental level, Beccaria states that men cannot afford to maintain a family. Criticising “everywhere that lands are not owned by individuals, everywhere that there are establishments in which inertia is encouraged and rewarded”,¹⁰³⁵ Beccaria echoes many of the arguments which we have seen throughout this section already, framing the issue of marriage in terms of inequality of opportunity stemming from privileges such as primogeniture.¹⁰³⁶ The disproportionate possession of wealth and property stands directly in the way of marriage,¹⁰³⁷ and criticising the lack of measures proposed to remedy this crucial cause of “moral” depopulation, Beccaria states

¹⁰³³ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 136: “Terza cagione di rarità di nozze, diciamolo arditamente, sono gli ostacoli troppo frequenti che si pongono alla libera scelta dei soggetti, per la creduta prudenza di avere per primo scopo le circostanze accessorie delle nozze. Io non pretendo con ciò né di rovesciare l’ordine stabilito, né incoraggiare l’imatura gioventù ad un nodo tanto più fatale quanto irrimediabile e pericoloso nel calore d’una passione predominante, in una età tenera ed inesperimentata: ma so bene che si possono stabilire vari regolamenti, per i quali, concessa una più libera scelta, si diano varie provvidenze, proporzionate alla distanza che passa fra le classi contraenti. Quanto poi riguarda all’impetuosa giovanili buona fede nel correre in un laccio rovinoso, suppongo il freno delle leggi e l’autorità paterna, non illimitata né capricciosa, ma fino all’età in cui l’uomo è capace di reggere se stesso e di contrapporre con maturità motivi a motivi, ragioni a ragioni.”

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid., 136: “so bene che si possono stabilire vari regolamenti, per i quali, concessa una più libera scelta, si diano varie provvidenze, proporzionate alla distanza che passa fra le classi contraenti.”

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid., 140: “dappertutto ove sono terre che non sono d’individui; dappertutto ove son stabilimenti nei quali l’inerzia è premiata ed incoraggiata.”

¹⁰³⁶ Ibid., 138: “Abbiamo detto che le classi utili devon essere tanto più numerose ed incoraggite quanto più sono vicine alla classe produttrice ed alimentatrice; ora, venti famiglie hanno più bisogni che mettono in moto queste classi, che non una famiglia sola, quantunque ricca come le venti. Aggiungasi che invece la natura tende d’una famiglia a formarne molte; i troppi vincoli posti alle terre, il consacrarle all’ingrandimento d’un nome ed al lusso svogliato d’un primogenito, tendono di molte a farne una sola.”

¹⁰³⁷ Ibid., 137: “Aggiungo, di più, che nelle circostanze nostre presenti, nelle quali, data la proprietà de’ beni, è dato l’arbitrio ai particolari di disporre a capriccio di tali proprietà, l’immagine seducente di vivere senza travaglio si moltiplica co’ proprietari di rendite ereditarie.”

that the solution will come from the same hand that “will raise industry and that will give motion to the arts and labour, the same wise hand that will distribute to a large number of people the means of subsistence”.¹⁰³⁸ Without ensuring that men can earn a wage that is proportional to their family’s needs, there can be no increase in marriage and procreation as men will not knowingly start a family that they cannot afford. Consequently, Beccaria repeatedly states that, in order to make marriage and procreation more attractive, a man must be paid enough to support a wife and three children and that the minimum value of a man’s maximum labour must equal at least five daily foodstuffs.¹⁰³⁹ Other ostensibly economic factors figure into Beccaria’s account. For example, the overwhelming luxury and pomp of upper class weddings sets a detrimental example to the lower classes. Pausing to reflect on the security of women in particular, Beccaria claims that the exorbitant dowries, which are valued above all other considerations, are exhausted by the time the wedding is over.¹⁰⁴⁰ These funds ought to be put towards the domestic burden, Beccaria claims, in order to secure the position of the woman who has fewer resources and less liberty than the man.¹⁰⁴¹ Unfortunately Beccaria offers few other insights into his views on women and their role in society, nonetheless this statement suggests that he was concerned with the dependence of women upon their husbands, which could be in part remedied by allowing women a degree of financial independence. We can perhaps rely on Franci’s article “Difesa delle donne” in *Il Caffè* which makes very similar claims to Beccaria. Franci argues that women should play a more active and productive role in the marketplace.¹⁰⁴² Dividing women between “citizens” and “plebeians”, he claims that citizen women could hold managerial positions in commerce, at exchange tables and in workshops, while plebeian women ought to be trained for class-appropriate non-domestic jobs. The

¹⁰³⁸ Ibid., 139–40: “Rispondo: la mano che solleverà l’industria e che darà il moto alle arti e alle fatiche, la stessa saggia mano che distribuirà sopra d’un gran numero di persone i mezzi di sussistenza, quella sarà che, i nodi maritali moltiplicando fra le occupazioni utili e proficue, sottrarrà dall’inerzia e dall’opinione gli alimenti usurpati dalla infeconda dissolutezza.”

¹⁰³⁹ Ibid., 135: “È necessario che la massima attività di un cittadino abbia tanto valore di mantenere una moglie e tre figlioli almeno.... è necessario che il valore minimo del massimo travaglio d’un uomo rappresenti almeno cinque alimenti giornalieri, date le differenti maniere di vivere delle differenti classi di uomini.” And 494: “necessario di più che egli non sia costretto a diminuire i salari de’ suoi operai al di sotto dei cinque giornalieri alimenti.”

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibid., 136–7: “le doti divengono sempre enormi, si cercano le più pingui a preferenza d’ogni altra più naturale considerazione, e queste rimangono esauste coll’estinguersi delle tede nuziali.”

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid., 137–8: “dovrebbero essere irremissibilmente messe a rendita per sostenere gli accresciuti pesi domestici, ed assicurar alla donna, che ha meno risorse e meno libertà dell’uomo, un qualche sicuro alimento.”

¹⁰⁴² Sebastiano Franci, “Difesa delle donne,” in *Il Caffè*, 245–256.

employment of lower class women in particular was of great importance, as Franci argues that these earnings would not only help to support a family, but would award women the dowry they needed to secure a marriage, and Franci consequently reveals the importance of financial independence for women as a means of both security and liberty. All women however are seen as having a key role to play in the nation as contributing individuals to both state and commerce. We also encounter Beccaria's understanding of the repercussions of social oppression in his views on marital infidelity, homosexuality and infanticide. Adultery, Beccaria claims, is the combination of human nature, and domestic and patriarchal oppression. Sex is a universal need of mankind which cannot be controlled by the laws, therefore when individuals have their determination over this natural need dictated by others, it is only logical that adultery should occur:

Conjugal fidelity is always proportional to the number and freeness of marriages. Where they are held together by ancestral prejudices, where they are welded and sundered by domestic power, there gallantry will stealthily break their bonds despite common morality, whose role it is to decry the effects and excuse the causes.¹⁰⁴³

Regarding infanticide, Beccaria interprets this as an inevitable outcome in a society which does not protect women from tyranny and which disgraces women who have "given in to weakness":

Infanticide results from the unavoidable conflict in which a woman is placed if she has given in to weakness or violence. How could one who finds herself caught between disgrace and the death of a being unable to feel what harms it, not prefer the latter to the certain misery to which she and her unhappy fruit would be exposed? The best way to prevent this crime would be to have effective laws to protect the weak against the tyranny which exacerbates those vices which cannot cover themselves with the mantle of virtue.¹⁰⁴⁴

Most strikingly, we see Beccaria's prioritisation of the individual over the unborn child, as he attests to the rationality of a woman choosing infanticide in the knowledge that both her and her child's life will be miserable. Before we award Beccaria too much credit for his enlightened social views however, we must turn to his 1787 reflections on the Code of Joseph II. Here he distinguishes between the gravity of female and male adultery claiming that, as women can potentially and secretly bare children of different fathers, their infidelity is more damaging to society. Such a calculation attests to Beccaria's adherence to the social contract but presents an interesting tension between how to align proportional punishment

¹⁰⁴³ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 80.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 81.

with issues potentially arising from the abuse of the individual's rights protected within this same contract.

Outside of the family structure, Beccaria similarly criticised the entrenched formal hierarchy of the artisanal professions. Instead of encouraging individuals to overcome their natural inertia, the exams, licenses, permissions and prescriptions of these arts, as well as their family-like structures and codes of conduct, made it hard for students to enter the profession.¹⁰⁴⁵ Consequently, although patriarchal oppression is subject to Beccaria's most violent criticism, we see that social, legal and economic disenfranchisement more generally is of great concern. Far from being a solely legal issue however, disenfranchisement is a political problem, connected to Beccaria's understanding of liberty and its perversion, slavery. Across his writings Beccaria uses slavery both as a category and a metaphor. In discussing poverty, political disenfranchisement and legal injustice, he similarly refers to those who are "enslaved" within the existing social framework. We see this concept arising for instance, in Beccaria's discussion of the severe sodomy laws:

Homosexuality.... Has its foundation less in the needs of an isolated and free man, than in the emotions of a socialised and enslaved one. It derives its strength not so much from the satiation of pleasures as from that sort of education which begins by rendering men useless to themselves with a view to making them useful to others. It is a product of those houses where eager youth is cooped up and, deprived by insurmountable obstacles of all other contacts, expends its adolescent vigour in profitless activities, becoming old before its time.¹⁰⁴⁶

Homosexuality is presented as a failing of society. Unlike adultery, which is based upon the combination of inescapable human nature and social oppression, homosexuality is rooted in the emotions of the enslaved in a socialised state. It is not a fundamental source of pleasure, as is heterosexual behaviour, but rather derives from misguidance and disempowerment. In fact, so deep ran Beccaria's concerns over slavery, that in a later-added footnote in *Dei delitti e delle pene*, he admitted his shame at having given the impression that he condoned debtors working as slaves for creditors: "I was accused of irreligion, and did not deserve it. I was accused of sedition, and did not deserve it. I

¹⁰⁴⁵ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol.III, 494–5.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 81

offended the rights of humanity, and no one reproached me.”¹⁰⁴⁷ His concerns regarding slavery derived from Beccaria’s understanding of liberty. Beccaria consistently presented a negative form of liberty in which individuals could pursue their happiness without intervention, so long as their actions did not harm other members of the social pact: laws acted negatively, preventing harm as opposed to promoting happiness.¹⁰⁴⁸ Liberty could only be limited by the laws and Beccaria saw this liberal vision as sacred, forming the basis of a legitimate society. The obligation of governance was thus to provide equal access for all to the free market and its derivatives, leaving the actual pursuit of happiness to individual initiative. This is referred to by Bernard Harcourt as the “equal distribution of social welfare”,¹⁰⁴⁹ however welfare aligns more with positive liberty than with its negative counterpart. Access, on the other hand, is a term which implies pursuit not provision, and which seems more fitting with the liberal vision presented by Beccaria.

In the *Pensieri sopra le usanze ed i costumi*, Beccaria provides some background to the rise and protracted existence of the patriarchy and social hierarchies, as based upon habit, ignorance and laziness. Discussing “unreasoning veneration”, Beccaria claims that the common people, if made to choose between unquestioning veneration and the “long and laborious investigation of truth” would not hesitate to choose the former so as to avoid mental effort.¹⁰⁵⁰ This reluctance to avoid exertion is a natural inclination which, when accompanied by the deception of those who seek to take advantage of this inclination, becomes increasingly dangerous. It causes the common people to:

Confuse practices with laws, and names, titles, uniforms and the temporary rules of specific groups with the foundations of public well-being, with the expression of the

¹⁰⁴⁷ Beccaria, “Dei delitti e delle pene,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. I, 111: “Sono stato accusato d’irreligione, e non lo meritava. Sono stato accusato de sedizione, e non lo meritava. Ho offeso i diritti della umanità, e nessuno me ha fatto rimprovero.”

¹⁰⁴⁸ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 48: “Every citizen ought to believe himself able to do anything which is not against the law without fearing any other consequences than what follows from the action itself. This is the political creed which ought to be received by the people and preached by the magistrates scrupulously upholding the law. This is a sacred creed, without which there cannot be a legitimate society.”

¹⁰⁴⁹ Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets*, 59.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 154: “Among the common people, age has always been a motive for unreasoning veneration. This is both out of distaste for the things of the present – the only ones, it appears, to give offence – and also because, faced with the choice between veneration, on the one hand, and a long and laborious investigation of the truth, on the other, most of them would have little hesitation in choosing the former, given their natural inclination to avoid mental effort except where it is unavoidable.”

general will which arises from the balancing of opposed interests and the cooperation of those who are joined together. Manners are simpler than the laws, just as language is much simpler than the ideas it conveys, and the multiplicity of the former distracts men's attention from the latter; and they serve cunning tyranny as so many thick veils behind which safely to hide its usurpations.¹⁰⁵¹

Habit and the confusion of practices with law thus result in a stagnant society, "aided by the efforts of the scoundrels who benefit from them, who attempt to pull the wool over people's eyes by dwelling on the array of meanings they have acquired while glossing over their frivolous origins and the now irrelevant necessity that produced them."¹⁰⁵² While not all manners are oppressive, Beccaria interprets these manners as imposing fear and abasement, requiring one "to show all the signs of your dependence and smallness".¹⁰⁵³ Customs, Beccaria claims in *Dei delitti* "are always a hundred years behind a given nation's stage of goodness and enlightenment".¹⁰⁵⁴

Conclusion

The foundation of all aspects of Beccaria's political philosophy is his vision of human nature and the "ineradicable human sentiments". Humankind, driven by the motivating sentiments of pains and pleasures, cannot escape from these basic instincts and society must be sympathetic to, and take advantage of, these natural motivations in order to benefit state and individuals alike. Beyond this foundational premise, Cesare Beccaria's philosophy is based on a series of equilibriums. At the very heart of his thought is the delicate balance between rights and utility, individual and state, upon which rests his unique formulation of the social contract. The utilitarian purpose of ensuring the greatest possible happiness for each citizen equally negates any potential sacrifice of the individual to the majority on the grounds of utility, reaching a balance between utilitarianism and contractarianism which prevents the assessment of all actions by utilitarian factors and protects the individual's interests in parallel with the utilitarian objective of governance. However, Beccaria presents another important equilibrium, that which balances abstract theory with practical reform. The compromise theory proposed within *Dei delitti e delle pene* and in his subsequent writings can be viewed as an attempt to find a middle road between

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid., 154.

¹⁰⁵² Ibid., 155.

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid., 156.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Ibid., 74.

an unobtainable utopia and achievable reforms compliant with the existing social structure. His argument considering the abolition of the death penalty, for example, demonstrates how specific elements derived from the compromise theory can be realised in practice, as Beccaria both challenges the utility of the death penalty and appeals to the social contract stating that the state has no right to take the lives of citizens, offering in its place the more useful punishment of long-term penal servitude. We likewise find this balance in Beccaria's views on the free market: the economy is not an end of the social contract, but a means to an end, providing the opportunity for individuals to pursue their own happiness through the pursuit of wealth and luxury. Similarly, the destruction of social, legal and economic privileges such as land ownership, patriarchal authority and gendered working rights would facilitate the opening up of the market to the population and consequently uphold the tenets of the social contract. Beccaria consequently presents three main institutions requiring reform: the system of law, the economy and institutionalised privilege. It is the belief in the free market and the destruction of social, economic and legal privileges as manifestations of how the social contract can be upheld, that we will see framing Beccaria's programme for practical reform as a state administrator in the following chapters. Equal access to the free market, whether in terms of actual economic endeavours, or more indirectly interpreted as access to services, is paramount to public utility.

While this chapter cannot fully explore all the dimensions of Beccaria's intellectual genealogy, what has become apparent while clearly shaped by canon texts in political philosophy by Locke, Condillac and Helvétius, Beccaria's philosophy reflects the growing trend in the late eighteenth century for philosophy and political economy to be more conversant with the life sciences and natural history. His writings demonstrate a keen receptiveness to anthropology, anatomy, medicine, as well as to economic, political and philosophical theory – to both physical and political anthropology – and we can speculate that this combination is why Beccaria never reaches any conclusive “science of man”, which reduces humankind to a uniform human nature. While Beccaria attempts to show the calculability of human behaviour on the one hand, he struggles to align this reduction with his strong belief in the individual, as was no doubt a product of his dialogue with natural historians of the day. Nonetheless, we can equally speculate that while Beccaria was not attempting to reduce human nature and history to uniformity he was trying to scientifically comprehend them for the benefit of contemporary politics, as was the broader

project of many other contemporary Enlightenment thinkers and which perhaps indicates that Beccaria had ambitions for a more comprehensive philosophy than we can trace today.

– CHAPTER FIVE –

Of Man and Beast

Public health, public utility and Lombard science

Cesare Beccaria's swift exit from both Paris and his philosophical career baffled contemporaries across Europe. Feigning chronic illness, he had vanished after a mere two months abroad, provoking criticism and intrigue as to the possible motives behind such professional disregard. While it was difficult for his peers to comprehend how he could be so dissatisfied with fame and the metropolis, it proved even harder to understand how Beccaria could have chosen a self-imposed exile in body and mind to the backwaters of the Milanese administration. Harder still was stomaching Beccaria's national embarrassment. He had subjected his glowing reputation and, alongside it, those of his friends and increasingly cosmopolitan *patria*, to ridicule. What, lamented Pietro Verri, would they say to the Duke, to the Princess, to Count Firmian?¹⁰⁵⁵ Desperate, his friends probed other avenues to tether Beccaria to Paris and their intellectual midst: they attempted to coerce his beloved wife, Teresa, into limiting her affectionate tone in letters to her husband, a frostier separation presumably cooling Milan's allure;¹⁰⁵⁶ they appealed to Beccaria's father, voice of resented, patriarchal reason; resorted to name-calling, taunting Beccaria with threats of looking like an "imbecile incapable of living far away from his mother".¹⁰⁵⁷ Still, Cesare remained resolute. In response to the epistolary haranguing of his colleagues, he conceded that he had indeed accomplished much from his time in Paris – made useful contacts, seen the city, sowed the seeds of his future happiness – but it had been enough to satisfy his needs and now he would return home to walk his native streets and bask in the comforts of

¹⁰⁵⁵ Pietro Verri to Cesare Beccaria, (Milan, 26 October 1766), letter 159 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 462–3: "Immaginati cosa dovrai dire al Duca, alla Principessa, al conte Firmian nella prima visita."

¹⁰⁵⁶ Pietro Verri to Alessandro Verri, (Milan, 2 November 1766), letter 161 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 469–70.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Pietro Verri to Cesare Beccaria, (Milan, 26 October 1766), letter 159 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 464: "ti dovrebbe guardare come una imbecille che non sa vivere lontano dalla mamma".

his home-grown reputation.¹⁰⁵⁸ To attempt to convince him that the weighty concerns of Europe were resting in his hands was to fall upon deaf ears: what, if anything, claimed Beccaria, was his worth as a savant if he could not first address those misfortunes of his Milanese compatriots?¹⁰⁵⁹

Beccaria returned to Milan to remain indefinitely, busying himself in the state administration, university teaching and other local institutions, such as the Società Patriotica di Milano.¹⁰⁶⁰ With the demise of the *Il Caffè* journal and broken friendships with the Verri brothers, Beccaria turned his hand away from writing philosophy and redirected his efforts towards practical reforms set to benefit the Milanese state and its growing population. He was far from alone in such a domestic focus. While Beccaria's "conversion" to the local administration undeniably bore the brunt of the Philosophes' frustrations, the Milanese Illuministi's pooling of talents and distance from the wider intellectual community was a point of much consternation, as Morellet articulated in a letter to Pietro Verri, 1767: "Devenus des hommes d'état, vous ferez les meilleures choses du monde dans votre Milanois, cela est bien. Mais je suis cosmopolite et voudrais bien que vous travaillassiez un peu pour le genre humain".¹⁰⁶¹ Morellet – self-professed *cosmopolite* – in pinpointing the responsibilities expected of the savant, revealed much about the Republic's dismay at Beccaria's untimely departure. The fracture between the local ambitions of the Milanese *homme d'état* and the worldly concerns of the cosmopolitan was, in Morellet's eyes, absolute: to be cosmopolitan, a citizen of the Republic of Letters, implied a duty to address the good of mankind, relinquishing those national, regional and patriotic concerns to serve a higher, philosophical purpose. Regardless of their prominence, correspondence and connections

¹⁰⁵⁸ Cesare Beccaria to Pietro Verri, (Paris, 15 November, 1766), letter 163 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 476–7: "Sono stato felice urtando tutto Milano, facendo un matrimonio perfettamente a mio modo, io solo, senza riputazione preventiva, ed ora non potrò avere il coraggio di tornare due mesi prima di quello che avevo stabilito alla mia patria, nel seno della mia famiglia, fra amici che mi amano e mi onorano, e la stima dei quali ne impone a tutti gli altri... Non ho mancato di approfittare della corta mia dimora, ho ben visto ed esaminato Parigi, ho fatte mille utili ed importanti amicizie, ho gettati i semi della mia futura felicità".

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid.: "Io, che per quello che si è passato e per mille prove giornalieri debbo esser convinto che i suffragi dell' Europa sono in mia mano, e dovrò curar quelli dei Milanesi?".

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cesare Beccaria to Teresa Blasco Beccaria, (Lyon, 12 October 1766), letter 150 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 438: "troverò il pretesto della mia salute per poter partire onoratamente".

¹⁰⁶¹ André Morellet to Pietro Verri, (14/15 March 1767), *Electronic Enlightenment*, R. V. McNamee et al. eds., Vers. 2.4, University of Oxford, 2013, <http://dx.doi.org/10.13051/ee:doc/moreanEE0010138a1c>.

within the European intellectual community, the Milanese Illuministi, according to Morellet, did not make sufficient effort to fashion themselves as integral, non-national members of the Republic of Letters. Yet, for the Milanese, as will become clear through the trajectory of Beccaria's own career in office, there was an understanding that they could, at one and the same time, manoeuvre within both the Enlightenment public sphere and the Lombard administration: within the realms of both cosmopolitanism and patriotism. While Beccaria's focus during this period was the improvement of Lombardy, he remained part of discussions stretching across the European Republic of Letters, above all concerning developments which had practical potential for the administration.

From 1771 Beccaria was continually employed by the state. Contrary to the concerns of his peers and the still common depiction of Beccaria as resigning to a period of inertia,¹⁰⁶² the documents from his administrative career present a vibrant and active functionary who confidently traversed the divide between philosophy and public service, adhering to his famous statement that "science" was most advantageous when playing an active role in the world.¹⁰⁶³ The wealth of extant documents from this period of his life provide great insight into his activities, responsibilities and, above all, concerns as an administrator, at many times forming the meeting point of personal interest and professional obligation. It is here that we see his domestic focus complemented by his own writings and shaped by his cosmopolitan correspondence. More crucially, it is here that we see his preoccupation with utility find its voice, consistently framing, along with reference to the public good and happiness, his reasoning behind key administrative decisions. Beyond this continuity, what is especially remarkable, is Beccaria's visible leaning towards scientific knowledge, expertise and experts as sources for ameliorating social problems, directing science, as it were, towards the pursuit of public utility. Suddenly faced with the bitter realities of bovine epidemics, dying silkworms, failed harvests, poor food sanitation, under-educated peasantry and rural squalor, Cesare Beccaria, philosopher-cum-administrator, *cosmopolite-cum-homme d'état*, responded with initiatives which reflected the growing authority of, and faith in,

¹⁰⁶² Venturi famously claims that: "Era ormai diventato un alto funzionario e la sua carriera chiudeva ogni anno più in una grigia e spenta normalità". Franco Venturi, "Beccaria, Cesare," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, VII (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1965), 467.

¹⁰⁶³ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 87: "Finalmente, non picciolo vantaggio può arrecare lo studio di una scienza non rinchiusa nella solitudine di un gabinetto, non versante intorno ad oggetti remoti dall'uso promiscuo della vita."

professionals and expertise from disciplines as varied as medicine, agronomy, engineering, veterinary medicine, physics and mathematics. In matters of public health in particular – but one of Beccaria’s many fields of responsibility – this trend is especially pronounced. Here we see that Beccaria not only extends the reach of the administration further into public life in order to preserve the public good, but that he does so by encouraging the professionalisation of scientific disciplines, capitalising upon the skills of trained experts and implementing measures based upon empirical scientific study. We have already seen in Chapter IV that Beccaria interpreted the sciences to play a crucial role in the development of society and his administrative papers grant us the opportunity to see the extent to which this belief carried over into practice. In exploration of this point, this chapter will examine Beccaria’s state papers pertaining to the field of disease and animal health: a core area of growing administrative responsibility. Examining state responses to epizootics and the discussions surrounding the creation of the Milanese veterinary school in particular, it will become clear that Beccaria saw the improvement and standardisation of epizootic controls and veterinary medicine as crucial to both public and state utility, as man and beast were intimately connected. The preservation of healthy livestock and working animals was essential to man’s existence, as well as to ensuring the trade and revenue pivotal to the circulation and growth of state finances. Anything that could optimise this relationship, such as the promotion of “scientific” veterinary training, was consequently of the utmost utility. From these examples we additionally see how the qualified medical professional became invaluable to the state, lending authority and relevant expertise to support the administration’s endeavours. Not only did these individuals have practical medical training, their expertise and professional title had added value in legitimising the decisions taken by the Lombard government, eager to convince Vienna of the efficacy of their actions. However, while the science of disease control needed refining through observation and analysis, and veterinary education needed formalising, these developments were only to render these fields more efficient and professional in matters of public utility, rather than to solely contribute to the corpus of scientific knowledge. We will see that Beccaria’s attitude towards public health pivoted above all around notions of public utility and context. It was the administration and the rhetoric of the public good that legitimised expert knowledge and not the other way round. It was in the best interests of the nation to prevent disease and it was in the best interests of the nation that measures were adapted to the specific needs and demands of Lombardy. Never allowing expertise to forgo utility, Beccaria

employed a calculation where preventative measures were weighed against their utility in a given situation: if technological and scientific developments did not serve to benefit the public good, they served little use. In the case of epizootic management we see that this outlook resulted in calls for “Lombard science” which was not only vernacular in terms of language, but with regards to the ways in which standardised and centralised medical knowledge was, with the extensive intervention of the administration, tailored to the Lombard environment. Whether interpreted as Lombard patriotism and resistance in the face of Habsburg imperialism, or as a pragmatic response to the limitations of local medical practice, this Lombard science is discernible in its fusion of administrative and medical expertise and in its continuity with Beccaria’s views on utility.

However, health is not a fundamental right laid down within Beccaria’s social contract theory. This social contract, based upon the greatest happiness of each individual equally, results in the state being accountable for facilitating the access of all individuals to the pursuit or avoidance of pleasure and pain. In our case, avoidable ill health and the economic disruption caused by preventable diseases form the obstacles that the state is required to remove in order to enable such equal access to the pursuit of happiness. It is vital that the government ensures this basic equal-access to happiness, not only due to the conditions of the social contract, but additionally to profit from the economic returns this pursuit of happiness brings the state: in this scenario, the revenue of a healthy populace with flourishing agriculture, livestock and their resulting trade.¹⁰⁶⁴ Public health and public utility are consequently framed throughout Beccaria’s documents in predominantly economic terms. Public health, by its very nature concerned with the removal of obstacles causing pains, is rendered an essential responsibility of government as it preserves individuals’ ability to pursue wealth, whilst at the same time reaping economic benefits for the state through the protection of its workforce and means of production.

Medical expertise and the changing regulation of public health

By 1789, Cesare Beccaria had become head of the II Dipartimento del Consiglio di Governo della Lombardia Austriaca, the department responsible for monitoring such areas

¹⁰⁶⁴ For an interesting account see Dorothy Porter, *Health, Civilization and the State: A History of Public Health from Ancient to Modern Times* (London, New York: Routledge, 1999), 57.

as hunting, police, prisons and sentencing, agriculture, yearly produce, commerce and industry. It was a role at which he would work tirelessly until his death in November 1794 and its records remain a rich, untapped depository of “Beccarian” thought. From iron mining to the import of fabric, the standardisation of weights and measurements, census taking and the quarantine of infected livestock, the activities of the Consiglio provide a great insight into the growing intervention of the Lombard administration into the public’s affairs as the official documents from the duration of Beccaria’s career illustrate the breathtaking range of the Consiglio’s increasing commitments and responsibilities. In this role, Beccaria employed the services of those appropriate professionals who came highly experienced, highly trained and highly recommended, and from his papers we see that the qualified expert came to be the trusted figure to whom the administration should look for help, their expertise carrying both practical and rhetorical weight, especially medical and veterinary experts who were central to the advancing reach of the administration into matters of public health.

The frequent use of terms such as *perizia* and *esperto* in Beccaria’s state papers indicate that there was, at the very least, an intuitive understanding of what expertise entailed within the administration. However, we do not find a definite classification being used amongst Lombard administrators in the latter half of the eighteenth century but rather a wider interpretation of expertise which encompasses multiple criteria. The documents from the Consiglio present a clear understanding of the distinction between the trained professional and the experienced layman, and demonstrate that the Lombard state was concerned with creating a uniform definition of medical professionals (both physicians and veterinarians) through setting explicit standards which qualified individuals as professional, (such as the proposed exam system addressed later in this chapter) and formally distinguished them from healing trades. More important than definition however, was the issue of legitimation. In the Lombard context it was the state that determined and legitimised expert knowledge, which then became publicly affirmed. The administration not only took responsibility for classifying expertise through state imposed standards but, understanding the cultural value and political currency of expertise in the Habsburg empire, used expert knowledge as a persuasive tool in appealing to authorities in Vienna. Cesare Beccaria’s administrative engagements in public health and sanitation demonstrate that the sciences and professionals with scientific expertise became increasingly recognised as valuable in

resolving issues which affected both state (economically) and public (essentially), by acting with efficiency, skill and growing political, intellectual and public validity. It reflects what Brendan Dooley has claimed was central to the period of institutional reform in Italy, namely questions regarding new possible applications of science and the rebranding of the “reputation of the science practitioner as the saviour of humanity, bearer of progress, prophet of improvement”.¹⁰⁶⁵ Science, Dooley argues, and all the endless connotations of this term, followed a general cultural trend in concerning itself with useful knowledge, producing what he describes as a “scientific ethic in harmony with the spirit of Capitalism”.¹⁰⁶⁶

The role of the expert in the Lombard administration can be seen as accompanying a more general early modern trend towards the formalisation of expertise. Much scholarship has documented the rise of the early modern expert and many have concentrated on defining who these experts were and their changing relationship with the state. Eric H. Ash has provided a set of definitions for expertise in this period which illustrate the broad dimensions of this concept. Primarily, expertise meant possessing and controlling a body of specialised practical or productive knowledge, not readily available to everyone. It was also based at least in part upon experience, acquired both in the learning and in the subsequent wielding of the knowledge in question. Expertise likewise involved the abstraction or distillation of theory from practice and experts were distinguishable from common practitioners or artisans within a given field. Finally, experts did not exist without a socio-political context; expertise required some form of public acknowledgement, affirmation, and legitimation to make it real.¹⁰⁶⁷ Ash concludes his argument by claiming that expertise is a ‘negotiated concept, one that relies upon broad consensus for its meaning and efficacy’.¹⁰⁶⁸ Steven Shapin however has placed greater emphasis on the rise of the ‘civic expert’: a “scientifically skilled” person employed by eighteenth-century governments, commerce and the military.¹⁰⁶⁹ Although this was not a new role, Shapin argues that during this century there was a vast increase in civic experts from a wide range of scientific

¹⁰⁶⁵ Dooley, *Science and the Marketplace in Early Modern Italy*, 164.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 163.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Eric H. Ash, ed., *Expertise: Practical Knowledge and the Early Modern State*, *Osiris*, vol. 25, no. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Steven Shapin, “The Image of the Man of Science,” Roy Porter ed., *The Cambridge History of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 180.

disciplines, whose presence was vital to imperial ventures and trade. Consequently governments increasingly nurtured and deployed expertise in pursuit of material interests.¹⁰⁷⁰ A somewhat different interpretation is offered by Klein and Spary, who have presented the concept of the *hybrid expert* who occupied a “middle ground, where technological competence, connoisseurship, and learned natural knowledge were converging and from which hybrid experts emerged, borrowing skill, language, and explanations from both the artisanal and the scholarly worlds.”¹⁰⁷¹ The *hybrid expert*, whose expertise was much broader regarding the fields of specialist knowledge they covered and whose title did not immediately signal such a precise definition of their skills as it would today, illustrates the more flexible identity of the early modern period’s expert. Not only was the expertise of these hybrid experts more diverse, but the sphere of its application was equally flexible. As Lois C. Dubin has claimed with regards to physicians, the authority of the physician, as civic expert, extended from the individual patient to the body politic more generally.¹⁰⁷²

Medical experts were especially vital to the Lombard administration’s ambitions of policing public health and the rise of the expert runs parallel to the increasing state involvement in public life. With the plague in decline, other diseases such as malaria and smallpox had crept up in its wake, becoming increasingly endemic to towns and cities, and prompting new concerns for the health of populations.¹⁰⁷³ The eighteenth century marked the growing belief of states and governments that they should intervene more extensively in the lives of the public in matters of health and welfare, and governments focused their efforts on prevention as the most powerful, and sometimes only, weapon the authorities could wield in the face of ruthless diseases. Governments started such initiatives as draining swamps, regulating food production more rigorously, banning certain trades from urban areas, and began to take a growing interest in demography and census taking in hope of preventing devastating epidemics. Such endeavours required the knowledge and skills of dedicated experts and those professionals with medical training, be they surgeons, physicians,

¹⁰⁷⁰ Shapin, “The Image of the Man of Science,” 181–2.

¹⁰⁷¹ Ursula Klein and E.C. Spary, eds., *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe: Between Market and Laboratory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 6.

¹⁰⁷² Lois C. Dubin, “Medicine As Enlightenment Cure: Benedetto Frizzi, Physician to Eighteenth-Century Italian Jewish Society,” *Jewish History*, vol. 26, no. 1–2 (2012): 205.

¹⁰⁷³ Porter, *Health, Civilization and the State*, 46–61.

apothecaries, or midwives were of particular value to the state, often dispatched to rural areas to educate, treat and report on the first signs of infection.¹⁰⁷⁴ With the rise of preventative programmes, these experts consequently earned a new composite identity: paid as titled professionals by the government for the use of their invaluable and irreplaceable expertise, but not necessarily employed within the government as government officials. The duty of these medical professionals was to their patients as opposed to the administration and consequently their skillset rendered them fundamentally independent, required *ad hoc* by, but not beholden to, the state. Italy was no exception to this trend. Whilst often called upon to give informal advice, physicians had not traditionally held advisory positions on the health boards of early modern Italian states and the formalisation of their consultative role came as a product of changing attitudes during the eighteenth century, especially in the Habsburg lands, based upon the rising validity of expert opinion as part of the medical police and the broadening ambitions of the medical discipline. This transformation has given rise to the image of the physician as legislator – the medical expert who actively contributed to the making of the law. Just as political philosophers came to be embraced by governing bodies, physicians were increasingly perceived as useful contributors to medical and health policy, cooperating with administrative bodies in the conception and implementation of expedient and humanitarian initiatives.¹⁰⁷⁵ This legislative contribution was especially noticeable in the persecution of medical charlatans who were increasingly subjected to ever more rigorous licensing, taxation and penalties for their services. The term *ciarlatano*, although once a term of derogation, had come, under the licensing restrictions of the Italian *Protomedico* tribunals and health offices from the sixteenth century onwards, to generically denote a healing trade, with the label proving that an individual's wares had been subjected to inspection and approval.¹⁰⁷⁶ The *ciarlatano*'s negative connotations had been overtaken by the word *empirico*, used to deride those “empiric” physicians claiming medical authority from non-sanctioned medical training,¹⁰⁷⁷ an anecdote which points towards the importance placed upon drawing the boundaries between the categories of professional and non-professional medical practitioners. Come

¹⁰⁷⁴ Peter H. Wilson, *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2009), 173.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Peter Elmer, *The Healing Arts: Health, Disease and Society in Europe 1500–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 161.

¹⁰⁷⁶ David Gentilcore, “The ‘Golden Age of Quackery’ or ‘Medical Enlightenment’? Licensed Charlatanism in Eighteenth-Century Italy,” *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 3 (2006): 253.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 254.

the second half of the eighteenth century, Italian health boards were becoming far more discerning in their charlatan licensing requirements, refusing the certification of remedies that they deemed harmful, inefficacious, unoriginal or too similar to those provided by apothecaries. Milan was particularly strict in its stipulations: remedies could only be licensed if they could pass repeated empirical trials which demonstrated their superiority to existing treatments, which resulted in a dramatic decline in *ciarlatano* licenses issued during this period.¹⁰⁷⁸ As physicians and the medical professions became better organised and more selective, there was little room for the practices of the then non-professionals, resulting in the increasing repression of healers and charlatans. Despite the regulation of the medical professions by the guilds and the *Protofisico*, it was only after the government reforms under Joseph II which were intended to regulate medical standards and remove the monopolies of medical institutions, therein fundamentally changing the existing structure and qualifications of medical study, that the medical expert came to play a central role in the Lombard administration. Before these reforms, only physicians had been required to attend university. Other medical professions, such as surgeons and apothecaries, were licensed by guilds, hospitals or the *Protofisico*. The *Protofisico* was responsible for the licensing of medicine, surgeons and apothecaries, while hospitals, run as pious foundations under canon law, trained and employed their own surgeons and apothecaries without inspection from either the government or the *Protofisico*. Physicians were organised in *Collegi*, which were similarly self-governing and licensing. These bodies had total control over who could practice and who could enter the profession, which became dependent upon birth and status during the period of Spanish rule in Lombardy. There was a vast difference in the education of these medical professions. Surgeons and apothecaries commonly received two to four years of humanities education (Latin and rhetoric) in one of the Pious schools, followed by a four to six year course of apprenticeship. Physicians however, required further years of schooling, which included the study of philosophy, before then undertaking and completing a university degree. However, despite this more stringent course of study, the university degree was ultimately more akin to an apprenticeship: The beginners' study was completed by oneself, there were only minimal lessons provided by the *Collegi* and there was no serious examination system. Corruption also made it possible

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibid., 258–60.

to purchase the title of doctor after a mere few months of study.¹⁰⁷⁹ However this system was overturned during the a period of dramatic reform in Lombardy in the 1780s, which culminated in the abolition of the guilds and Collegi, and the secularisation of hospitals and charitable institutions. The medical schools were likewise overhauled and refashioned on the Habsburg model, no longer based upon the apprenticeship system and divided between clinics, and anatomy and surgery. Surgeons were made to attend university, following a parallel course of study to physicians, therein destroying the previous hierarchy of roles and replacing it with medical specialisation. The previous Collegio entry requirements of birth and status were abandoned and a central medical directory was established to award physicians licences upon their successful completion of two years of hospital experience after the conclusion of their degree. Above all, the training of all medical practitioners was brought up to date with the latest medical, biological and anatomical knowledge, under the direction of Tissot, Johann Peter Frank and Antonio Scarpa. With these reforms, medicine became increasingly streamlined through both the standardisation of knowledge and approaches, as well as the localisation of this knowledge within the universities and medical societies. The reforms were not just restricted to the structure of medical training, but the organisation of the administrative departments responsible for public health. The creation of the Consiglio di Governo in May 1786 under Joseph II and its replacement with Magistrato Politico Camerale in 1791 by Leopold II and the removal of the individual jurisdictions of the collegi and guilds, had dramatically reorganised and expanded the areas of government responsibility. A central office was thus created to rationalise and manage medicine and health across the entire state, held in place by a network of administrators spread throughout the territory who answered to the central office, ensuring that there was a standardisation in attitudes towards public health throughout the provinces.¹⁰⁸⁰ The new office for sanitation and public health was consequently granted vast authority, responsible for creating an exam system which would qualify individuals as professionally trained, as well as ensuring that this level was consistently applied throughout the state. It was consequently this department that possessed the authority to generate experts and

¹⁰⁷⁹ Elena Brambilla, “Scientific and Professional Education in Lombardy, 1760–1803: Physics between Medicine and Engineering,” *Nuova Voltiana*, vol. 1 (2000): 51–99.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Anita Malamani, “L’organizzazione Sanitaria nella Lombardia Austriaca,” in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia*, eds. de Maddalena, Rotelli and Barbarisi, 999.

professionals through the standards they decided upon, regardless of what these standards were.

Epizootics and paternalistic government

The prevention, containment and treatment of epizootics became an increasing concern for the Lombard administration in the final decades of the century. Whether through ignorance of good hygiene practices, miseducation on the nature of contamination, or the lack of resources to successfully tackle epizootic outbreaks, local communities had habitually failed to prevent disease from spreading, provoking the central government to take control of epizootics under the auspices of the public good. It is hard to imagine how devastating epizootics were in eighteenth-century Europe. Cattle plague, in particular, often known as *Rinderpest*,¹⁰⁸¹ had repeatedly devastated communities throughout the century. With a mortality rate of over ninety per cent, and a swift and macabre mortality at that, Rinderpest was rightly feared and its aggressive, highly infectious nature had made a mockery of even the most advanced sanitation methods as the infection rampaged through Europe on three separate occasions, 1711–1717, 1745–1757 and 1767–1786, killing an estimated 200 million or more cattle across the continent.¹⁰⁸² With poverty, food shortages, political unrest, diplomatic incidents and national economic crises all commonly resulting from the outbreaks, it is no wonder that governments across Europe set themselves to the task of eradicating or, at least, containing the disease. From France's Turgot, to Milan's own Beccaria, the health of livestock was a pressing concern for eighteenth-century state administrators and infection was considered a national emergency. There was a shoot-to-kill policy ordered by the Venetian Governor for those attempting to smuggle infected livestock across the Austrian border, a drastic initiative likewise issued by the Governor of Brescia for those peasants surreptitiously disposing of their dead infected cattle into the

¹⁰⁸¹ *Rinderpest* is often used to identify all cattle plagues, but not all infectious cattle diseases were *Rinderpest*. See: Dominik Hünninger, "Policing Epizootics: Legislation and Administration during Outbreaks of Cattle Plague in Eighteenth-Century Northern Germany as Continuous Crisis Management," in *Healing the Herds: Disease, Livestock Economies, and the Globalization of Veterinary Medicine*, eds. Karen Brown and Daniel Gilfoyle (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010), 76–7.

¹⁰⁸² See: Brown and Gilfoyle, *Healing the Herds*, 76; Dorothee Brantz, "Risky Business: Disease, Disaster and the Unintended Consequences of Epizootics in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century France and Germany," *Environment and History*, vol. 17 (2011): 31–51; Clive A. Spinage, *Cattle Plague: A History* (New York: Kluwer Academic, 2003).

rivers.¹⁰⁸³ The response of the authorities was prompt, clear and thorough. The stakes were too high and the medical understanding of how the disease worked, too low, for it not to be a matter of the utmost government concern. However, despite its frequency and severity, the standard treatment of Rinderpest had not changed dramatically by the time Beccaria came to sit in office. The primacy of the Hippocratic-galenical pathology – the conviction that disease resulted from the composite environmental elements of water, air, temperature and diet acting upon the individual’s humoral constitution – was only beginning to be scrutinised, bringing with it the first questions as to the efficacy of traditional responses to epizootic outbreaks.¹⁰⁸⁴ This is not to say that officials or those abiding by Hippocratic principles were ignorant of good hygiene practice. Quite the contrary, the knowledge of sanitation techniques for times of epidemics was long-standing. Across the Italian states medical boards had, since the seventeenth century, set out quarantine regulations stipulating policies of containment and waste disposal and to tackle epizootic and epidemic outbreaks. orders were often sent out to clean public streets and sewers in order to dispel the foul vapours believed to be causing infection.¹⁰⁸⁵ Animal health treatments proposed at the start of the eighteenth century included many common sense solutions such as isolating and killing sick animals and those suspected of infection, the disinfection of animal enclosures, the deep burial of corpses and the provision of new oilskins for workers between each location, which continued unchanged throughout the century. In fact, it was in Italy in 1712 that such recommendations were first made by Giovanni Maria Lancisi, Papal physician and Bernardino Ramazzini, renowned for his reflections on occupational disease and malaria.¹⁰⁸⁶ The advice of these two respected physicians was to open up the Italian medical profession to comparative epidemiology, chipping away at the stigma of “deliberately fastidious” physicians who found it “inconsistent with their image and dignity to compromise their minds by attention to that department of medicine which is called veterinary” and criticising those medics who

¹⁰⁸³ Karl Appuhn, “Ecologies of Beef: Eighteenth-Century Epizootics and the Environmental History of Early Modern Europe,” *Environmental History*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2010): 268–70.

¹⁰⁸⁴ François Vallat, “An Outbreak in France in the XVIII Century: Rinderpest,” in *Comptes Rendus Biologies*, vol. 335, no. 5 (2012): 347.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Elmer, *The Healing Arts*, 285.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Vallat, ‘An Outbreak in France in the XVIII Century,’ 346.

disassociated themselves from all that was “true, useful and honourable” in the curing of animal disease.¹⁰⁸⁷

In August 1790, Beccaria’s department was faced with the outbreak of a mysterious epizootic in the small farming town of Melegnanello, located in the commune of Lodigiano, Lombardy.¹⁰⁸⁸ After being sent reports stating that a local herd of cattle had showed signs of a new illness that had swiftly and violently killed several cows, the medical officials in Lodi, verifying that the infection was not similar or related to another epizootic observed in Germany, compiled a day-to-day report on the progress of the disease to be sent to Johann Joseph Wilczeck, President of the Council of Government and Plenipotentiary, along with a formal request for veterinary assistance. The report spurred Beccaria into action, dispatching the veterinarian, Giovanni Battista Volpi and the sanitation officer, Pietro Sommariva, to Melegnanello to further investigate the outbreak. Volpi, one of the original four students sent from Lombardy to study at the first veterinary school founded by Claude Bourgelat in Lyon, was recommended by the Consiglio who believed that his exemplary veterinary training qualified him as the most capable of determining the true cause of the disease. These two officials, respectively representing the tailored expertise and training of the medical and administrative professions, were deployed by a centralised government department to work together to resolve the outbreak, demonstrating the crucial cooperation between medical experts and the Lombard administration. The minutes of the Dipartimento II’s session of 16 August 1790, articulate the official response of the Consiglio to the Melegnanello outbreak, setting out the actions and precautions to be taken by Volpi and Sommariva. High on the agenda was secrecy. In order to prevent widespread panic amongst a rural population rightly terrified of infection, Beccaria implored that the veterinarian, Volpi, keep the outbreak secret, so as to prevent alarm amongst the general public and butchers in particular.¹⁰⁸⁹ Aware that the presence

¹⁰⁸⁷ Lise Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease: An Introduction to the History of Comparative Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 46.

¹⁰⁸⁸ “Epizoozia a Melegnanello,” no. 3783 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 451.

¹⁰⁸⁹ The issue of the consumption of livestock which has died from infection is a frequent issue within the Atti di Governo. In a separate document, we see that Beccaria seeks expert advice as to whether the meat from animals infected with bovine pleuropneumonia can be consumed without endangering human health. See “Vendita delle carni di bovini malati nel Cremonese,” no. 5250 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XV, 222-24. A similar document discusses the dangers of consuming

alone of sanitation experts in a small town could well incite panic, Beccaria hoped to calm the public imagination, dictating that the officials should, under no circumstances, reveal the details of their assignment, but instead swiftly and quietly implement the necessary sanitation precautions. The Consiglio had clear guidelines for organising the quarantine process and the disposal of the infected cattle: the dead animals, in all their parts, were to be buried in deep pits and covered with lime to quicken the decomposition time. Though Beccaria provided only a concise description of the process, the impression is given that this was a tried and tested system of containment, a defined and approved protocol employed in epizootic outbreaks that would prevent the chances of further infection from contact with the dead animals. Still, it was not a protocol that was written in stone, as the day-to-day observations from Melegnano by Volpi and Sommariva themselves reveal that much of the preparation for the decision-making process relied on the reports of these on-site experts, whose advice and evidence provided the backbone for the Consiglio's official responses. In their report, Volpi and Sommariva provided a detailed daily account of the progress of the disease amongst the infected cattle, before using their observations and results from Volpi's extensive autopsy investigations to give thorough recommendations and instructions as to how to treat the diseased animals.¹⁰⁹⁰ Most crucially, the officials used their findings to produce an exhaustive account of the preventative measures implemented in the diseased area to ensure that the infection could not spread further. Insistent that the infected herd should be quarantined; kept physically away from the healthy cattle, as well as not, at any point, touching the same water or grass, Volpi and Sommariva demonstrated a detailed understanding of how epizootics were and could potentially be, transmitted, taking precautions that illustrated the extent to which the Department of Sanitation and the veterinary profession could calculate the possible scope of infection. So thorough was their approach and high their anxiety, that these officials ordered the provincial authorities to even ensure that after the infected cattle were moved, the roads and communal streets be fully cleaned so as to preclude any possible cross-contamination. The measures laid out by Volpi and Sommariva thus indicate how the Lombard public health authorities were swiftly developing standard approaches in disease

chicken which has died from infection, "Epizoozia nel Milanese," no. 3684 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 310–12.

¹⁰⁹⁰ "Relazione di Giovanni Battista Volpi e Pietro Sommariva," in Rosalba Canetta, 'Gira la stalla come pazza: Cesare Beccaria e un caso di epizoozia a Melegnano' in *Studi Settecenteschi*, no. 23, 2003, 304–8.

management. Initially dispatched to Melegnano with a predetermined quarantine framework, the reports sent back to the Consiglio for approval illustrate that there was an empirical component to disease management, with the precautions and treatments prescribed in each individual case, although being based on standard practices, ultimately resulting from detailed examination of the specific infection by the relevant experts.

After only a few days, Volpi and Sommariva were able to deduce that the Melegnano outbreak was neither epidemic, nor contagious and had been caused by poor quality food. Yet, as a consequence of the centralised administrative structure, it was not until the end of the month that Beccaria was satisfied enough with the experts' evidence and reports to inform Wilzbeck that the methods and remedies employed as treatment, in prevention and in containment, had been successful and thus the case could be closed and its methods encouraged in subsequent outbreaks. Furthermore, it was not until October that Volpi and Sommariva were reimbursed for their expenses, the case having to be duly processed between Lombardy and Vienna before any payments could be issued. On this note, although both Volpi and Sommariva were sent to Melegnano, working together to resolve the situation, unlike the state officer, Volpi's payment was a more complex matter. The professional veterinarian, consulted but not employed by the state, could not receive a standard wage like other state employees, but had to be provided for through the finances set aside in anticipation of such events. The Consiglio's reports indicate that there was an allotted fund dedicated to covering these expenses, to be issued by the regional Superintendent of Lodi. This source of payment serves to highlight the extent of preventative precautions taken in case of epizootics, as the administration, aware of the possibility of having to employ a professional to expediently handle the situation, pre-emptively set aside funds in the knowledge that they would require expert services. In fact, the outbreak in Melegnano highlights more generally how prevention was the foremost concern not only in disease management, but public health overall. The separation of responsibilities between the health professionals dispatched to the scene of the outbreak and the officials from the municipal and regional administration of Melegnano, gives a clear indication that despite the existence of local administrative bodies throughout the provinces, the high level of concern for issues of disease and contamination resulted in epizootic infection instantaneously becoming, in cases that were considered dangerous, the duty of the centralised Milanese department. Unlike the local authorities, the Consiglio,

being responsible for public health, held the relevant expertise and experience at their command and could better protect the public by responding more efficiently to epizootic episodes. While the provincial officials were obliged to aid the efforts of the experts sent from the Milanese central office, the level of centralisation within the Lombard administration meant that it had the final say in regional matters of sanitation. Regardless of local administration powers, if the Lombard administration deemed an issue to be a threat to public health, it was content to claim responsibility for regional outbreaks and employ necessary precautions founded on professional veterinary expertise in order to prevent further contagion. In issues of public utility, it becomes clear that the administration was content to set aside and pay for the expertise of professionals in order to ensure swift and efficacious resolutions.

To give an idea of how seriously the outbreak in Melegnanello was considered, we can turn to the 1793 proceedings of the *Società Patriotica di Milano* – of which Beccaria was not only a member (in 1782 he was awarded the title premier conservateur de la société), but for which he was responsible from 1786 onwards – which contains an extensive report of the outbreak alongside an exposition of the extent of bovine disease in Lombardy. Discussing the Melegnanello case specifically, the proceedings give a detailed medical report of the symptoms of the new disease, followed by an account of the dissection performed by the surgeon and his findings.¹⁰⁹¹ The dissection provided all the necessary observations from which to understand the symptoms of the disease: the stomach was inflamed and full of dry, hardened plants, which had caused the violent death of the cattle. Making a diagnosis however was more difficult due to the extent of the illness among the herd. Either, the cattle had been eating plants which were dry caustic, or they had been ingesting poisonous caterpillars which were in the grass.¹⁰⁹² The reasons for including the report in the proceedings were made abundantly clear. Cattle, it is stated, form the riches of Lombardy and their illnesses were of the highest interest and consequently the report of a new disease was treated as a matter of public concern. The *Società Patriotica di Milano* thus interpreted it to be its duty to address the topic of bovine disease and it not only reported upon outbreaks and treatments, but even funded research and experiment. Two diseases in

¹⁰⁹¹ *Atti della Società Patriotica di Milano*, (Milan: Imperial Monistero di S. Ambrogio Maggiore, 1793), xxxviii–xxxix.

¹⁰⁹² *Ibid.*, xxxix.

particular, *zoppina* (foot and mouth disease) and *polmonea* (bovine pleuropneumonia) were infecting cattle in the region and in 1791 the Società Patriotica offered a prize of 50 Zecchini for the most effective proposal for the cure, diagnosis, preventative measures and eradication of foot and mouth disease.¹⁰⁹³ Giuseppe Majocco had won the prize with his account, which the proceedings published along with his recipe for the medicine in 1793. It was described as “truly empirical... and was not made according to the principals of modern pharmacy”, nonetheless the remedy worked in practical application and was an example of “similar empirical preparations which daily experience demonstrated to be beneficial”. However, it was only with “time and repeated experiment that would demonstrate whether this method was useless or advantageous”.¹⁰⁹⁴ A prize of 100 Zecchini was similarly offered in 1792 for treatments of bovine pleuropneumonia. The society stated that, in order not to delay the circulation of these useful instructions on bovine diseases, they have reprinted in the proceedings, and in pamphlet and open sheet forms, those suggestions which will benefit Italian farmers.¹⁰⁹⁵ As we shall see in both here and Chapter VI, the availability and circulation of medical literature in non-professional form was a crucial concern for Beccaria during his time in the administration and the involvement of the Società Patriotica di Milano in facilitating this dissemination of useful knowledge documents the wider concern for this issue. The *Atti della Società Patriotica di Milano* helps to document the changing attitudes towards public health in Milan more generally. For example, we see the progression between 1789 and 1793 of the category “cure della società per ciò che riguarda l’umana salute” which becomes “cura della società per la salute pubblica”.

The account presented here is representative of many facets of the administration’s attitude towards public utility in the field of public health. Above all, we can remark on the extent of the administration’s involvement in local health affairs as the outbreak in Melegnanello exemplifies the expanding reach of the administration into public life and local

¹⁰⁹³ *Atti della Società Patriotica di Milano*, (Milan: Imperial Monistero di S. Ambrogio Maggiore, 1793), xxxv–xxxvij.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxvii. “Veramente la composizione di questa ricetta è puramente empirica, e non fatta secondo i principj d’una ragionata, e molto meno della moderna Farmacia. Ciò non ostante essa ha ben corrisposto nella pratica applicazione; e non è questo il solo esempio di simili empiriche preparazioni, che la cotidiana sperienza dimostra vantaggiose. Il tempo, e le sperienze replicate dimostreranno di questo metodo di cura l’inutilità o l’avantaggio.”

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxvij.

government. Throughout the duration of Beccaria's career the documents from the Consiglio display an increasing range of areas that it claimed responsibility for, progressing from the more fundamental issues of grain, forestry and commerce, to issues such as the consumption of poisonous mushrooms,¹⁰⁹⁶ the launching of fireworks,¹⁰⁹⁷ and the regulation of the theatre. The extension of these powers derived from the Theresian, Josephinian and later Leopoldian reforms which drastically altered the Lombard administrative apparatus, slowly but surely widening the purview of departments such as Beccaria's. Moreover, the preventative measures and treatments undertaken under the auspices of public utility in Melegnanello reflect an overtly paternalistic outlook. The mechanisms of sending experts to the field, observation and reporting to the centralised authority, empirical study, and government distrust of local efforts, ostensibly removed the issue of disease from local hands, transforming it into a site to be managed by those with state-approved knowledge. This knowledge-power relation is particularly notable with regards to the secrecy surrounding epizootic outbreaks. In a similar document pertaining to an outbreak of fever in Milan, Beccaria decides, after it is suggested that a physician should write a piece for the *Gazzetta* in a bid to calm the public's apprehension about the disease, that it is more dangerous to inform the public as he claims that such notices only amplify fear.¹⁰⁹⁸ Yet, while the administration sought to keep information about outbreaks restricted, it demanded that local authorities and citizens report immediately on local health matters. We see, across the administrative documents, that Beccaria is sent reports from a vast number of epizootic outbreaks, which outline the measures undertaken to prevent the further spread of disease.¹⁰⁹⁹ This compiling of information, ranging in importance from unwarranted concern about a possible outbreak to devastating epidemics, articulates the administration's keen supervision of disease management,¹¹⁰⁰ and the minute detail of the dispatches reveals the extent of the process of reporting to the centralised authority. In cases where the Milanese administration did not intervene in local epizootics this was exclusively based upon their assessment of the situation, not upon a lack of information regarding the outbreak. Nonetheless, there was no guarantee as to the quality of these local

¹⁰⁹⁶ "Morte per Funghi a Milano," no. 3859 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 569.

¹⁰⁹⁷ "Fuochi artificiali a Milano," no. 268 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 268.

¹⁰⁹⁸ "Epidemia a Milano," no. 3671 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 289.

¹⁰⁹⁹ For example, "Epizoozia nel Pavese," no. 5176 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XV, 138.

¹¹⁰⁰ For example, we find reports from situations where only two cows have died. See "Epizoozia a Bestazzo e a Cusago," no. 3871 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 582.

reports and experts such as Volpi and Sommariva were crucial in providing more extensive and accurate information. In other scenarios we see that Beccaria forces the hand of local authorities, demanding that experts assess the situation, even though precautionary measures have already been put in place. On one such occasion, Beccaria insists that experts be sent to Como and its immediate surroundings, in order to evaluate whether an infection was contagious or dangerous to human beings, after finding the efforts of local officials to be insufficient.¹¹⁰¹ In addition, we see the administration's concern for preventative measures. Although the case of Melegnano begins as a response to an outbreak, the treatment of this situation is primarily forward looking. Volpi and Sommariva undertook extensive measures to prevent further contagion and more importantly, they compiled empirical evidence on successful methods and treatments which served to hasten the response to future outbreaks.

The paternalistic outlook of the Lombard administration is partially accounted for by the political sensitivity surrounding disease. Cattle plague indiscriminately crossed borders and passed along trade routes, requiring the exchange and transfer of news, medical knowledge and practical expertise, both in its advance and in its wake, and preventative epizootic measures became the topic of extensive communication and information exchange between countries and regions. The containment of disease thus required cross-border solutions that encouraged the circulation of information and communication between infected regions and those yet to be infected, opening up a dialogue between medical professionals and state administrators across Europe.¹¹⁰² Understanding that disease prevention was not exclusively *in situ*, diplomatic cooperation was required between lands and regions in order to ensure that infection was not carried over borders, as well as to sensitively lay down the plans and penalties should such infection occur. Beccaria's department, the II Dipartimento del Consiglio di Governo della Lombardia Austriaca, was responsible for brokering such negotiations and we find a large number of documents addressing the terms of cooperation on disease management. One such example

¹¹⁰¹ "Epizoozia a Como," no. 3736 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 381.

¹¹⁰² The English physician Daniel Peter Layard, expert on epizootic control, was even royally commanded in 1770 to 'hold a foreign correspondence', exchanging advice with European governments as to the best precautions and previsions in times of outbreaks. Lise Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease: An Introduction to the History of Comparative Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 59–60.

documents how cattle, suspected of infection, were prevented from being transported from the Canton of Lucerne into Lombardy.¹¹⁰³ Framing the decision in terms of the “pubblica indennità”, the public benefit, this embargo reflected the extent to which the Lombard state intervened pre-emptively in matters of public health. Other trade bans were more local, in 1793 we see that the municipality of Cremona refuses entry to its territory of infected livestock from the area of Parmigiano.¹¹⁰⁴ It was in the interests of administrators, responsible for the public good, to cooperate on such trade bans in order to ensure not only healthy, reciprocal relations and revenue with external trading partners, but to prevent the transmission of infections whose spread could, also domestically, have potentially destructive economic and social consequences. Trust and good communication channels were thus vital and we see that representatives must attest to the health of their livestock. In 1790, the representative of the Three Leagues, had to confirm to Beccaria that there were no epidemics in any of their animals before traders were allowed to sell them at the Lombard fairs, as did the Consul of the Canton of Rezia in 1792.¹¹⁰⁵ In another report we see the extensive channel of official communication regarding disease. Beccaria receives notice from the sanitation officials in Modena that a fishing vessel from Nafplio in Greece carrying an outbreak of some contagion, has docked in Venice. Sending out the warning to other regions, Beccaria receives another notice about the contagion from the governor of Livorno, thus heightening his concern over the matter. The silence of the Venetian sanitation authorities, he claims, amplifies their fears of the worst. We thus see the mechanics of the communication set in motion, as it becomes Beccaria’s duty to circulate this information throughout the sanitation departments on the peninsula.¹¹⁰⁶ The geographical expanse of this network was vast. In a quarantine report from the Venetian authorities, we see that the chain of communication includes Dalmatia, Venetian Albania (the Bay of Kotor), Bosnia and the city state of Ragusa (Dubrovnik).¹¹⁰⁷ Similarly, we find a quarantine report from the Papal States which provides information from The Kvarner

¹¹⁰³ “Richiesta d’intervento presso le autorità svizzere per impedire l’invio di bestiame probabilmente ammalato, 21 ottobre 1793” in Rosalba Canetta, ‘Questioni agricole milanesi in alcuni scritti inediti di Cesare Beccaria: Testi’ in Mario Romani ed., *Contributi dell’Istituto di storia economica e sociale*, vol. I, (Milan: Università Cattolica, 1973), 180.

¹¹⁰⁴ “Epizoozie nel Parmigiano,” no. 5343 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XV, 319.

¹¹⁰⁵ “Importazione di bestiame,” no. 547 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 547; “Importazione di bestiame dalla Repubblica Rezia,” no. 4930 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XIV, 539.

¹¹⁰⁶ “Quarantina nei porti veneziani. Epizoozia a Cortemaggiore,” no. 5409 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XV, 385–6.

¹¹⁰⁷ “Quarantena nei porti veneziani,” no. 6042 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XVI*, 374.

Gulf, Budva, Curzola (Korčula) and Austrian Littoral (Istria peninsula, Gorizia and Gradisca, and the city of Trieste).¹¹⁰⁸ On a separate occasion we find Beccaria fighting to keep these information channels open. When the Habsburg court recommends removing the protocol of declaring the health of livestock coming from nearby territories, namely the canton of Grisons, Beccaria argues that this old tradition serves to protect the nation which, being hardly unaccustomed to epizootics, knows too well how fatal such epidemics are to the economy.¹¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, these preventative approaches and trade bans were ultimately framed by the rhetoric of the public good. Outbreaks were variously described in terms of being a “grave oggetto ed interessante la pubblica causa”, or an “oggetto sommamente interessante il bene della pubblica causa”,¹¹¹⁰ and in doing so the administration claimed responsibility for these issues of public welfare.

This paternalistic attitude was not just reserved to the public and local officials but extended to the medical and sanitation experts employed to assess and treat matters of disease. Regardless of their training, expertise and experience, the professional opinion of these experts and the persuasiveness of medical and specialist knowledge did not necessarily hold sway over the administration if such advice was considered contrary to or insufficient for public utility. Medical, veterinary and sanitation expertise were interpreted as complementary not executive tools in addressing matters of public health and it was the administration which dictated the applicability of expertise in the field. While expert advice was often based on the most the current practices and advanced knowledge in the field, this was not sufficient reason for its implementation, rather, expert knowledge had to be compromised to serve public utility. This balance between expertise and utility comes across in multiple reports, one example being when Beccaria dismisses the expert opinion of the physician employed to assess the potential danger caused by the proximity of natural

¹¹⁰⁸ “Quarantena nei porti dello Stato pontificio,” no. 4500 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XIV, 25.

¹¹⁰⁹ “Importazione di bestie bovine,” no. 3388 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XI, 835: “È sempre stato costume che il Governo grigione, in occasione della fiera di Lugano abbondante di bestiame, preveniva il cessato Tribunale di Santità coll'assicurarlo dell' ottimo stato de' bovini nei loro paesi e, in vista di tale assicurazione, si davano le opportune disposizione perché non fosse frapposto ostacolo alla introduzione. Questa antica pratica è stata continuata dal Consiglio, nel quale si è concentrata la direzione degli affari di Sanità, e siccome non è niente incomoda ai due Governi e altronde sarebbe una novità rischiosa il negligerla a difesa del nostro paese, nel quale l'epidemia de' bovini non sono rare e sono così fatali all'economia dello Stato, si crede conveniente il ritenerla.”

¹¹¹⁰ “Epizoozia nel pavese e affari di Sanità,” no. 6316 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XVI*, 681–2.

fertiliser to rural dwellings, claiming that the danger would not outweigh the economic hardships the residents would endure from its removal.¹¹¹¹ In response to an outbreak of avian infection, Beccaria similarly criticised the overzealous precautions taken by the municipal experts, which he claimed would pose unnecessary impediments to industry and trade.¹¹¹² Above all, Beccaria dismissed expert opinion when he perceived sanitation measures to cause disproportionate economic disruption for individuals. Regardless of the administration's preference for prevention in matters of disease control, if prevention methods were deemed to cause greater economic compromises than the disease itself, they could not be pursued. It becomes clear that it was not health and sanitation *per se* that was the concern of the Lombard administration, but rather the prevention of those aspects that would compromise public happiness as understood in economic terms: an approach which is easily understood through Beccaria's social contract, where happiness is interpreted as access to the pursuit of wealth. While the state increasingly relied on medical expertise to inform its decisions, employing relevant professionals whose advice was fundamental to calculating the costs and benefits of specific intervention, there was no perceived necessity in following medical advice if it was to the detriment of the economic liberty of citizens.

Milan's veterinary school: The utility of professional training

While the techniques of handling epizootics had changed little throughout the early modern period, the growing networks of information exchange, the increasing involvement of the state and experts in disease outbreaks, and the heightened government concern for prevention above treatment, all reveal changing attitudes towards disease, which ultimately resulted in public health being increasingly drawn into the administration's remit to the point where professional, government-sanctioned intervention became standard practice. The non-medical treatments previously performed by farriers and apothecaries were

¹¹¹¹ 'Parere sulla vicinanza dei letamai alle abitazioni, 16 novembre 1789' in Rosalba Canetta, 'Questioni agricole milanesi in alcuni scritti inediti di Cesare Beccaria: Testi', in Mario Romani ed., *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia economica e sociale*, vol. I, 170: "Non é così certo, come lo credono i Deputati dell'Estimo di Paderno Cremonese e il Medico Bevilacqua che i vapori, che sorgono dai Lettamaj siano così pestiferi sopra tutto nella Campagna, dove i Cortili delle Case Contadinesche sono larghi, ed aprici per lo più, che richiegono necessariamente di proibirne l'ammasso...che non sia approvata l'evidente necessità di allontanare questi Lettamaj, e non sia trovato un mezzo farlo, senza sensibile aggravio della rurale economia, non esservi luogo a parziale provvidenza."

¹¹¹² "Epidemia a Milano," no. 4562 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XIV, 95.

deemed no longer sufficient, as were the localised sanitation efforts of municipalities, and the cooperation of administrative and medical experts was perceived to be more efficient, more scientific and more effective. Although the reports from epizootic outbreaks confirm that the advice of medical experts was not gospel, the Milanese administration did increasingly recognise that preventative measures implemented by experts and based upon professional training and scientific study could be beneficial in improving the state response to epizootics. They consequently set about finding initiatives to standardise and optimise epizootic control. One such undertaking between the years 1787 and 1789, was the creation of a Milanese veterinary school, intended to train veterinary physicians to prevent and treat the unnecessary spread of epizootics. The plans show that the school was to be built within the grounds of Milan's pre-existing lazaretto, a longstanding bastion of sanitation and quarantine against the plague. Created in 1456 in conjunction with the Ospedale Maggiore, the lazaretto was the envy and inspiration of many European cities, renowned for its efficacy in disease control.¹¹¹³ By the late eighteenth century however, the Milanese authorities were confident that the risk of plague was minimal, the city's last outbreak having been in 1629–30 and the lazaretto was promptly converted into various military barracks before eventually housing the cavalry. The institution thus seemed both a historically and logistically appropriate site for the training of a new generation of professional veterinarians. Already standing, spacious enough and carefully constructed so as to contain infection, Beccaria argued that the lazaretto would not only be easily converted into a veterinary school, but its use would save the administration vast expenses.¹¹¹⁴ Yet, while the city could evidently house a veterinary school, recycling the lazaretto was not sufficient reason to convince Vienna to dispatch a percentage of its treasury to the Milanese periphery and Beccaria had to persuade the Habsburg administration that a veterinary school was not only essential to the improvement of the region but also fell under the responsibilities of government. With veterinary medicine still

¹¹¹³ A good example being: Joseph Cawthorne, *The Immediate Necessity of Building a Lazaretto for a Regular Quarantine, after the Italian Manner, to Avoid the Plague* (London, 1786). Additionally, for the history of the Milanese Lazaretto see Giovanni Denti, Annalisa Mauri, Maria Pia Belski eds., *Milano: L'ambiente, il territorio, la città* (Florence: Alinea Editrice, 2000), 43.

¹¹¹⁴ "Attività del Dipartimento III nel 1786: relazione, 31 marzo 1787," no. 1689 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 258–9: "che la Scuola si tenesse nel già preparato sito del Lazaretto, sito opportunissimo e per l'ampiezza del luogo e per il risparmio di spesa, esistendovi già un sufficiente corredo di ciò che è più necessario all'esercizio teorico-pratico della prefata Scuola, e dove si farà anche trasportare da Mantova tutto ciò che può essere utile all'intento e che ivi già esisteva in quella ora abolita Scuola".

a nascent discipline, the project faced inevitable questions: what was the incentive for creating such an institution when blacksmiths had been performing similar veterinary duties for centuries? Why was animal health now considered to be the responsibility of the Lombard administration? Cesare Beccaria, ever the skilled writer, stated his objectives with remarkable clarity:

La Scuola Veterinaria è anch'essa, come tutti gli altri oggetti scientifici, un ramo della pubblica istruzione, e un ramo tanto più pregevole quantoché tende ad una immediata pubblica utilità, pregio che non a tutti gli altri oggetti si può egualmente attribuire. Dire che, risentendone la pubblica economica il vantaggio, ai fondi della stessa appartiene la spesa di questa istituzione, sarebbe lo stesso che dire che le altre scienze, che a carico peculiare del fondo della Pubblica Istruzione destinatovi dalla sovrana munificenza sono fatte insegnare, debbono essere a carico pubblico, perché tutte più o meno sull'utilità pubblica influiscono.

For Beccaria the veterinary school was, like all scientific objects, a branch of public education. In fact, it was an even more precious branch as it tended directly to public utility. In asking the Habsburg court to help fund its creation, Beccaria's proposal laid out the objectives, educational structure and ethos of the veterinary school, carefully and repeatedly articulating the science underlying the programme and the benefits to be reaped for public utility by training professional veterinarians in this most useful of sciences. If those diseases, historically responsible for devastating populations of working animals, could be either prevented or treated, this would not only be advantageous for the long-suffering public, but also the state economy. Invited to the Court in 1789 to clarify the details and problems arising from the school's design, Cesare Beccaria toiled at convincing the authorities of the school's worth, presenting a case which pivoted around the utility of the school for both state and public.¹¹¹⁵

The school Beccaria presented to the Habsburg court was by no means the first of its kind. To the contrary, Beccaria's proposal was modelled on the original veterinary school founded by Claude Bourgelat in Lyon in 1762.¹¹¹⁶ The resistance Beccaria faced was thus

¹¹¹⁵ Rosalba Canetta, "Questioni agricole milanesi in alcuni scritti inediti di Cesare Beccaria," in *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia economica e sociale*, vol. I, ed. Mario Romani (Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1973), 25.

¹¹¹⁶ Additionally, we see that Beccaria owned a copy of Claude Bourgelat's *Le nouveau Newcastle ou nouveau traité de cavalerie geometrique, theorique et pratique*. He also owned Niccolò Rosselmini's, *Dell'obbedienza del cavallo* and *Lettera critica, ed istruttiva di Rosselmini sopra il vero metodo di addestrare il cavallo*.

not due to the innovative nature of the school, but rather the poor status of veterinary medicine. Simply put, the decades since the Lyon school opened had not yielded significant results to sway public opinion as to veterinary medicine's outstanding scientific value, let alone to consider professional veterinary training a necessity state investment. Although the foundation of Bourgelat's school had generated great discussion, in the proceeding decades veterinary medicine remained the victim of frequent and vocal discrimination by a subset of medical practitioners who perceived the discipline to be undignified and demeaning for their profession and argued that it wasted the valuable resources of the limited number of qualified physicians and new hospitals. They believed that the health of animals, too trivial for the talents of trained physicians, was best left to their untrained hands of farriers, as it had been for centuries.¹¹¹⁷ On the other side of the debate were the keen supporters of veterinary medicine, who believed physicians to be the only individuals capable of treating epizootic disease. While many physicians perceived medicine to be all-encompassing, treating man and beast alike and harked back to the *physicus* of Salerno and Montpellier, underlining the ancient history of veterinary arts, the medical profession was, on the whole, divided on the matter. These physicians considered it to be their responsibility to promote veterinary science, which although not a university discipline *per se*, had, they argued, played a fundamental role in educating general medicine on issues of infection and disease. Looking back to the Romans they traced a genealogy of veterinary science that highlighted the contributions of animal healers to modern medicine, stressing how quarantine practices and knowledge of disease transmission by air and blood contact had been introduced to general medicine only after being studied in animals.¹¹¹⁸ The physicians engaged in this debate were correct to draw attention to the longstanding tradition of veterinary arts spanning throughout ancient and early modern civilisations. Yet, it was only in the eighteenth century that this long trajectory of veterinary medicine took such a distinctive turn, witnessing a dramatic shift in values, interpretations and medical understandings of animal health. Two strains of thought are particularly important in accounting for the changing attitudes which contributed to the formalisation of veterinary medicine, one pragmatic, the other philosophical. Firstly, the rise in more general concerns regarding public health, hygiene and sanitation played a significant role in encouraging the treatment

¹¹¹⁷ Calvin W. Schwabe, *Cattle, Priests and Progress in Medicine* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978), 159–160.

¹¹¹⁸ Schwabe, *Cattle, Priests and Progress in Medicine*, 155–6.

and study of animals. With growing numbers of works illustrating how human epidemics and infection were often transmitted or caused by animal vectors or epizootics, animal health was increasingly understood as connected to human health. There was a realisation that developments in preventative sanitation measures would have limited success if they were not equally applied to the animals responsible for carrying disease (an issue which was to reoccur later in criticisms of the equine focus of veterinary schools – horses carrying the least dangerous of all communicable diseases, but receiving the most scholarly attention).¹¹¹⁹ Furthermore, as increasing awareness was placed upon the economic dimension of preventative hygiene practices, arguments were put forward to equally protect and preserve the health of animals, who, when killed or incapacitated in times of sickness, prevented individuals and farmers from being able to fully reap the economic benefits of their labour and, if contagious, endangered the economic potential of whole communities. Useful animals had long been exploited for their strength, their meat and their milk and mankind had become dependent upon, and built society around, the contribution of these useful beings. It thus seemed rational to, for the sake of humankind alone, ensure that these systems could continue with the greatest efficiency, which required not only greater knowledge as to how best to protect animal health, but how to treat curable diseases.¹¹²⁰ Practical issues aside, animal health was also becoming a point of discussion on a philosophical level. The methodologies of the sciences, as well as the debates regarding sensibility, played a significant role in encouraging the institutionalisation of veterinary medicine, as the animal was no longer regarded as an expendable or purely economic object, but a living being contributing to society, whose worth had more subtle dimensions than the most rudimental dependence upon their productive capacity. On the one hand, animals could contribute to scientific investigation as subjects of study, observation and experiment, helping to augment the bodies of medical, physiological and pathological knowledge. In order to contribute to human medicine through comparative investigation, veterinary medicine needed a comparative structure, comprising trained individuals with definite expertise, who possessed the knowledge and skills to empirically study animals as useful medical subjects. Animals were thus elevated to a position of empirical utility and the value of their potential contribution to human medicine gave great credibility to the

¹¹¹⁹ Gilles Barroux, “La santé des animaux et l’émergence d’une médecine vétérinaire au XVIIIe Siècle,” *Revue d’Histoire des Sciences*, vol. 64, no. 2 (2012): 353–4.

¹¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 355.

development of veterinary medicine as a formal discipline. On the other hand, animals came to reflect man on more than a medical level, being brought under the proverbial microscope as part of wider discussions on sensibility. As animals were living beings, questions were asked as to whether they too were sensitive and if so was mankind, with his expertise, not responsible for preserving the health of such sentient creatures? If animals were sensitive, they were consequently a reflection of not just biological, but sensitive man himself, thus to know how to treat animals was, by extension, to know how to treat oneself.¹¹²¹ Thus the animal's role and representation in eighteenth-century society was changing. It had become a subject of attention: already an object of economic worth, it became a sentient being which deserved man's consideration, as well as a subject of scientific value. It was somewhere at the crossroads of these factors that veterinary medicine was slowly transformed into a scientific and institutional discipline, as demonstrated by changing attitudes across three planes: on a scientific level, the animal required a specific strain of medicine and expert knowledge tailored to its particular physiology; on a cultural level, the animal was no longer seen as an object, but appreciated as a sensible creature whose utility in labour, in research and as a sensible being, should be revered;¹¹²² and on a statutory level, the animal as subject or patient became a part of changing administrative, legal and pedagogical procedures, as illustrated through the creation of standardised veterinary schools and veterinary qualifications.¹¹²³ Yet, veterinary science faced profound difficulties on all three of these levels. Although attitudes were slowly changing towards animal health amongst physicians, questions remained as to how it was possible to transform the longstanding farriery craft into a science.¹¹²⁴ Before veterinary medicine could become its own discipline, the assumption that the treatment of animal health was based upon experience and common sense needed to be dismantled and its scientific dimension emphasised.¹¹²⁵ To do so, veterinary medicine needed to be inserted into the network of scientific institutions: the university, the academies and societies of sciences.

¹¹²¹ Barroux, "La santé des animaux," 353.

¹¹²² Ibid., 364.

¹¹²³ Ibid., 367.

¹¹²⁴ Ronald Hubscher, *Les maîtres des bêtes: Les vétérinaires dans la société française (XVIIIe– XXe siècle)*, (Paris: Editions Odile Jacob, 1999), 12.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid., 24.

Thus, it was in 1762, in Lyon, that the first veterinary school was founded by Claude Bourgelat, former Director of the Academy of Equitation and the royal stud farms. Passionate about horses, fascinated by their anatomy and pathology and convinced that veterinary medicine and qualified veterinarians were essential to preserving animal health, Bourgelat harboured the ambitious dream of founding a school dedicated to professional veterinary training for many years before finally setting himself to the task of ensuring the adequate, institutional training for a professional veterinary discipline. Bourgelat's expertise in matters equine had resulted in his multiple academic contributions to the *Encyclopédie* on diverse topics addressing equine health, horse training and riding and in 1755 he was presented with the task of editing all articles regarding farriery and its relative topics.¹¹²⁶ The *Encyclopédie* had been a crucial outlet for Bourgelat, both in terms of offering a space in which to develop his thoughts on veterinary medicine and as a platform from which to convince an educated audience of the importance of animal health. Moreover, having demonstrated himself to be a true discipline of reason, dedicated to nature, science, progress and utility, Bourgelat's meticulous work earned him the close friendship of Diderot, D'Alembert and Henri Bertin, who would come to be important and persuasive names in fervent support his proposals.¹¹²⁷ However, the *Encyclopédie* was only one element of Bourgelat's rich catalogue of veterinary publications.¹¹²⁸ His first treatise on equitation, the *Nouveau Newcastle*, published anonymously in Switzerland in 1744 and then again in Paris in 1747, under Bourgelat's name, triggered vibrant discussion, boosting Bourgelat's reputation. It was swiftly followed in 1750 by *Elemens d'hippiatrique*, the first volume of a hippiatric dialogue between master and pupil, foreshadowing how Bourgelat believed veterinary medicine should be taught.¹¹²⁹ Bourgelat's writings had little mention of non-equine species, a personal choice that was to plague Bourgelat's career with on-going criticism. Conscious of this fact, the State Council responsible for approving Bourgelat's proposal for the veterinary school in 1761, did so upon the proviso the school direct itself towards training students in the treatment of cows, sheep, horses and other useful animals. The proposal had been the first instance where Bourgelat addressed the treatment of less noble animals, indicating that there was an expectation, both on his and the government's

¹¹²⁶ Ibid., 30.

¹¹²⁷ Wilkinson, pp. 66–7.

¹¹²⁸ Christophe Deguerce, "Claude Bourgelat et la création des écoles vétérinaires," *Compte Rendus Biologies*, vol. 335, no. 5 (2012): 338.

¹¹²⁹ Ibid., 337–8.

part, that for veterinary medicine to be considered useful, it had to extend more broadly to include all working animals.¹¹³⁰ While horses were Bourgelat's passion, agricultural animals, especially cattle, had a clear political value in terms of public utility and Bourgelat was careful to ensure that his veterinary school fitted within the wider trend of newly founded institutions such as agricultural societies, all of which had received significant administrative support in their attempts to tackle the growing practical concerns for rural economy and public utility.¹¹³¹ Bovine health had become such a crucial issue during this period that the Lyon school and Bourgelat's second school founded in Alfort in 1766, were often mistaken as being dedicated exclusively to training veterinarians in the treatment and prevention of cattle plague, confusion partially caused by Bourgelat's appeal to the public benefit of veterinary studies.¹¹³² Bourgelat was so keen to prove to his detractors that the school would be devoted to utility and focused on diverse agricultural animals, that he shrewdly chose to use the term *vétérinaire* as a synonym for *zooiatria* in his proposals.¹¹³³ Unlike the Greek term *hippiatrica*, *vétérinaire* dated back to the Renaissance and, lesser known, it provided a more inclusive understanding of the skills of the veterinarian without the hippiatric, equine connotations. The veterinary profession suffered from a lack of legitimising professional terminology, therefore the careful choice of *vétérinaire* was pivotal for marking the boundaries of this nascent profession. On the 27th December 1766, the discipline was officially recognised with Louis XV awarding the 'brevet de privilégié en l'art vétérinaire' to those students who completed the four-year training at one of Bourgelat's schools, at once recognising both veterinary medicine as a profession, as well as the training required to enter into this field.¹¹³⁴

Bourgelat's veterinary schools were remarkable in many ways. Most importantly, as new and unique institutions dedicated to animal medicine, they articulated the formal transformation in the status of veterinary medicine, animal health, and veterinarians. This formalisation of the discipline had been aided by the comprehensive pedagogical structure of the veterinary training: not only did the school's instruction cover the treatment of both horses and agricultural animals, it included a variety of both medical and practical courses,

¹¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 339.

¹¹³¹ Ibid, p. 65.

¹¹³² Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease*, 62.

¹¹³³ Deguerce, "Claude Bourgelat et la création des écoles vétérinaires," 340.

¹¹³⁴ Ibid., 339–40.

taught by experts in these fields in order to provide students with a thorough, “scientific” education. These specialists were enlisted to build upon the framework laid out in Bourgelat’s original *Elemens d’hippiatrique*, supplementing Bourgelat’s rudimentary knowledge of anatomy, physiology and pathology. Though director and founder of the school, Bourgelat himself had received no medical training and relied on the abilities of a team of professors comprising the Surgeon Pons who, alongside Honoré Fragonard, taught Anatomy, the l’abbé Rozier, Professor of Botany and Philibert Chabert, the farriery teacher.¹¹³⁵ Bourgelat continued to play crucial role of proficient politician, convincing the King not only of the worth of the veterinary school, but securing an additional state subsidy of 50,000 Livres for six years, despite it being a private institution already funded by local and national authorities.¹¹³⁶ His lack of medical training did not detract from Bourgelat’s experience or his enthusiasm however and in 1765, in an attempt to standardise the veterinary teaching, he published a *Materia medica* for his veterinary students, which blended veterinary pharmacology with a pharmacopoeia, providing medical prescriptions and a catalogue of medicines provided those within the programme.¹¹³⁷ Perhaps more remarkable is the fact that Bourgelat’s training was intended to be so thorough that the only entry requirement to the school as the ability to read and write. There was no age limit and a lack of formal medical training was preferential. When asked about the opportunity to send a group of medical students from the medical school in Milan to Alfort, the director of the school, Cicognini, received a vitriolic response from Bourgelat, claiming that he had, from experience, little respect for the condescending behaviour of surgeons and physicians, and preferred to teach capable individuals from the lower classes, children of farriers and workers, whose engagement with the veterinary discipline was both more humble and consequently, more dedicated.¹¹³⁸ These “humble” students were mostly sent and funded by their local provinces, or as the number of foreign students increased, by their home nations. This financial incentive was intended to encourage students to return home with the necessary skills to teach a new generation of veterinarians and found new veterinary schools.¹¹³⁹ This enthusiasm from home and abroad, as well as the new wave of interest in veterinary studies from hippiatric institutions and equine academies who

¹¹³⁵ Hubscher, *Les maîtres des bêtes*, 34.

¹¹³⁶ Deguerce, “Claude Bourgelat et la création des écoles vétérinaires,” 338.

¹¹³⁷ Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease*, 80.

¹¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹¹³⁹ Deguerce, “Claude Bourgelat et la création des écoles vétérinaires,” 340.

suddenly added veterinary schools to their services, enabled the Alfort school to convince the French administration in 1782, that further funding was needed to develop its scientific outlook, receiving three new professorships in comparative anatomy, rural economy and chemistry, alongside new research facilities.¹¹⁴⁰

By the end of the century, veterinary schools could be found in twenty cities across Europe, all loosely adhering to Bourgelat's original pedagogy and mostly structured in a similar fashion. It had not taken long for foreign governments to send their able students to Lyon, keen to profit from the prestige and expertise of their own national veterinary schools. Yet, foreign students were often disappointed upon arrival. Many of these candidates were already physicians and professors of medicine or researchers who expected to return home with a body of medical expertise which would help them found new veterinary schools and, above all, aid state-led sanitation and disease-control programmes.¹¹⁴¹ Consequently, most arrived in France believing the school to be dedicated to the treatment of cattle and cattle plagues, only to discover and criticise that the training was inadequate in all fields but the study of equine health. P. C. Abilgaard, a student who would later found the first veterinary school in Denmark, complained that the professors were, first and foremost, overly concerned with equine medicine, on top of which, he remarked, there was too much focus on theoretical medicine, with little time dedicated to practical education on epizootic control and treatment.¹¹⁴² It was an unfortunate and systemic problem reflective of the traditional status of horses as the most valuable and noble of animals. This view was so deeply engrained that even the *Encyclopédie*, to which Bourgelat had extensively contributed, continued to use the term *vétérinaire* as a synonym for *maréchalerie*, which denoted a farrier, a correlation which proved impossible to escape despite Bourgelat's alignment of this term with *zooiatria*.¹¹⁴³ It was not the only problem facing the veterinary school. While Bourgelat had promoted the institution as founded on "scientific" training, intended to produce scholars rather than farriers, in practice this pedagogy proved difficult to realise. The professors employed in the schools, as well as Bourgelat himself, though highly experienced in their individual fields, were unsure as to

¹¹⁴⁰ Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease*, 75; also Hubscher, *Les maîtres des bêtes*, 32–3.

¹¹⁴¹ Schwabe, *Cattle, Priests and Progress in Medicine*, 161.

¹¹⁴² Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease*, 69.

¹¹⁴³ Barroux, "La santé des animaux," 361.

how exactly to structure the new and untested curriculum and, without any blueprint for instruction or even a full understanding or agreement as to what veterinary medicine actually was, struggled to compose a comprehensive scientific instruction that would fully train students in all aspects of veterinary studies.¹¹⁴⁴ It was an oversight that would significantly damage the schools' reputation as students became qualified veterinarians and graduated before they were truly competent in veterinary medicine, a situation worsened by the frequent deployment of unqualified veterinary students to epizootic outbreaks across the French countryside, to supplement the dearth of trained veterinarians, whose unskilled and unsuccessful attempts at treatment were detrimental to the schools' prestige.¹¹⁴⁵ It gave ammunition to the many medical professionals already harbouring a deep-seated distain for Veterinary Medicine, bolstering their arguments to persuade the administration that physicians, not veterinarians, were the most capable and qualified to treat epizootic diseases. They claimed that the teaching of veterinary and human medicine would be more successful if they were combined, with a focus on human medicine, so as to ensure a higher quality of medical practitioner and adequate, uniform treatment.¹¹⁴⁶ It was a powerful argument: the veterinary school's concentration on horses, the confusion over its scientific instruction, the continual mobility between the spheres of human and veterinary medicine as a result of inadequate veterinary training and the lack of confidence and experience amongst the newly qualified veterinarians, made it difficult for the authorities to understand the intentions behind Bourgelat's evidently insufficient training. Was the ambition to produce animal physicians, was it to address issues of rural economy, or was it merely a glorified farriery apprenticeship?¹¹⁴⁷

Aware of this debate, Beccaria was keen to avoid similar reproach and pre-emptively criticised multiple elements of the Lyon school in his reports, firmly underlining that the Milanese school would not be slavishly following in Bourgelat's footsteps. Utility was the issue at the heart of the proposal and Beccaria drew attention to the 'bare utility' of the Milanese school by reiterating that contrary to the "unnecessary luxury" of the French veterinary school, Milan's would be streamlined so as to simply teach those vital veterinary

¹¹⁴⁴ Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease*, 69.

¹¹⁴⁵ Hubscher, *Les maîtres des bêtes*, 33.

¹¹⁴⁶ Wilkinson, *Animals and Disease*, 73.

¹¹⁴⁷ Hubscher, *Les maîtres des bêtes*, 45.

arts, unknown to the average farrier, but essential to ensuring a reasonable and methodical medical treatment of horses and cattle.¹¹⁴⁸ Yet, despite criticising the luxuriousness of Bourgelat's training, the proposals for the Milanese school presented to the Habsburg authorities came complete with detailed plans for the course structure, heavily derived from Bourgelat's instruction. The intention was for the school to be set up by four leading veterinarians, including Volpi, who had trained under Bourgelat in Lyon and who would then be supervised by Franchetti, the skilled physician who was also responsible for selecting the most appropriate texts and materials for the programme.¹¹⁴⁹ At their request, the school was to be divided into two educational streams: the *veterinaria maggiore*, the "scientific" training for those destined to practice medicine as professional veterinarians in possession of expertise in bovine and equine epidemics, sanitation and the overall treatment of maladies; and the *veterinaria minore*, the simpler farrier training designed to instruct students in horse-shoeing, simple operative procedures and the treatment of basic ailments for horses, donkeys, mules, oxen and goats.¹¹⁵⁰ The scientific training was recognised by its more expansive scientific curriculum and its much longer duration: four years as opposed to the single year required for the *minore*. The study of pharmacy, the botanic garden and the chemical laboratory for example, were reserved for the *maggior*e training, being considered "too luxurious" for the simpler farrier training.¹¹⁵¹ This scientific element of the curriculum was so important that the proposal had originally suggested that Pavia should house the veterinary school, as students and professors would be able to use the existing university facilities, such as the chemical laboratory, the anatomy theatre and the pharmacy, which were superior to those in Milan.¹¹⁵²

The delineation between scientific and non-scientific courses of study reflected wider reforms in university structure, teaching and qualifications, being undertaken by the

¹¹⁴⁸ "Attività del Dipartimento III nel 1786: relazione, 31 marzo 1787", no. 1689 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 259: "che non convenendo, in esecuzione anche della mente di Sua Maestà, aprire una Scuola Veterinaria di quel lusso e di quella estensione con cui fiorisce la Scuola francese, ma ridursi al puro necessario, così fu risolto di limitare l'istruzione all'arte troppo importante e negletta della ferratura dei cavali, e alla cura ragionate e metodica delle malattie sì interne che esterne tanto dei cavali che delle bestie bovine".

¹¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹¹⁵⁰ "Scuola veterinaria di Milan, voto 17 dicembre 1787. Epilogo: dei punti contenuti nella Relazione del signor Consigliere Marchese Beccaria per il Piano della Scuola Veterinaria," no. 2148 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 876.

¹¹⁵¹ "Piano della Scuola Veterinaria," no. 2852 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XI, 88.

¹¹⁵² "Scuola veterinaria di Pavia," no. 1486 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. VIII, 920–21.

Lombard administration, much of which was centred around the provision of scientific study. The Lombard medical schools in particular had been radically reformed between 1781–3. This resulted in the separate, scientific training for physicians and surgeons, and the division of the curriculum between clinical medicine – taught both in lectures and in hospitals – and anatomy, which newly incorporated microscopic investigations, surgical dissections and operations, as well as comparative anatomy and physiology. The curriculum was further streamlined as botany and chemistry were recognised as distinct disciplines and placed in the faculty of philosophy alongside natural history and mineralogy.¹¹⁵³ However, while there was a distinct difference between the two types of training, both the *maggiore* and *minore* curricula included the study of all useful working animals. While horses were to be a central part of veterinary study, this was not due to their noble status, as was the backbone of Bourgelat’s education, but rather because they were crucial to Lombardy’s agricultural work.¹¹⁵⁴ As the Milanese school pivoted around concerns for the health and preservation of “useful” animals, regardless of species, horses and cattle (particularly dairy cows)¹¹⁵⁵ were consequently given equal priority as both were central to the region’s agriculture in terms of subsistence and economy. The reported utility of this equal focus reflected the extensive body of criticism regarding the equine emphasis of Bourgelat’s education and consequently helped to make the proposal appear even more focused on only the most necessary elements of veterinary medicine. Furthermore, by emphasising the study of cattle and their diseases, the proposal tapped into the growing European concerns for cattle plague, which again had resulted in criticism of Bourgelat’s programme and its focus on equine disease.

The purpose of the division between *maggiore/minore* was to create two separate qualified professions: veterinarians and farriers, each with differing skillsets intended to administer to different areas of veterinary medicine. Both professions were equally important. While the veterinarians were essential in preserving the state’s economy and human health through their ability to prevent, diagnose and treat infectious diseases and preserve

¹¹⁵³ Brambilla, “Scientific and Professional Education in Lombardy,” 79–80.

¹¹⁵⁴ “Attività del Dipartimento III nel 1786: relazione, 31 marzo 1787,” no. 1689 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 257.

¹¹⁵⁵ “Attività del Dipartimento III nel 1786: relazione, 31 marzo 1787,” no.1689 in *Edizione Nazionale*, IX, 258. Beccaria drew attention to their role in a report claiming that “le nostre praterie sono felicemente preoccupate dalle più utili mandre di vacche, chi ci danno tanto attivo prodotto di buttéri e formaggi.”

livestock and working animals, farriers were crucial to the functioning of daily life and their ability to oversee more common ailments and procedures ensured that veterinarians did not have to divert their attention away from more serious and dangerous cases of disease.¹¹⁵⁶ To guarantee the standard of these professions, students would have to sit examinations overseen by veterinary professors in order to obtain a certificate licensing them to practice their respective professions. This prevented farriers from carrying out the duties of the new medically-trained veterinarians and likewise stopped laymen from claiming to be trained farriers.¹¹⁵⁷ The new exam system was the only way to qualify as a veterinarian and a farrier: without the certificate individuals could not market their skills as professional veterinary or farriery expertise and the untrained farriers were to be gradually phased out across the region.¹¹⁵⁸ In making such a distinction between *maggiore* and *minore*, the Milanese veterinary school intended to sidestep many of the criticisms that had been directed towards Bourgelat and his unclear “scientific” training by clarifying the specific boundaries and expectations of these two professions. As one French official remarked of the curriculum:

What does one teach at the *écoles vétérinaires*? A poor grounding in *materia medica*, horse-shoeing according to geometric principles, and a rough understanding of animal anatomy. But one neglects the teaching of *Buiatrik* (cattle disease) or, what’s more, one knows nothing about the diseases of cows and sheep and how to treat them. One simply does not engage with the epidemics of such animals.¹¹⁵⁹

At Bourgelat’s schools, the scientific education had been restricted to *gentilhommes* and cavalry officers who were unlikely to use their training in any practical, public capacity, and who had little understanding of epizootics. Likewise, the farriers that Bourgelat trained had limited ability to treat common veterinary ailments beyond horse-shoeing and basic equine conditions. In appealing to the utility of the division between *maggiore* and *minore*, the proposal hoped to convince the Habsburg administration that the veterinary school was essential as it provided a formal education system similar to other useful, vocational

¹¹⁵⁶ “Piano della Scuola Veterinaria,” no. 2852 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XI, 89.

¹¹⁵⁷ “Scuola veterinaria di Milan, voto 17 dicembre 1787. Epilogo: dei punti contenuti nella Relazione del signor Consigliere Marchese Beccaria per il Piano della Scuola Veterinaria,” no. 2148 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 879.

¹¹⁵⁸ “Scuola veterinaria di Milan,” no. 2148 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 879: “Poi volesse essere abilitato e qualificato come perito veterinario, non potrà come tale essere dichiarato ne’ modi come sopra se, oltre l’esame, non avrà fatto l’intiero corso scientifico alla scuola di Milano”.

¹¹⁵⁹ Reinhard Froehner and Hans Grimm, *Geschichte des Veterinärwesens im Ausland* (Konstanz: Terra-Verlag, 1968), 76.

training programmes which had more than just academic appeal but actively contributed to Lombard industry. Most importantly, students in the scientific track were directed towards public service,¹¹⁶⁰ and upon qualifying, veterinarians were given the title “pubblico veterinario licenziato” – “qualified public veterinarian”.¹¹⁶¹ It demonstrates the social role of this new qualified profession, whose very purpose was to be at the disposal of the public.

There were other criticisms of Bourgelat’s school embedded within the proposals. Above all, the Milanese school could not be based upon Bourgelat’s model as it was far too expensive, especially for the *veterinaria minore* training. Additionally, Beccaria claimed that the ethos behind Bourgelat’s model was not in keeping with the desire to found a truly useful establishment, which was exclusively concerned with only that which was necessary and useful.¹¹⁶² Stating that it was enough to look at Bourgelat’s printed regulations to see that he offered not just a scientific training but a disciplinary training, the proposals claim that the French model, where students live in a college and are “incessantly” nurturing the theory and practice of their art, was not applicable in the Milanese circumstances, seeing as it offered more of an experience, rich with various and often superfluous studies, than an efficient programme of study directed towards public utility. The disciplinary nature of Bourgelat’s schools (students were required to clean the classrooms, anatomy theatre and care for the animals) served to distract farriery students from nurturing any curiosity for scientific veterinary education and from extending their interests to any species other than horses.¹¹⁶³ In contrast, the Milanese school only limited farrier training in terms of commitment. Farriery students were not expected to complete as long and detailed a course of study as the veterinarians, but were nonetheless obliged to study all useful animals and had the opportunity to partake in scientific courses should they prove capable

¹¹⁶⁰ “Piano della Scuola Veterinaria,” no. 2852 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XI, 99.

¹¹⁶¹ Antino Carnevali, “La Collezione Anatomica della Facoltà di Medicina Veterinaria dell’Università degli Studi di Milano,” *Annali di Storia delle Università italiane*, vol. 11, 2007.

¹¹⁶² “Scuola veterinaria di Milano,” no. 1558 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 47.

¹¹⁶³ Claude Bourgelat, *Règlemens pour les écoles royales vétérinaires de France: divisés en deux parties* (Paris: L’Imprimerie Royale, 1777), 11: “It is certainly possible that pupils will commit ... grave mistakes which oblige them to leave the schools. There will also be pupils who, having received a complete education, forget what they owe to the provinces, which had sent them, by moving away from them after finishing school. They are motivated either by self- confidence or by foreign temptations in the hope of striking it big than what they could expect from the kind of education which are provided for them”

enough.¹¹⁶⁴ However, despite the rhetoric of utility and the conscious distancing of the proposal from Bourgelat's school, Beccaria was informed, upon requesting veterinary publications from Vienna to help structure the courses,¹¹⁶⁵ that as no such plan for veterinary education existed at the Habsburg veterinary school, the Lombard professors would instead have to rely on Bourgelat's scheme.¹¹⁶⁶ The Viennese veterinary school, although founded as early as 1767, had a distinctly equine focus which remained into the 1790s,¹¹⁶⁷ and consequently Beccaria's hopes of finding a curriculum which was already tailored to the Habsburg demands for "pure necessity" were dashed. The lack of veterinary publications and course plans was only worsened by the lack of veterinary experts able to help in the practical foundation of the school. In another report we see that the school was facing further difficulties due to the lack of experts able to oversee the transportation of key veterinary equipment.¹¹⁶⁸ While the equipment was crucial to ensuring the scientific standard of the veterinary training, individuals who had experience or knowledge of this equipment were so rare that Volpi was eventually sent to Mantova to supervise the transport process.

While much of the discussion focused on distinguishing the 'useful' Milanese veterinary school from the "luxurious" French school, we can also discern a drastic transition in the stated aims of the Milanese veterinary school between 1787 and 1789. During this period, focus shifted from beast to man, from cure to prevention, from the treatment of already ill animals to the training of veterinarians to have extensive knowledge and skills in the prevention of illness. Writing to the Habsburg administration in 1787, Beccaria had laid out the school's primary objectives as both the propagation of useful animals and the curing of their maladies however, by 1789 Beccaria described the role of the school as serving to provide professional veterinarians whose expertise was fundamental to the preservation of the state economy and human health, and which was intended to be readily available to the public. In shifting focus in this way, Beccaria reframed the veterinary school in terms of the

¹¹⁶⁴ "Scuola Veterinaria di Milano," no. 2852 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XI, 90–91.

¹¹⁶⁵ "Attività del Dipartimento III nel 1786: relazione, 31 marzo 1787," no. 1689 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 259.

¹¹⁶⁶ "Sequestri di vettovaglie e tasse sulle merci a Cremona. Scuola veterinaria di Milano. Manifatture tessili, riscontri, 12 marzo 1787," no. 1656 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 183.

¹¹⁶⁷ T. Mitsuda, "Entangled Histories: German Veterinary Medicine, c. 1770–1900," *Medical History*, vol. 61, no. 1 (2017): 15.

¹¹⁶⁸ "Scuola Veterinaria di Milano," no. 1751 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 348.

responsibilities of the Health Tribunal as laid out by the Habsburg medical police, transforming the discipline of veterinary medicine from a field of erudition into an active profession at the service of the public, whose subject was as much human beings as animals.¹¹⁶⁹ Looking further at the language used to legitimise veterinary medicine, we see that Beccaria applied a striking vocabulary pertaining to expertise, utility, usefulness, public good and medicine, which encompassed two parallel semantic fields: the language of the statesman, concerned with the public good, public service, public health, the state economy and utility; and the language of the professional veterinarian, focused on the scientific, on expertise, experts, disease and epidemics. What is so distinctive about Beccaria's proposals for the veterinary school is that these linguistic spheres become fused, as veterinary science is put at the service of the state in order to secure public utility. Beccaria was more than content to employ the vocabulary used by veterinarians to bolster his claims to utility, the inherent credibility of scientific rationalism as well as the empirical support of veterinary medicine, lending great support to his arguments, even though he had limited concern for the actual science behind the veterinary training. Within the proposal Beccaria remained decidedly ambivalent to veterinary medicine's discoveries, theories and methods and gave little indication that the school would be conducting any research to contribute to the advancement of the discipline as an academic field. Instead, he based his arguments on veterinary science's real life application, constantly weighing up the expediency for public and state in implementing the sage advice of veterinary experts. In this way, it would appear that veterinary science was valuable not necessarily just for its body of useful knowledge, but due to the tools it provided the state: the expertise it generated and the language it conceived. We find similar reflections regarding the importance of ensuring that medicine is not just a subject of "pure erudition" but is treated as an "active profession" in other discussions on the reform of medical education in Lombardy.¹¹⁷⁰ It is unlikely that such an endeavour was exclusively the result of Beccaria's unwavering concern for public utility and it is arguable that, in addition, this hybrid language reflects a potent political element. Beccaria, in his position as head of the Consiglio, faced the task of convincing the

¹¹⁶⁹ "Scuola Veterinaria di Milano," no. 2852 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XI, 94.

¹¹⁷⁰ Archivio di Stato di Milano, Atti di Governo Parte Antica, provvidenze generali, cartella 186: "Esprimieramente rifletto, che gli studi medici debbono essere ordinati con metodo esatto, e quale appunto richiede lo studio di una scienza considerata non come un soggetto di pura erudizione ma bensì come una professione attiva, e di principale servizio nella polizia della Republica perchè veglia sopra la vita degli uomini e perchè ne conserva la salute."

Habsburg officials of the value of their investment in the veterinary school, an objective that was no doubt facilitated by the legitimising power of scientific language. It is worth questioning whether Beccaria's frequent reference to experts, professionals and expertise was a reflection of their utility in practice, or instead, worked to support the rational and progressive nature of his proposals. A very possible reason for the development of this language of utility was the opposition of Beccaria's colleague Johann Peter Frank, the sanitary inspector general of Lombardy, to the professionalisation of veterinary medicine as its own field comprising both scientific and practical experts. In his *System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey*, Frank had not only argued against leaving veterinary practice to "unscientific" people but, categorising both human and animal medicine under "general healing" and approaching health and society as a holistic system, believed that the treatment of animals ought to be overseen by general medical practitioners.¹¹⁷¹ Frank's approval was crucial as not only was he the academic expert in the field of public health, but he also had knowledge of the Lombard case, having been responsible for devising a new medical syllabus at the University of Pavia whilst Professor of Clinical Medicine and Public health, before being called to advise the Consiglio on matters of public health and aid in the formation of state health policy in 1789.¹¹⁷² Frank's objections consequently help to account for some of the difficulties Beccaria faced in founding the school. Although similar institutions had already been created across Italy, including in Turin (1769), Padua (1773), Bologna (1783) and Ferrara (1786),¹¹⁷³ the Milanese school failed to convince Vienna of its necessity until it reframed its objectives in terms of absolute and basic utility.

¹¹⁷¹ Johann Peter Frank, *System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey*, vol. 6, pt. 3 (Vienna: Carl Schaumburg 1819), 55. Also see: Mitsuda, 'Entangled Histories', 25–47.

¹¹⁷² Rosamaria Alibrandi, *In salute e in malattia. Le leggi sanitarie borboniche fra Settecento e Ottocento* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2012), 19.

¹¹⁷³ For the history of veterinary medicine in Italy see: Sebastiano Paltrinieri, *La Medicina veterinaria in Italia dal XVIII al XX secolo* (Milan: Istituto Ed. Cisalpino, 1947); N. Maestrini and A. Veggetti, "La veterinaria italiana dalla fondazione delle scuole allo stato unitario. Da pratica empirica a scienza basilare per il progresso dell'economia e la salvaguardia della salute pubblica," in *Atti del 1° Convegno sulla Storia della Medicina veterinaria*. (Reggio Emilia: C.I.S.O., 1990); L. Nicol, "Storia della Medicina veterinaria dalla meta del XIX secolo ai nostri giorni," in *Storia della medicina, della farmacia, dell'odontoiatria e della veterinaria*, vol. 8 (Bergamo: Walk over italiana, 1982), 289–318; Giuseppe Armocida and Bruno Cozzi, *La Medicina degli animali a Milano. I duecento anni di vita della Scuola veterinaria 1791–1991* (Milan: Ed. Sipiel, 1991).

Communicating science:

Translation, vernacularisation and finding a common language

Although the strict division between *veterinaria minore* and *veterinaria maggiore* was attractive on paper, it was near impossible to put into practice. While the *veterinaria minore* was relatively easy to implement, the *veterinaria maggiore*'s scientific focus raised immediate problems arising from the lack of veterinary training literature available in Italian. Vernacular study was essential due to the basic entry requirements of the school, but additionally served to make teaching more efficient for students and professors alike. Beccaria remarked that ideally, the veterinary professors would be presented with a short, standardised course manual in Italian to use in their teaching however, seeing that no such course existed, they would instead have to use Bourgelat's writings, only parts of which had been translated from French. For subjects such as pathology and surgery, which were still untranslated, professors would have to rely on their own notes taken during their studies and provide their own translations of these and Bourgelat's French work. This arduous translation would serve the additional purpose of reducing Bourgelat's voluminous and often superfluous opus to the most necessary elements, both for the farriers who did not require such empirical and scientific detail, and the veterinarians who required specific medical knowledge.¹¹⁷⁴ Lessons were then to be overseen by Franchetti in order to continually tailor the teaching so as to most effectively convey the fundamental veterinary material in discussion.¹¹⁷⁵ However, the translation and abridgement of Bourgelat's work was a cause of great concern as the successful teaching at the school depended upon being able to comprehensively communicate a set of as-yet unknown concepts in Italian. In Italy, the existing veterinary literature was divided between academic Latin medical texts and popular, practical literature on animal husbandry. Formal medical publications, including works on animal health, had been circulated for centuries and Italy had long played a significant role in the publication of professional and academic medical literature, with Padua and Venice hailed as renowned publishing centres since the fifteenth century. The early folio editions they produced, were, in style and form, reminiscent of medieval manuscripts on matters of health and were directed towards a professional, educated

¹¹⁷⁴ "Scuola veterinaria di Milano, voto, 19 gennaio 1789," no. 2852 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XI, 88.

¹¹⁷⁵ "Scuola veterinaria di Milan, voto 17 dicembre 1787. Epilogo: dei punti contenuti nella Relazione del signor Consigliere Marchese Beccaria per il Piano della Scuola Veterinaria," no. 2148 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 878.

audience, an audience shared by the great body of literature on horsemanship, whose earliest Italian works appeared in 1499.¹¹⁷⁶ This literature maintained an elite readership and, most significantly, relied on longstanding traditions and interpretations of medical treatments. Nonetheless, these formal Latin texts were crucial in shaping nascent veterinary medicine and were further complemented by the rise of vernacular print, which allowed for the publication of a wide variety of popular veterinary materials, directed towards the general-reader with various standards of literacy and addressing issues of remedial medicine and prevention. Articles on veterinary medicine were found within the pages of multiple and diverse publications on animal husbandry and breeding, as well as included in rudimentary texts addressing human and animal health, but the most common of these publications was the almanac, a form both economically and intellectually accessible to a vast range of readers.¹¹⁷⁷ Vernacular publications appealed to either a more general audience or practitioners from healing trades who had received no formal education. Many almanacs for example, were directed towards vocational groups such as shepherds, farriers and agricultural workers, resulting in the greatest body of veterinary knowledge being disseminated in forms and styles which lacked the medical content to support the new scientific veterinary training.¹¹⁷⁸ This stark division between publication forms posed a significant challenge for the Milanese veterinary school in its search for Italian language “scientific” texts. The limited number of formal medical writings on animal health were rarely produced in the vernacular and the popular literature on animal husbandry was too rudimentary for professional teaching. Faced with such a difficulty, Beccaria did not abandon the issue, but believing vernacular translations to be vital to the veterinary school’s pedagogy, continued to state their necessity throughout the proposals. Speaking about the French-trained professors who would be responsible for the Lombard curriculum, Beccaria claimed that as the discipline was dependent upon its terminology and conceptual framework, it would be exceedingly challenging to study veterinary science in one language, then suddenly be required to teach it in another, which lacked key terminology. Communicating and teaching the sciences, Beccaria stated, was problematic enough on a conceptual level, but it was made especially challenging in veterinary medicine’s case by the

¹¹⁷⁶ Louise Hill Curth, *The Care of Brute Beasts: A Social and Cultural Study of Veterinary Medicine in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 78.

¹¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

lack of an adequate body of language in Italian, which complicated the already difficult task of translation and abridgement, as required by the veterinary school's professors, who relied on their own notes and Bourgelat's French writings.¹¹⁷⁹ It was not a difficulty unique to Milan. With the majority of veterinarians of the period having studied in France, many nations were suddenly presented with the problem of having to convert the French training received by those select students sent abroad to study under Bourgelat, into their own national curriculum,¹¹⁸⁰ which, as Sechel has claimed with regards to East-central Habsburg territories, "exposed the poverty of the vernacular languages spoken in the Monarchy for medical purposes".¹¹⁸¹ If veterinarians and veterinary schools were to be useful, possessing and teaching adequate skills to address public need, they required an education that trained them for their specific context, complete with a language that could be communicated to the necessary state officials and the public at large. Translation was thus considered to be fundamental in terms of utility: in order to be of the greatest help for the Italian population it was crucial to use the Italian language. Although studying in French was far from an unusual occurrence, if veterinary medicine was to become a legitimate and respected Italian profession, it required a body of Italian terminology.

We see the importance Beccaria placed on the vernacular as early as in *Dei delitti e delle pene*. In discussing the laws, Beccaria claimed that "if interpretation of the laws is an evil, it is obvious that the obscurity which makes interpretation necessary is another. And it is the greatest of evils if the laws be written in a language which is not understood by the people and which makes them dependent upon a few individuals"¹¹⁸² Similarly, in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, he discussed the advantages of teaching political economy in Italian as opposed to Latin. Although claiming that the benefits were so clear that it was in fact unnecessary to further extol the virtues of using the Italian language, Beccaria argued that the vernacular rendered the subject of public economy more accessible and familiar to all classes of people, as the everyday language provided students with a more useful training

¹¹⁷⁹ "Scuola veterinaria di Milan, voto 17 dicembre 1787. Epilogo: dei punti contenuti nella Relazione del signor Consigliere Marchese Beccaria per il Piano della Scuola Veterinaria," no. 2148 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 877–8.

¹¹⁸⁰ Canetta, "Questioni agricole milanesi in alcuni scritti inediti di Cesare Beccaria", 24.

¹¹⁸¹ T.D. Sechel, "Medical Knowledge and the Improvement of Vernacular Languages in the Habsburg Monarchy: a Case Study from Transylvania (1770–1830)," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, vol. 43, no. 3 (2012): 723.

¹¹⁸² Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 17.

compared to the sterile, academic Latin language.¹¹⁸³ Not to mention, Beccaria argued, if one wanted to motivate the naturally lazy youth to engage with a science dedicated to the benefit of the nation, it was best to animate them with the vernacular.¹¹⁸⁴ Like veterinary medicine, public economy similarly suffered from a dearth of Italian language publications as Beccaria remarked upon in his plan for the lectures:

Today in economic science there is no Italian book that is complete, convenient and adapted to the circumstances, which can serve the students in the meantime. This science has been dealt with sparsely and by various people, who have examined and discussed one or other of its parts. But no one, especially in Italian, in which the professor must teach, has gathered this together into a single corpus with a sufficient scope.¹¹⁸⁵

Beccaria highlighted that although there were books available in English and French, these were not the languages of Italian education and even when they were translated into Italian, these translations were still inadequate as they did not specifically address the Italian region.¹¹⁸⁶ Even within Italy, Beccaria argued, Genovesi's famous *Lezioni di economia civile*, though in Italian, dealt too specifically with the situation in the Kingdom of Naples and was not particularly useful to Lombardy's circumstances.¹¹⁸⁷ Beccaria clarified that teaching in the vernacular, with texts produced or adapted to fit not just Italian society, but the Lombard situation, was in the best interests of the nation. Public instruction was most useful when it relied on a "clear, simple and energetic language of truth", distanced from sterile abstraction and the mysterious and inaccessible scientific terminology which was too often used artificially to impress and in so doing, confuse.¹¹⁸⁸ Beccaria aggressively criticised what he perceived as the cruel and useless "prudence" with which science had been

¹¹⁸³ Beccaria, "Piano per la cattedra d'economia pubblica, o sia di scienza camerali," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 57: "Egli è superfluo l'insinuare di trattare questa scienza in lingua italiana per renderne così i lumi più comuni e più famigliari ad ogni classe di persone, per addestrare per tempo i giovani a parlare la lingua degli affari, ed attesa la sterilità della lingua latina in queste materie."

¹¹⁸⁴ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 57: "Diffidando di me medesimo, e sgomentandomi dell'importanza d'una scienza che versa intono agl'interessi delle interere nazioni, spero di essere animato ed assistito dall'illustre gioventù Milanese."

¹¹⁸⁵ Beccaria, "Piano delle lezioni di pubblica economia che si danno nello spazio di due anni dal professore in questa scienza," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 75: "Ora, nella scienza economica non vi è libro italiano che sia completo, comodo ed adattato alle circostanze, il quale possa servire ad uso de' scolari frattanto. Questa scienza è stata trattata sparsamente e da vari, i quali or l'una, or l'altra delle sue parti hanno esaminata e discussa; ma nissuno, massime in lingua italiana, come ha nelle sue istruzioni il professore che deve insegnarla, ha riunito in un corpo intiero e di giusta estensione."

¹¹⁸⁶ Beccaria, "Piano delle lezioni di pubblica economia che si danno nello spazio di due anni dal professore in questa scienza" in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 76.

¹¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹¹⁸⁸ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 96.

purposefully removed from the eyes of the majority and communicated amongst the elite in the impenetrable languages of Latin and technical terminology. In Beccaria's mind, the widening of science to the public through vernacularisation and regionalisation could only be beneficial, as public opinion was the greatest curtailer of abuse and prevented the perpetuation of prejudices and errors based upon custom.¹¹⁸⁹ Beccaria's criticism was most likely directed towards the increasing number of translations reaching the peripheries of the Habsburg Empire as part of the growing involvement of the Habsburg powers in matters of public health. Under Maria Theresa vast numbers of medical texts, approved by the Habsburg court, were translated and dispersed throughout the peripheries in a bid to ensure the uniformity of medical practice. As general knowledge of Latin was decreasing, the surest way to secure medical standards was to print vernacular texts, disseminating regional versions of Habsburg-approved publications to the provinces.¹¹⁹⁰ However, these state-approved texts had little to no input from regional practitioners and were selected by the premier physicians in Viennese hospital and the university medical faculty who had the final say in both the content and format of the translations. Responsible for choosing the medical knowledge sent to the peripheries, these physicians imposed medical knowledge on the provinces as opposed to encouraging the production of local medical knowledge. Consequently, knowledge production was limited to Vienna and there was not so much the circulation of texts and knowledge as existed the transmission of approved medical information and standards. Translation was thus a calculated endeavour. By making only a select few vernacular translations accessible within the peripheries, the state could easily impose knowledge structures from above, thereby securing the uniformity of medical practice across the Habsburg territories. The lack of negotiation between local and central knowledge in the translation process was a deliberate initiative undertaken by the medical police after the reforms instigated by the court physician Gerard van Swieten. Vernacular texts fell mostly into two categories: the bulk of publications were pamphlets and sanitation ordinances, intended to educate the layman, while the remaining texts were manuals and books produced to accompany the reforms in medical education. Standardisation was framed in terms of the public good, restricting the dangerous treatments provided by

¹¹⁸⁹ Beccaria, "Piano delle lezioni di pubblica economia che si danno nello spazio di due anni dal professore in questa scienza," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 82–3.

¹¹⁹⁰ T.D. Sechel, "The Politics of Medical Translations and its Impact upon Medical Knowledge in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1770–1830," *East Central Europe*, vol. 40 (2013): 296–318.

charlatans and healers and promoting good medical practice in its place. It was not seen as a policy of subordination, but rather one of the accommodation of technocratic medical knowledge. The increased translation, printing and circulation of medical texts throughout the peripheries was believed to be enlightening, giving the Habsburg territories access to previously untranslated, reliable medical knowledge. However, although the Habsburg bureaucracy hoped to naturalise Viennese medical knowledge in the peripheries by using the vernacular, it was the imposition of standardised information, often unsuited to the Lombard context, that Beccaria was attempting to counter. Yet, many questioned the sincerity of these intention, fearful of the growing reach of Habsburg imperialism.¹¹⁹¹ The absolutism behind vernacularisation was inescapable and in many Habsburg territories the process was accompanied by a “national awakening”, both the product of the growth of new national languages and a reaction against the imposition of authorised knowledge.¹¹⁹² We see this reflected in Beccaria’s claims that producing texts specific to Lombardy and in a language accessible to a wider section of the population was far better directed towards public utility. Vernacular did not just pertain to language, but also local forms and adaptations of medical knowledge. As the standardisation of medical knowledge and practice was at no point negotiated, but merely authorised, Beccaria sought to underline how this compromised physicians who had to be sensitive to their local context. Training tailored to the Lombard state provided by regional institutions such as the Milanese veterinary school was far more fruitful than centralised education, which did not account for regional specificities and which could not be communicated to the public and regional authorities.

The lack of vernacular terminology was an issue for the Lombard administration more generally. The public health records show that in this absence, Lombard dialect words were often borrowed and used in combination with existing medical and administrative terminology as neither the medical discipline, nor the administration, who had only recently become involved in the organisation of medical training, possessed adequate vocabularies.

¹¹⁹¹ For “medical imperialism” see E.C. Spary, “Introduction: Centre and Periphery in the Eighteenth-century Habsburg Medical Empire,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, vol. 43 (2012): 684–90.

¹¹⁹² See: Sechel, “Medical Knowledge and the Improvement of Vernacular Languages in the Habsburg Monarchy,” 720–9; T. Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); R.J.W. Evans, “Language and State Building: The Case of the Habsburg Monarchy,” *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 35 (2004), 1–24.

This was not necessarily a political or cultural statement, but a matter of utility as such language aided efficient communication and bypassed the issue of creating and dispersing entirely new vernacular terminology. Moreover, as dialect vocabulary was often incredibly specific to particular areas, concepts and traditions, it served to facilitate more precise descriptions, thus aiding officials in the efficient administration of the region. With regards to epizootics, we see that the administration uses the dialect work “Talionè” to refer to bovine disease, the “marescalco” to refer to the farrier, “Càrna soriànna” meaning beef, and “Luna” to refer to a type of eye infection common among horses. Other aspects of Milanese dialect pertaining to trades and professions made their way into the administrative vernacular. We find the “Banchinée” – the used bookseller who had no fixed shop but sold his wares on walls or benches; the “Barimetraro” – a travelling salesman; the “Berinée” – the lamb butcher; the “Fondeghée” – pharmacist; the “Legnamée” – carpenter; the “Maross” – agent; the “Paron/Palon” – boatman; the “Pellizée” – furrier; the “Boffettée” – bellowsmaker; the “Lavorinée” – manufacturer; the “Fornasàtt/ Fornasée” – furnace operator; the “Filatojée” – spinner; the “Firisellin” – silk spinner; “Mastra” – butcher trading ox or veal; and the “Cervellée” – Cheesemonger, among others. Beyond just regional language for common trades, other specifically Lombard concepts are used, such as “Pigionante” – the head of a family in the area of dry Lombard agriculture, that cultivated land on behalf of the owner a small farm, and had no animals or tools; the “Bergamin” – an individual who cares for a herd of *Bergamina* dairy cows and brings them down to Milan or Lodigiano during the summer months to graze; and the “Alpée/ alpador” – the shepherd who lives with his herd in Alps throughout the summer months. We above all find the Milanese vernacular in discussion of agriculture and agronomy. We see words such as “Roncaja” – Uncultivated soil; “Scafetta” – haystacks/sheaves; “Zèrb” – untilled land; “Carugola” – an insect dangerous to crops; “Garzela” – a type of beetle similar to the Carugola; “Carlone”, “Melicotto” and “Melgotto” – all meaning maize; and “Ravetton” – a type of wild swede. On occasion, we see that administration borrows and vernacularises important concepts from neighbouring territories, such as the “Landamano” – the *Landamtman*, or regional functionary found in the Swiss territories and the “Landvogto” – a Swiss magistrate responsible for an area of the Swiss Confederation. Yet, at the same time, the administration increasingly embraced professional medical language, where it existed. The reports exchanged between the experts in Melegnano and the administration, for example, demonstrated a different fusion of languages, adhering to a

strict format of observation, experimentation and analysis, and employing specific medical terminology which was not part of the administration's own bureaucratic language. We thus see that the administration, due to the expansion in its fields of responsibility and its growing reliance on professional expertise, was obliged to engage with medicine on a higher level, embracing specialist medical and sanitation vocabulary, concepts and procedures, much like it embraced the specific Lombard terminology from areas such as agriculture and commerce. We consequently see three vernacular languages meeting in the reports of the public health authorities: the political language of the Habsburg-Lombard administration, the technical language of the expert and the dialect of the Lombard citizen,¹¹⁹³ all of which complemented one another by supplementing insufficient areas of vocabulary, thus enabling the administration to deal more efficiently with specific Lombard issues. Nonetheless, there is an inherently nationalist dimension to the formalisation and enrichment of vernacular languages which we cannot ignore. The creation of a technical vernacular language was not only practical in communicating medical and expert knowledge, and better managing the diverse areas of government responsibility, but also granted Lombardy the ability to raise its status as a "civilised" nation by providing the tools with which to convey local knowledge, as well as to claim independence from the Habsburgs by profiting from home-grown expertise and asserting its identity through modernising its vernacular in pace with scientific developments. While Beccaria never makes any explicit patriotic claim regarding vernacular education, his alignment of local language with public utility reveals that his concern for Lombardy went above any desire for the further centralisation and standardisation of the Habsburg Empire. While the Lombard administration espoused a distinctly paternalistic attitude towards governance, the evolution in its language, becoming more technical and specific in terms of both expert knowledge and regional applicability, can be seen as directly opposing Habsburg paternalism which relied on the standardisation and streamlining of universal Habsburg knowledge and practices.

The concern to make veterinary science intelligible and vernacular to Lombard students is echoed in the powerful strain of meritocracy running through Beccaria's proposals.

¹¹⁹³ Folena has similarly concluded that these documents display a fusion of different vernaculars, including Lombard regionalisms, administrative terminology and vocabulary from the Milanese market. See Gianfranco Folena, "Lombardismi tecnici nelle 'consulte' del Beccaria," in *L'italiano in Europa. Esperienze linguistiche del Settecento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), 68.

Beccaria explained that although there were two separate paths of education in the school, those farriers who demonstrated an aptitude for the scientific side of the training and had adequate literacy skills, should be allowed to follow the *veterinaria maggiore* lessons, as a good veterinarian should know some farriery and *vice versa*.¹¹⁹⁴ This meritocratic attitude, enabling those with obvious aptitude to progress through the professional ranks in order to ensure the highest quality of veterinarian practice for the wider public, is likewise reflected in the selection process for the veterinary school, where young students are sent from all provinces so as to guarantee the future equal access to public health professionals throughout Milan's periphery:

Sarebbe da non perdersi l'idea accennata nel citato piano d'invitare i Pubblici delle Città di questa Lombardia a mandare qualche giovane ad apprendere in Milano la istruzione necessaria per tutte le occorrenze di sanità e di vittovaglie sotto la Scuola di questi due Professori, i quali hanno già dato col fatto sufficienti prove di perizia e di capacità in tale materia nelle varie occorrenze di questi Pubblici, essendo importante che siavi in ogni Città qualche Soggetto sufficientemente capace per le occorrenti perizie di sanità segnatam.te nella materia delle vittovaglie.¹¹⁹⁵

We already witnessed a similar outlook concerning access to education in Beccaria's discussion of the ignorance of agricultural labourers in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*. While this education was tailored to meet the needs of their specific circumstances, Beccaria interpreted these individuals as being equally entitled to education which would inevitably make them better farmers, workers and citizens. The meritocracy of the veterinary school mirrored wider reforms in university education and the scientific professions throughout Habsburg Lombardy. As Brambilla has argued, these reforms "may be seen as a drive towards legal equality, and against birth and status barriers: these were removed, first gradually and later completely, and access to the professions was laid open to competition by merit, in the spirit of enlightened *philosophie* and the French

¹¹⁹⁴ "Scuola veterinaria di Milan, voto, 17 dicembre 1787. Epilogo: dei punti contenuti nella Relazione del signor Consigliere Marchese Beccaria per il Piano della Scuola Veterinaria," no. 2148 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IX, 878: "Perché un buon veterinario deve sapere e praticare ciò che si pratica da un buon maniscalco, e reciprocamente non sarà interdetto ai manescalchi che, oltre al saper ben leggere e scrivere, mostrano talento e volontà di una maggiore istruzione, di frequentare anche le lezioni antimeridiane del corso scientifico veterinario."

¹¹⁹⁵ 'Lettera al principe di Kaunitz illustrante il piano per l'istituzione di una Scuola Veterinaria in Milano, 29 agosto 1789', Canetta, 'Questioni agricole milanesi in alcuni scritti inediti di Cesare Beccaria: Testi', in Mario Romani ed., *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia economica e sociale*, vol. I, (Università Cattolica, Milano, 1973), 164.

Revolution".¹¹⁹⁶ The opening up of studies to students regardless of their birth and the division between the *maggiore* and *minore* paths accessible only through merit, ensured that education was more open and more thorough. Beccaria's ideological motivation to open the veterinary discipline to a wider studentship raised the larger question of who was entitled to medical knowledge. Should medicine be an open, vernacular discipline? Or should it be closed and available only to a select community? Should the possession of scientific knowledge be democratic, aristocratic or meritocratic?¹¹⁹⁷ These questions of accessibility played upon the eighteenth-century medical community's conscience. How useful were physicians who moved exclusively within their closed group, communicated in Latin and impenetrable medical jargon and rarely left the cosmopolitan cities? How useful were the charlatans who refused to reveal details about their training, patients and the contents of their medicines and treatments? It was to provoke much discussion amongst physicians, many arguing that Bacon's principle of freely communicated and critiqued knowledge should be followed unwaveringly, or else risk the stagnation of scientific progress.¹¹⁹⁸ Others however, considered such knowledge to be dangerous in the wrong hands – Bourgelat, for one, had refused to make his publication *Explication des proportions geometrales du Cheval* available to non-students and had actively discouraged farriers from nurturing any more advanced (read 'dangerous') veterinary interests.¹¹⁹⁹ In an age where medicine was significantly changing on all fronts: in technique, application, location and in perception, its evolution was likewise raising questions as to how medicine ought best be organised, how it should publicly display itself, which ethical doctrines it should adhere to and who was responsible for and authorised its approaches. The Milanese veterinary school stood as an articulation of many of these frustrations. Its premise of utility, its apparent egalitarianism and its conscious attempt to distance itself from the formality and tradition of much medical training through vernacular studies and practical aims, was a deliberate bid to attach itself to these debates, both in order to achieve its aim of ensuring the most useful public service and to appeal to an administration reluctant to sponsor initiatives that were not obviously directed towards public utility.

¹¹⁹⁶ Brambilla, "Scientific and Professional Education in Lombardy," 61.

¹¹⁹⁷ Roy Porter, "The Rise of Medical Journalism in Britain to 1800," in *Medical Journals and Medical Knowledge: Historical Essays* (London: Routledge, 1992), 12.

¹¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹¹⁹⁹ See publisher's note in Claude Bourgelat, *Éléments de l'art vétérinaire: traité de la conformation extérieure du cheval* (Paris: Chez Mme Huzard, Paris, 1832), 4.

Conclusion

Cesare Beccaria's administrative activities concerning epizootic control and public health more generally reveal several striking elements worth reiterating. On the most fundamental level, we witness that in his clearly active role in regional governance, Beccaria continued to view public utility as a core concern, which consistently framed his involvement in practical issues. Interpreting public utility above all in economic terms, Beccaria adhered to the tenets of his social contract by calculating public utility by the economic disruption imposed upon individuals. While the intervention of public health authorities was sometimes advantageous to the economic liberty of citizens, in other occasions it was withheld so as to uphold this right. Furthermore, it is clear that as the social critique contained in Beccaria's writing was a more permanent concern, he had to address the conditions of the social contract in more creative ways than are perhaps articulated in his theory. Medical expertise was one such solution. Applied correctly, as we see through the cases of epizootic outbreaks and the proposals for the Milanese veterinary school, professional science could lend skills, language and authoritative identity to questions of public utility, with science having become, not so much the domain of the state, but a complementary institution. The growing importance of the expert and his cooperation with the administration was due to both the efficiency of expertise in tackling issues of public health and the authority that the expert lent to these situations which was vital to ensuring the administration's control. However, public utility was so important that it remained the measure by which reforms were assessed, at times limiting the authority of the experts employed by the administration. Expertise, as defined by the state itself through standards and exams, was to be put to public use, exploited by the administration for the myriad benefits that scientifically proven and thus, legitimate, knowledge could reap in economic, social and political terms. The state can consequently be seen as authorising scientific expertise, rather than these disciplines determining the necessity of actions themselves. While this upheld the social contract, such adherence to public utility at times restricted the advancement of the disciplines from which the administration profited. The veterinary school for example, had no ambitions of advancing the discipline or contributing to the corpus of medical knowledge, but was rather intended as a public service. Ultimately, we find a more varied understanding of public utility in practice than we can discern in Beccaria's writings. Above all, we see that public utility is most productively addressed through paternalistic regional government. In terms of epizootic control for example, the

administration repeatedly rejected provincial authority and public involvement in order to resolve issues more efficiently. However, not all paternalistic government was useful. As we see through Beccaria's reflections on the importance of vernacular medicine – both in language and content –, context was vital to public utility and the imposition of Habsburg medical standards was not in the best interests of Lombardy.

– CHAPTER SIX –

Ubi desinit physicus ibi incipit medicus: Where philosophy ends, medicine begins

Medical practice and the limits of the social contract

The centrality of public utility in Beccaria's administrative activities is equally noticeable in his response to epidemic diseases. In particular, smallpox and its preventative procedure of variolation was a subject of both personal interest and professional responsibility for Beccaria, who actively advocated inoculation both among his intellectual network and within the administration. Smallpox was a core cause of economically devastating depopulation and inoculation, in protecting the lives of a vast percentage of the populace, was consequently interpreted by Beccaria to be a matter of government responsibility due to the terms of the social contract. However, the attempt to institutionalise inoculation was ultimately restricted by this same social contract. Although Beccaria personally believed in the utility of inoculation, he could not align its obligatory practice with the individual right to one's own life – as was protected by the social contract – and he consequently chose to respect this right above his own paternalistic drive to protect the population and the economy. Unable to compel citizens to be inoculated, Beccaria argued that, in order to fulfil its part of the social contract, the administration needed instead to encourage the practice through the education of the public as to its benefits, the institutionalisation of its practice through state-provided bodies, and the incentivisation of physicians to explore its effects. Ultimately however, Beccaria's administrative efforts to encourage and institutionalise smallpox inoculation were unsuccessful. We find no trace of any successful encouragement of inoculation and the discussion within the administration tapers off with no result. Nonetheless, it is in this particular area that we truly see the continuity in Beccaria's vision of the social contract stretching from page into practice.

Le Roi est mort: Vive le Roi!

It was in a letter from Marie Antoinette to her mother Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, that the tragic news of Louis XV, King of France's death was broken to the Habsburg court.¹²⁰⁰ Writing, the 14th May 1774, four days after Louis had died, the young Marie revealed the circumstances of the King's unexpected demise: he, like so many monarchs across eighteenth-century Europe, had succumbed to smallpox, the virulent disease today estimated to have killed between 10–13 percent of the European population throughout the century.¹²⁰¹ Louis XV's death was but one of many in a growing course of biological regicide. The royal houses of Europe had witnessed the death of six ruling monarchs to smallpox even before the 1770s, not counting the violent decimation of their heirs and descendants. It was a threat Empress Maria Theresa knew all too well. She herself had only come to power in 1740 after smallpox had claimed the life of Emperor Joseph I, thus redirecting the Habsburg succession in her favour.¹²⁰² Still, regardless of the circumstances of her fortune, the Empress had at first been hesitant to take action against the pressing danger of smallpox. While the continent was buzzing with talk of inoculation she, on the advice of her trusted Dutch physician Gerard Van Swieten, remained cold to the idea. That is, until the beginning of the 1760s, when smallpox ravaged Austria, taking in its wake three of Maria Theresa's own children, one granddaughter, two daughters-in-law and leaving she herself disfigured after contracting the virus in 1767.¹²⁰³ The Austria this Empress had so

¹²⁰⁰ Marie-Antoinette to Marie-Thérèse (Choisy, 14 May 1774) in *Marie-Antoinette. Correspondance secrète entre Marie-Thérèse et le comte de Mercy-Argenteau, avec les lettres de Marie-Thérèse et de Marie-Antoinette*, vol. II, eds. Alfred Ritter von Arneth and A. Geffroy (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, 1874), 139: "Madame ma très-chère mère. Mercy vous aus mandé les circonstances de notre malheur; heureusement cette cruelle maladie a laissé au roi la tete présente jusqu'au derneier moment, et sa fin a été fort édifiante. Le nouveau roi parait avoir le coeur de ses peuple; deux jours avant la mort du gran-père il a fait distribuer deux cent mille francs aux pauvres, ce qui a fait le plus grans effet. Depuis la mort, il ne cesse de travailler et répondre de sa main aux ministres qu'il ne peut pas encore voir, et à beaucoup d'autres lettres. Ce qu'il y a se sur, c'est qu'il a le gout de l'économie et le plus grand désir de rendre ses peuples heureux. En tout il a autant d'envie que de besoin de s'instruire, j'espère que Dieu bénira sa bonne volonté."

¹²⁰¹ Harry M. Marks, "When the State Counts Lives: Eighteenth-Century Quarrels over Inoculation," in *Body Counts: Medical Quantification in Historical and Sociological Perspective*, eds. Gerald Jorland, Annick Opinel and George Weisz (Kingston Ontario: MQUP, 2005), 51.

¹²⁰² Joseph I had visited a hospital for poor mothers and children, where he most likely picked up the disease due to the prevalence of undiagnosed smallpox cases being admitted into hospital wards.

¹²⁰³ Donald R. Hopkins, *Smallpox: The Greatest Killer in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 45.

lauded as blessed by the virtues of Venus¹²⁰⁴ was burying its royal line at a rate which would shift the Habsburg succession four times in less than a century and, living in permanent fear of extinction, it was reason enough to invite Dr Jan Ingenhousz, recommended by none other than King George III of England's own physician, to Vienna to commence the process of inoculation for both royals and public. Smallpox, it would appear, had become more than just a medical issue. It was now a matter of the utmost political concern. A political issue, but also a democratic one. Smallpox was ruthless and undiscerning in its choice of victim, be they royal or subject. While the disease took a disastrous toll on European monarchies, its devastation of the wider European community was cataclysmic, with epidemics, fuelled by the steady urbanisation of the continent, estimated to have killed approximately four hundred thousand Europeans each year by 1800.¹²⁰⁵ It was particularly dangerous for children, with around 80 percent of all victims under the age of five.¹²⁰⁶ Beyond the dramatic mortality figures, death from smallpox was violent and protracted. Though Marie Antoinette sensitively censored her account to her mother, rumours quickly spread of how the afflicted Louis XV's body had swollen, turned black and begun to prematurely decompose, prompting his horrified courtiers to fill his coffin with alcohol and quicklime to escape the stench.¹²⁰⁷ Survival was often little better. Those lucky enough to endure the infection were often left blind, infertile, severely scarred or even disfigured. For those of even the most stoic constitution, the torturous nature of this "most terrible of all the ministers of death",¹²⁰⁸ this "villainous malady",¹²⁰⁹ could not be overlooked, reminiscent as it was of a bygone era, not an age of Enlightenment.

The traditional methods of isolation and quarantine, employed to contain smallpox contagion, had long been faltering under the growing frequency of epidemics since the end of the seventeenth century and it was only on the turn of the eighteenth that the first

¹²⁰⁴ The refrain of the Habsburg dynasty: "Let the strong fight wars; thou happy Austria, marry: What Mars bestows on others, Venus gives to thee", quoted in Hopkins, *Smallpox: The Greatest Killer in History*, 63.

¹²⁰⁵ Hopkins, *Smallpox*, 42.

¹²⁰⁶ Mary Lindemann, "Medicine, Medical Practice and Public Health," in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Peter H. Wilson (Malden MA: Wiley, 2008).

¹²⁰⁷ Eyewitness account by Emmanuel Duc de Couy in *Louis the Beloved: The Life of Louis XV*, Olivier Bernier (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 248–9.

¹²⁰⁸ Thomas Macaulay quoted in Wilson, *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 159.

¹²⁰⁹ Maria Theresa to Marie Beatrix (12 July 1779) in *Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresa an ihre Kinder und Freunde*, ed. Alfred Ritter von Arneth (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1881), 369.

reports of a new prophylactic method called inoculation entered the hands of Europe's medical circles. Already practiced in areas of China, India, Persia and the Levant from as early as 1,000 BCE, variolation,¹²¹⁰ the process of injecting a small amount of smallpox virus from a pustule of a person suffering from smallpox, was eventually introduced into Europe via Constantinople where it had been popularly practiced since the late seventeenth century.¹²¹¹ It was only after an outbreak of smallpox here in 1706 that the Italian physician Dr Emanuele Timoni learned of the technique from those posted in the Ottoman city and promptly sent a report to London which was discussed by the Royal Society in 1714.¹²¹² It was soon followed by a Venetian publication by Dr Jacob Pylarini entitled *Nova et tuta variolas excitandi per transplantationem methodus, Venet* in 1715 and supplemented by numerous further reports of the practice, from even as far as America. Inoculation slowly intrigued select physicians, keen to explore its supposed efficacy, but despite the continual threat of further smallpox epidemics and the promised success of the new variolation "à la Turca", the initial medical accounts from Constantinople provoked little attention or discussion within European medical and academic circles. The reasons to explain such disinterest are manifold, but two factors were particularly powerful in obstructing inoculation's acceptance by the medical community: firstly, the lack of both trusted physicians actively promoting variolation and their empirical evidence proving its efficacy, and secondly, the incompatibility of inoculation with pre-contagionist medical understandings of how disease was contracted and spread. Without strong, trusted voices advocating the efficacy of inoculation, the medical profession had little reason to investigate the claims of a practice ultimately incompatible with the accepted medical theory on disease. Variolation was thus dismissed as medically unsound, being based upon inexplicable biological principles. This was to change as inoculation found its voice in Lady Mary Worthley Montague, wife of the British Ambassador to Turkey, who having witnessed the practice in Edirne and Istanbul between 1717 and 1718, began testifying to its wonders in her letters back to England, drawing attention to the reluctance of medical professionals to surrender to the less lucrative practice of inoculation:

¹²¹⁰ Variolation describes the procedure specific to smallpox as opposed to inoculation which is the process, applicable to multiple diseases.

¹²¹¹ Today it is understood that inoculation did exist within some rural European communities dating back to earlier centuries however this was unbeknown to the medical community.

¹²¹² Emanuele Timoni, *Historia variolarum quae per insitionem excitantur* (Constantinople, 1713).

There is no example of anyone that has died in it, and you may believe I am very well satisfied of the safety of the experiment since I intend to try it on my dear little son. I am patriot enough to take pains to bring this useful invention into fashion in England; and I should not fail to write to some of our doctors very particularly about it if I knew any one of them that I thought had virtue enough to destroy such a considerable branch of their revenue for the good of mankind.¹²¹³

The Royal College of Physicians continued over the course of the following years to victimise inoculation's practitioners. That is until Lady Mary, true to her promise to bring inoculation to England, staged a public inoculation of eleven orphans and six convicted murders from Newgate Prison, in an attempt to convince the public of its efficacy. Though a morally questionable endeavour, the success of Lady Mary's experiment prompted two hundred nobles to come forward for inoculation and marked the beginning of the slow popular acceptance of variolation. Incrementally and especially in England, further supporters came to inoculation's defence such as the likes of Drs. John Arbuthnot, Thomas Nettleton and James Jurin who furiously promoted its practice during the 1720s. Yet, it was not until much later that inoculation came to be widely accepted on the continent, first reaching Amsterdam in 1748. Encouraged by the works and practices of La Condamine and Voltaire in France, Dr Theodore Tronchin in Switzerland and Dr Angelo Gatti in Italy, inoculation proceeded to arrive in Switzerland in 1749, before extending to France, Italy, Sweden and Denmark in the later 1750s and eventually Russia and Maria Theresa's Austria in the late 1760s.¹²¹⁴ There has been great speculation as to why inoculation was more readily accepted in some European nations than others, but much can be explained by the changing medical understandings of contagion. Appreciating smallpox as a democratic disease was only possible with the rise of contagionist theories of infection, which claimed that the virus was spread by external, living particles or atoms which entered the body and altered its wellbeing. While there had been little consensus over the causes of smallpox before the contagionist view, they had been confined to internal, humoral interpretations, which understood the disease to stem from either the maturation of "seeds" present in all human beings or from the affectation of the individual's constitution by changes in the atmosphere. The contagionist view thus shifted the perspective on smallpox from the individual patient to the material, external world, claiming that it was caused by a specific,

¹²¹³ Lady Mary Worthley Montague to Sarah Chiswell (Adrianople, 1 April 1717) in *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, eds. Teresa Hefferman and Daniel O'Quinn (Canada: Broadview Press, 2012), 49.

¹²¹⁴ Hopkins, *Smallpox*, 51.

identifiable and external agent. If the internal, individual constitution was no longer responsible for the contraction or generation of the disease then inoculation, as the treatment of a singular agent, had a stronger theoretical backbone and was capable of achieving uniform results.¹²¹⁵ It is to this paradigm shift that historians have consequently attributed the sweeping change in opinion regarding inoculation and, in particular, to the works of Angelo Gatti (who we shall meet in greater detail later in this chapter), who in 1764 and 1767 published two treatises finalising the transformation in pathological understandings of smallpox in favour of the contagion theory.¹²¹⁶ Gatti's work, which built upon the earlier conclusions of Benjamin Marten and Thomas Fuller that smallpox was caused by contaminated air,¹²¹⁷ was not only scientifically remarkable, but was actively promoted outside the medical community by the Parisian savants.¹²¹⁸ Gatti, though never having intended to pursue inoculation during his travels in France, quickly became a major celebrity, befriending Baron D'Holbach, Diderot, Morellet and Grimm amongst others, who attached themselves to his work and to its dissemination, playing a key role in circulating his writings throughout the Republic of Letters.¹²¹⁹ Inoculation, after finally capturing the attention of the physicians, had been transformed once again, this time into an issue of erudite discussion. While smallpox had proven a political issue troubling rulers across Europe, inoculation was to become a moral and social concern, taken up by savants in dialogue with medical professionals, as a matter of philosophical duty.

¹²¹⁵ It was even explicable in terms of Newton's micro-force relations of matter: smallpox atoms, if entering the body, would proceed to exert an attractive force on blood particles, causing the blood to thicken and obstruct the circulation, thus producing smallpox's signature blisters and rashes. See Maisie May, "Inoculating the Urban Poor in the Late Eighteenth Century," *The British Journal for the History of Science*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1997): 296.

¹²¹⁶ Angelo Gatti, *Réflexions sur les préjugés qui s'opposent aux progrès et à la perfection de l'inoculation* (Brussels: Musier Fils, 1764); *Nouvelles réflexions sur la practice de l'inoculation par M. Gatti* (Milan: Joseph Galeazzi, 1767).

¹²¹⁷ Thomas Fuller, *Exanthematologia: Or, an Attempt to Give a Rational Account of Eruptive Fevers, Especially of the Measles and Small Pox* (London: Printed for Charles Rivington and Stephen Austen, 1730); Benjamin Marten, *A New Theory of Consumptions, More Especially of a Phthisis Or Consumption of the Lungs* (London: Printed for R. Knaplock, A. Bell, J. Hooke and C. King, 1720).

¹²¹⁸ Hopkins, *Smallpox*, 60.

¹²¹⁹ Veronica Massai, *Angelo Gatti (1724–1798)* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2008), 21–25: "en France, où je ne suis pas venu pour inoculer, un ami m'a prié d'inoculer ses enfants. Le succès a encouragé quelques personnes à qui j'ai rendu le même service; celles-ci en ont déterminé d'autres, et bien-tôt j'ai acquis la petite célébrité d'Inoculateur."

*In Austria people take smallpox just as in other countries they take the waters!*¹²²⁰

By the time Beccaria came to sit on the Consiglio in the 1780s, variolation had won over its most vociferous opponents and Europe had, at least in mind if less in practice, embraced the new medical technique as the most effective preventative measure against the insidious disease. The Habsburg Empire, after Maria Theresa's dramatic conversion to the inoculation, had furiously adopted the practice and the public inoculation of the royal children, thus officially symbolising Austria's acceptance of variolation, was immortalised in a feast at Schönbrunn palace, where Maria Theresa and her children personally waited upon the first sixty-five children to be inoculated at the newly-founded smallpox hospital in Hetzendorf.¹²²¹ The Empress had personal reasons for advocating inoculation, but its encouragement additionally reflected much wider and ambitious changes in Habsburg attitudes to medicine and medical bureaucracy. Under Maria Theresa, the empire underwent a period of medical review, modernisation and standardisation, with a Central Health Board founded to reform university medical training, hospitals and sanitation.¹²²² It was the result of the spread of cameralist values within the Habsburg ruling class, above all discourses concerning the *Medizinische Polizey*.¹²²³ The reflections of the cameralists Justi and Sonnenfels on the *Medizinische Polizey* as part of their wider reflections on *Staatswissenschaft* – the science of how the state can best generate revenue to support the common good – were particularly influential in the Habsburg empire.¹²²⁴ They had conceived the *polizey* more generally as an instrument with which to maintain the internal order of the state, ensuring the common good and thus the prosperity of the state. Framing public health in similar terms, the cameralists had asserted that the *Medizinische Polizey* would preserve this well-ordered state through protecting the population from disease and by creating institutions which preserve health, such as quarantines, faculties of medicine, asylums and trained doctors, surgeons, midwives and pharmacists. In addition to the influence of the university cameralist tradition of Justi and Sonnenfels, was the role of the arguably cameralist “practitioners” Johann van Swieten and Johann Peter Frank who were health councillors in the Viennese administration. Frank was also the renowned author of *System einer vollständigen medicinischen*

¹²²⁰ Quoted in Mary Maxwell Moffat, *Maria Theresa* (London: Methuen, 1911), 313.

¹²²¹ Hopkins, *Smallpox*, 65.

¹²²² Spary, “Introduction: Centre and Periphery in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Medical Empire,” 685.

¹²²³ *Ibid.*, 686.

¹²²⁴ Josef von Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung, und Finanz* (Vienna: J.E. von Kurzbeck, 1787).

Polizey, the nine-volume work on hygiene and public health, heralded as the first comprehensive system of medical police.¹²²⁵ Thus, under Maria Theresa medicine shifted from being a personal and individual practice, to one which demanded systematic inspection from above, as cameralist arguments transformed medicine into the responsibility of the state: observed, imposed and controlled from a distance to ensure productivity, good conduct and resource management, all in the pursuit of utility. However, with disparate territories divided both linguistically and culturally, medical practice throughout the Habsburg Empire was subject to regional specificities which stood in stark opposition to Maria Theresa's programme of empire and Enlightenment. There was, as Spary claims, a "constant interplay between medical knowledge, medical power and medical teaching on the one hand, and the political demands of governing a vast and diversified realm on the other",¹²²⁶ and as a consequence, a rigorous campaign was implemented from above against "indigenous" science,¹²²⁷ with the ambition of centralising medical authority in Vienna, oppressing local non-qualified medical practitioners, and securing the homogeneity of medical knowledge and thus Habsburg authority in the Habsburg lands.¹²²⁸ As we have already seen in the previous chapter, the translation of approved medical texts was one way of standardising medical practice, though it encountered opposition in the Lombard situation. Other policies were the result of Van Swieten's medical education reforms, which saw many students from the Habsburg territories receiving stipends to study in the new network of medical faculties founded in Vienna.¹²²⁹ Yet further initiatives resulted in the circulation of vast numbers of "useful" vernacular pamphlets and sanitation

¹²²⁵ First published in 1779.

¹²²⁶ Spary, "Introduction: Centre and Periphery in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Medical Empire," 684–690, 688.

¹²²⁷ Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

¹²²⁸ There is some debate as to the colonial attitudes of the Habsburgs. For a spectrum of views see: Tatjana Buklijas and Emese Lafferton, "Science, Medicine and Nationalism in the Habsburg Empire from the 1840s to 1918," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2007): 679–86; Veronika Wendland, "Imperiale, koloniale und postkoloniale Blicke auf die peripherien des Habsburgerreichs," in *Kolonialgeschichten. Regionale Perspektiven auf ein globales Phänomen*, eds. Claudia Kraft, Alf Lüdtke and Jürgen Martschukat (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2010); Klemens Kaps and Jan Surman, "Postcolonial or Post-colonial? Post(-)Colonial Perspectives on Habsburg Galicia," *Historyka. Studia metodologiczne*, vol. 42 (2012): 7–35.

¹²²⁹ T.D. Sechel, "Medical Knowledge and the Improvement of Vernacular Languages in the Habsburg Monarchy: a Case Study from Transylvania (1770-1830)," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, vol. 43, no. 3 (2012): 722.

ordinances throughout the Habsburg territories in the 1770s–1790s, intended to educate rural communities and prevent disease.¹²³⁰ In the case of smallpox inoculation however, regionalism was harder to overcome. Despite the Habsburg attempts to manage the population through medicine, inoculation, though clearly state-sanctioned, could not be state-provided. Regardless of the encouragement of the Habsburg Court, the growing enthusiasm of the Austrian public, the standardisation of medicine across the Habsburg territories, the circulation of vernacular pamphlets and the proto-utilitarian drive of cameralist arguments, inoculation was only available to those who could afford such treatment and there was no explicit demand for the compulsory inoculation of citizens for the purposes of public utility as would become the case with vaccination across Europe in early nineteenth century.¹²³¹ Inoculation though popular, was not institutionalised, which reveals a great deal about the limits of the rhetoric of public utility and the medical bureaucracy. Although approved by medical authorities and supported by the Habsburg government, inoculation was neither financed by the state, nor imposed upon the population, even though the Empire had developed the administrative frameworks with which to aggressively enforce change from above. Utility was not reason enough to require citizens to undertake a medical procedure, which as an obligation, potentially resulting in a citizen's death, would require a much stronger moral or philosophical backbone. The question thus remained as to how to institutionalise inoculation throughout the territories where Maria Theresa's own example was far less persuasive. Unable to oblige citizens to undertake the practice, even though it would be in the best interests of the population at large, inoculation was often left to popular opinion with disastrous effects. At the time of Louis XV's death there existed almost sixty years of discussion on the benefits of inoculation, not to mention near twenty years of its continued practice in France and much longer usage in countries such as England. Yet, as exemplified by Marie Antoinette informing her mother that the new King Louis XVI was being prevented from seeing his new ministers for fear of infection, we see that quarantine, despite intense scrutiny over its efficacy, continued to be believed by many to be the least dangerous prophylactic measure

¹²³⁰ Sechel, "The Politics of Medical Translations and its Impact upon Medical Knowledge in the Habsburg Monarchy," 296–318.

¹²³¹ Compulsory Jennerian vaccination against smallpox was instituted in Bavaria in 1807; Denmark in 1810; Norway in 1811; Bohemia and Russia in 1812; Sweden in 1816; Hanover in 1821; and England in 1853. See Michael Willrich, *Pox: An American History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), 39.

against infection. Regardless of the growing medical consensus on inoculation, professional unanimity did not necessarily translate into public opinion. The situation in Lombardy is a perfect model of this hesitancy. Like other Habsburg territories, Lombardy had been subject to the new medical administration imposed by Vienna yet, without any efforts to institutionalise or even promote inoculation, Lombardy was left to tackle the issue of smallpox alone. While inoculation was flourishing in Vienna thanks to the Empress' example, Lombardy failed to embrace the technique, despite only limited anti-inoculist opposition and the almost unanimous support from the medical and intellectual classes, Cesare Beccaria included. It raises many questions as to the curious ambivalence of the Milanese to popularise and institutionalise the method, after all Lombardy, and Italy more generally, was no stranger to smallpox. The first documented cases of inoculation in Italy were relatively late within the European trend, with the earliest (though these dates are still debated)¹²³² recorded practices coming from the port cities of Naples (1754) and Livorno (1755),¹²³³ believed to have been introduced to variolation earlier via their diverse trade links and multicultural populations. A little later, came Florence (1756), Padova (1758) and finally, Milan in 1761.¹²³⁴ From early in the century there were great exhortations to embrace inoculation from famous Italian figures such as Pietro and Alessandro Verri, Antonio Genovesi, Carlo Gandini, Bernardino Moscati, Targioni Tozzetti, Francesco Raimondo Adami and Saverio Manetti. Moreover, according to Pietro Verri only two persons in Italy

¹²³² Bianca Fadda, *L'innesto del Vaiolo: Un dibattito scientifico e culturale nell'Italia del Settecento*, (Angeli, Milan, 1983), 53: "è infatti documentata con certezza che nel paese di Citerna, al confine fra la Toscana e lo Stato Pontificio, un coraggioso medico condotto, Domenico Peverini, durante l'epidemia del 1750, aveva inoculato ben 200 persone."

¹²³³ It is especially attributed to the English, see Fadda, *L'innesto del Vaiolo*, 53.

¹²³⁴ Pietro Verri provides a history of inoculation in Italy in his *Il Caffè* article "Sull'innesto del vaiuolo," 756–7: "I Toscani furono i più docili ad ascoltarlo, quindi vediamo che ivi nel 1755 più di ducento innesti s'erano già fatti con prospero evento.[158] Questi felici tentativi mossero il governo della Toscana a ordinarne la sperienza pubblica in Firenze, ed ivi si fece sopra sei fanciulli nel Regio Spedale di Santa Maria degl'Innocenti nel 1756. In que' contorni, cioè in Montecchi, Città di Castello e Citerna, s'andò dilatando la nuova maniera di prevenire il vaiuolo naturale. Due anni dopo il signor dottore *Francesco Berzì* introdusse l'inoculazione a Padova, e sempre più andossi propagando il nuovo metodo per l'Italia coll'opera de' signori medici *Guarnieri, Battini, Tani, Fantini, Pierotti, Turacchi, Cei*, e pe' scritti de' signori *Peverini, Lunadei, Targioni, Pauli, Caluri, Berzì, Pizzorno, Gandini, Manetti* e *Centenari*. In Milano il signor dottor *Tadini* diede il primo esempio nel 1761, sopra i suoi figli; sinora due soli innesti si sono fatti dappoi. Il benemerito signor dottor *Bicetti de' Buttinoni* lo ha felicemente introdotto in Treviglio, ed ha stampate le storie de' suoi innestati: la felicità di questi primi tentativi sinora non ha fatto riforma nella generale opinione, la quale né si oppone, né si cangia."

had spoken out against the practice, Count Roncalli and Doctor Giovanni Bianchi.¹²³⁵ However, the availability of popular publications made little headway in convincing the public to undertake the procedure. By the final decades of the century there were sufficient Italian language publications to allow the reading class a substantial insight into the benefits of inoculation, raising the question of why access to published empirical observations failed to encourage widespread inoculation among the higher classes. Writing to his brother Alessandro in 1770, Pietro Verri despaired at the pitiful two patients who had come forward to be inoculated that year, both of whom were the wives of close friends.¹²³⁶ While the majority of inoculation's supporters were, like Verri himself, from the noble or patrician classes and social status seems to have determined individuals' outlooks on inoculation, this was no guarantee that individuals would actually be inoculated.¹²³⁷ Still inoculation was even less successful among the labouring class. The texts on inoculation available in Northern Italy were rarely condensed into the pamphlets and almanacs accessible to rural communities. Unlike in other Habsburg territories where the central government circulated pamphlets and sanitation ordinances in vernacular languages so as to inform the population about disease, Lombardy did not receive such materials.¹²³⁸ For these individuals, Beccaria argued, their hesitancy to accept inoculation was dictated by superstition and ignorance. Yet, this was more than an issue of purely convincing them of inoculation's successes but required a complete shift in thinking and rationality. Many citizens could not bring themselves to embrace the procedure because they could not bring themselves to embrace the authority of empirical evidence, based upon observation and experiment, or the scientific method in general, as was taken for granted by the patrician class with greater exposure to the empirical sciences, however diluted. While the Milanese elite had the liberty with which to choose whether to embrace medical advancement, the lack of instructional materials outside this class prevented individuals from making any empirically informed decisions. It was, Beccaria argued, a devastating consequence of material inequality. Poverty brought disease and poverty, in turn, prevented its eradication. By 1800, the physician Luigi

¹²³⁵ Pietro Verri, "Sull'innesto del vaiuolo".

¹²³⁶ The wives of Conte D'Adda and Pietro Moscati. Fadda, *L'innesto del Vaiolo*, 127.

¹²³⁷ Why inoculation failed to have a greater impact within the higher echelons baffled the Italian intellectual class at the time and continues to elude historians of the period.

¹²³⁸ As compared to other east-central European Habsburg territories. See Sechel, "The Politics of Medical Translations," 296–318.

Sacco was promising inoculation to the masses,¹²³⁹ but before then inoculation in Lombardy was in a period of stasis: supported, promoted and even shown to be compatible with Catholic doctrine, but ultimately and inexplicably unsuccessful.¹²⁴⁰

Philosophers and physicians: A network of inoculation advocates

The ongoing discussion over inoculation in the latter half of the eighteenth century is well-documented in a letter received by Beccaria in 1769 from Giuseppe Toaldo, Professor of Astronomy at the University of Padova: “Here we have nothing new. Everything is inoculation, which is becoming more fashionable after the tragedy of certain young ladies, lost to natural smallpox.”¹²⁴¹ While Toaldo was clearly tired of the debate, he reveals how inoculation remained a point of contention, with every sensational case of infection renewing public interest in the discussion. Though a vast majority had long been convinced of the benefits of inoculation, the continued existence of natural smallpox, the notoriety surrounding cases of reinfection, and the wildfire rumours of death after inoculation fuelled further debate, preying on popular superstition and fear, regardless of the growing standardisation of the practice. Unlike his unenthused correspondent Toaldo, the inoculation question had not yet bored Cesare Beccaria. To the contrary, it remained a source of much curiosity in both his personal and professional life, providing a recurrent topic of conversation throughout his correspondence. Rumoured to have been catalysed by the inoculation of his own daughter, Beccaria’s letters document his growing interest and in-depth knowledge of the shifting debates on variolation, illustrating how he was receiving, circulating and promoting many medical publications on the subject, as well as maintaining correspondence with key figures, such as Angelo Gatti, the doctor renowned throughout Europe for his promotion of smallpox grafting. Not alone in his interest, nor in his real-life experience of inoculation, Beccaria’s fervent support was shared by his closest circle of colleagues and we see that Beccaria was part of a European network of inoculation

¹²³⁹ Marta Boneschi, *Quel che il cuore sapeva: Giulia Beccaria, i Verri, i Manzoni* (Milan: Mondadori, 2005), 226–7; C. Avogadro, “Milano e l’Ospedale Maggiore fra austriaci e francesi (1706-1859),” in *La Ca’ Granda*, no. 4 (2006) 9-14.

¹²⁴⁰ See: Bianca Fadda, *L’innesto del Vaiolo*, 98–101. Sacco is reported to have ‘cow-pox inoculated’ 20,000 Milanese in *The London Medical and Physical Journal*, vol. 9 (1803), 435–38.

¹²⁴¹ Giuseppe Toaldo to Cesare Beccaria, (Padua, 18 November 1769), letter 289 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. V, 7: “Qui non abbiamo produzioni nuove. Tutto è innesto del vaiolo, che prenderà più voga dopo la disgrazia di certe giovani dame, mancate di vaiolo naturale.”

advocates who interpreted the promotion of the practice to be a duty of citizens of the Republic of Letters.¹²⁴²

It is from Beccaria's letters that we first see his interest in inoculation taking shape, as he begins to engage in the circulation of texts and news on the procedure. Beccaria initially received Angelo Gatti's work from one of the inspirations of his hedonistic philosophy, Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, in November 1765 (the same year in which Beccaria's daughter Giulia is speculated to have been inoculated).¹²⁴³ Beccaria had, according to Condillac, requested one of Gatti's works himself, possibly the *Réflexions sur les préjugés qui s'opposent aux progrès et à la perfection de l'inoculation*, co-authored by Morellet and published in 1764,¹²⁴⁴ and sensing Beccaria's interest in the subject, Condillac included additional, unspecified writings on inoculation not part of the original treatise, in his package to Beccaria, most likely *Lettre à m. Roux, docteur regent de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris*, (Gatti, 1763), *Réponse à une des principales objections qu'on oppose aux partisans de l'inoculation de la petite verole*, (Chastellux, 1763) *Nouveaux éclaircissements sur l'inoculation de la petite vérole pour réponse à un écrit de M. Rast, médecin de Lyon*, (Chastellux, 1763). The following month, Condillac updated Beccaria with news that Charles-Marie de La Condamine was publishing a work on inoculation, the *Lettres de M. de la Condamine à M. le dr. Maty sur l'état présent de inoculation en France*,¹²⁴⁵ which he promised to send when he himself received a copy and additionally attached an important extract from a letter by Doctor Maty on the controversy surrounding the inoculation of Madame Boufflers. Madame Boufflers had famously contracted smallpox a year and a half after being inoculated in 1763 by Angelo Gatti, generating what proceeded to become a media furore, igniting the inoculation debate once again. A much-publicised embarrassment for Gatti, which he refuted profusely, the case of Madame Boufflers mustered great support for the waning opponents of inoculation, keen to publicise the

¹²⁴² We know that Gianrinaldo Carli had his son publicly inoculated to promote the practice and Pietro Verri, after having famously discussed inoculation in the *Il Caffè* journal, likewise took his daughter Theresa, accompanied by Paolo Frisi, to be inoculated. Pietro Verri, "Sull'innesto del vaiuolo," in *Il Caffè*.

¹²⁴³ Alfonso Longo to Beccaria (Rome, 14 November 1765), letter 50 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 148: "Comment se porte la fille de Beccaria? Monsignor Chigi m'a assuré qu'à Paris la verolle a attaqué les inoculés, et que cette operation y tombe."

¹²⁴⁴ Morellet too promised to send this to Beccaria. André Morellet to Beccaria (con una postilla di d'Alembert), (Paris, 3 January 1766) letter 60 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 194.

¹²⁴⁵ Étienne Bonnot de Condillac to Beccaria (Parma, 20 December 1765), letter 58 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 173.

failings of Gatti's celebrated procedure and once again assert the dangers of this increasingly popular practice.¹²⁴⁶ Yet, in Condillac's letter Beccaria did not receive the plentiful and sensational gossip of the media hacks, but rather, a careful rebuttal of the case written by the British Doctor Maty, secretary of the Royal Society and librarian of the British Museum.¹²⁴⁷ In his extract Maty plainly denounced the uproar surrounding the Boufflers case, underlining that inoculation was well known by its practitioners not to be entirely effective on all occasions and that these cases did not diminish the benefits of the practice for the community in general, nor did it prove its inefficacy. Maty's words give the impression that for those supporters of the procedure, with an adequate medical understanding of the practice, the benefits of inoculation were no longer debatable, regardless of the concerns of a less-informed public, swayed by the sensationalism of the press. His condemnation of the event was clear and detailed:

Le fonds de l'affaire (la petite verole de madame de Boufflers) est réellement une bagatelle, qui ne feroit pas ici la moindre sensation. Le cas est arrivé cent et cent fois à nos inoculateurs, aussi ne manquent-ils pas, quand l'éruption manque, de proposer une nouvelle operation. Le fils du feu chancelier fut même trois fois inoculé sans effet, avant qu'on le jugeât insusceptible. Le chirurgien Middleton, l'un de ceux qui a le plus semé de petites véroles, dit qu'il ne comte jamais sur la réussite, à moins qu'au défaut de boutons au tems ordinaires, il ne paroisse une fièvre de 24 heures independante de toute inflammation des playes. Le seul reproche que monsieur Gatti puisse donc se faire, c'est de n'avoir pas proposé à madame de Boufflers de rétirer l'opération. Je ne sais pas meme si ce parti eut été le meilleur, vu qu'il est probable que la malade auroit résisté.¹²⁴⁸

Condillac's letters to Beccaria are representative of several important trends in Beccaria's correspondence concerning inoculation. Primarily, we begin to see the dynamics of the community and network involved in promoting inoculation, which stretched across disciplines uniting both physicians and savants. The correspondence connecting Beccaria, Condillac and Maty reflected the network of inoculation supporters stretching across Europe who were united by the mutual desire to understand its progress throughout the continent and promote its practice. Beccaria's letters reveal that inoculation was a concern within the Republic of Letters and, upon having recognised that inoculation was a European concern deserving the reflection of a broad, interdisciplinary and international

¹²⁴⁶ *Mercur de France*, January 1765, vol. II, 148. In a 1766 letter from Morellet we see that Monsieur and Madame Boufflers planned to visit Italy and aspired to meet Beccaria.

¹²⁴⁷ Étienne Bonnot de Condillac to Beccaria (Parma, 20 December 1765), letter 58 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 173.

¹²⁴⁸ Matthew Maty quoted in Étienne Bonnot de Condillac to Beccaria (Parma, 20 December 1765), letter 58 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 175–6.

community, Philosophes, savants and medical professionals alike used their networks to exchange the most current news and publications on the subject. Condillac's circulation of diverse current works on inoculation indicate how up-to-date this community was regarding inoculation literature and highlights that this was an active intellectual interest as opposed to a topic of gossip and intrigue. Condillac clearly saw Beccaria as being invested in the promotion of inoculation and his correspondence served to keep Beccaria abreast of the discussion, as we see via his inclusion of Maty's letter. This extract – a thorough medical response addressing the general occurrence of inoculation's inefficacy – served to provide an already-convinced advocate of inoculation as to the reasons why it was medically possible to contract the disease after variolation and reflected the matter-of-fact nature of the discussion in Beccaria's correspondence from as early as 1765. Finally, Condillac's letter illustrates the medical fluency of the savants discussing variolation. Medical works such as Gatti's were not standard popular texts and would have required a higher level of knowledge regarding smallpox and inoculation than was necessarily common among even the educated classes. Being able to traverse confidently through the medical literature would give Beccaria a distinct advantage when addressing the issue of inoculation in his role in the Consiglio, providing an additional layer of medical legitimacy to his claims that inoculation was important for public utility. It was crucial for the future of inoculation to be able to provide sound medical explanation as to the treatment's occasional failings, as the value and authority placed in medical knowledge was ever-increasing.

Pietro Verri's article "Sull'innesto del vaiuolo" reveals the extensive knowledge of *the Il Caffè* group with regards to inoculation literature coming from across Europe and the Atlantic. In his extensive discussion of the history, practice and benefits of variolation, Verri references a vast array of significant advocates and practitioners of inoculation who had and continued to contribute to its advancement.¹²⁴⁹ Commencing with a thorough discussion of the medical literature concerning smallpox predating inoculation, Verri references the works of Boerhaave and Sydenham, as well as Thomas Browne and Dr Richard Mead. Proceeding to

¹²⁴⁹ It is worth noting that there are distinct similarities between Verri's account and the anonymous *Encyclopédie* entry for inoculation published in the same year. See "Inoculation," (*Chirurgie, Médecine, Morale, Politique.*) unknown, *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2016 Edition), Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe (eds), <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>, 8:755.

address more current advocates, Verri includes the Swiss physician Théodore Tronchin author of *L'inoculation justifiée*; Albrecht von Haller; Chastellux, who had put himself forward as an early subject for testing inoculation; James Jurin; Van Swieten; the Scottish inoculationist Charles Maitland; the Swedish physicians David Schultz and Nils Rosén von Rosenstein; and the English inoculators Middleton, James Kirkpatrick and Ranby. Additionally, we see the group are well integrated in the Italian inoculation community through Verri's citation of Guarnieri, Battini, Tani, Fantini, Pierotti, Turacchi, Cei, Peverini, Lunadei, Targioni, Pauli, Caluri, Berzi, Pizorno, Gandini, Manetti, Centenari, Battini, Gatti and Tadini. Furthermore, Verri lists many French advocates who had published in favour of inoculation, including Dr Boyer, De la Coste, Noguez, Gelée, Macquart, Hosty, Morisot, Lavirotte, Vandermonde, e Montucla, la Condamine, Camus, Joachim, De Beaux, Roux, David, Vernage, Robert, Bordeaux, Razoux. It is not necessary to include the additional advocates cited in Verri's article to have the impression that inoculation was an area of intense interest and communication for the *Il Caffè* group. Their knowledge of the history and current state of inoculation was encyclopedic, encompassing a diverse range of publications and practices from across Europe. It indicates that inoculation was more than just a passing interest for the group, who was clearly dedicated to encouraging the practice and were part of a dedicated community of savants and physicians across Europe who circulated publications and news pertaining to inoculation. Beccaria's correspondence illustrates the strong bond within this community through the lack of any debate or disagreement over inoculation. While the topic arises frequently, there is unanimous agreement amongst the correspondents as to the medical efficacy and political significance of the procedure, whose obstruction, they concur, was primarily caused by the backwardness and pedantry of the ignorant and closed-minded. While we can broadly claim that Beccaria was, on the whole, corresponding with like-minded individuals, it seems remarkable that within an educated, well-read, politically engaged and notoriously argumentative community such as Beccaria's, not one correspondent extended their objections to the often divisive issue of inoculation, nor offered hesitation regarding specific publications, techniques of variolation (of which there were several) or particular disastrous cases. Even the unsuccessful inoculation of Verri's future wife, Vincenza Melzi did not provoke any reflection.¹²⁵⁰ Vincenza, who became ill with fever, pustules and

¹²⁵⁰ Beccaria to Pietro Verri – Pietro Verri to Beccaria (Milan, end of May 1782), letter 531 in

infection in the graft wound some days after the procedure, had, according to Beccaria, been treated by a physician who had not only never performed the procedure, but who had formerly been against the practice. Decidedly flippant about the matter, Beccaria merely stated that it was no surprise that the physician would not have adequately studied a subject which he had previously opposed, thus resulting in Vincenza's illness. There was not necessarily consensus amongst practitioners of inoculation themselves as to how variolation ought to be practiced, leaving us to speculate as to why Beccaria's correspondents were so unanimous and unwavering in their support. There are two possible reasons for this. Firstly, while the network did comprise physicians, many correspondents were, like Beccaria, savants, not medical professionals, who framed their support for inoculation in terms of the responsibility claimed by the Philosophes to help and support mankind. Inoculation, as a useful practice intended to improve society, was perceived as something to be encouraged, without any great debate as to the details of its usage. Secondly, there might well have been a geographic reason behind such unity as inoculation was remarkably unestablished as a medical practice in Lombardy. While no fervent objection existed to the procedure, neither was there any tradition of its usage, perhaps prompting greater solidarity from Beccaria's colleagues who felt the need to catalyse its more frequent use through united support for the practice. The support for inoculation among Beccaria's correspondents is so strong that, on occasion, their exchanges went beyond the simple circulation of crucial information, giving way to the mockery and derision of inoculation's detractors. This attitude is especially well-highlighted in a letter addressed to Beccaria and his Milanese friends from Alfonso Longo, 2nd April 1766. Longo, temporarily based in Rome, would regularly send his friends entertaining updates from his travels, informing them of the strange, idiosyncratic and often amusing nature of Roman customs and traditions. In this particular letter, Longo imagined a fictitious satirical dialogue between himself and a Roman prelate, intended to humorously draw attention to the backwardness and ignorance of Roman society through the prelate's vehement objection to the most important developments of the age. Amongst the string of criticisms directed by *Monseigneur Patriarche* towards the "follies of the period", comes the topic of inoculation:

L'inoculation est une action barbare dont tout homme raisonnable doit s'abstenir. Il est prouvé que l'Infant de Parme n'a plus joui de sa première bonne santé après ce dangereux remède. Il est incontestable qu'on l'a défendue en France et en Hollande, et

Edizione Nazionale, vol. V, 613–4.

qu'on ne la pratique plus en Angleterre. Le dérangement de la santé, les maladies de langueur, la mort même que en était la suite, ont désabusé les hommes là-dessus; et on ne me fera jamais comprendre comment on puisse en bonne conscience donner un mal à un qui se porte bien. C'est la plus absurde des folies, et elle est pourtant digne de ce siècle extravagant.¹²⁵¹

Although Longo was not directly discussing inoculation, we learn much from his reference to the debate within the dialogue. In misunderstanding the success of the young Duke of Parma's successful inoculation, in asserting that the practice was unreasonable, barbaric and against good conscience, in expounding the outdated view that no good could come from infecting a healthy individual with an illness, the prelate voiced the clichéd views of the anti-inoculation camp. Longo had endeavoured to entertain his friends with the prelate's unenlightened naiveté and in using inoculation as the quintessential example of eighteenth-century progress with which to underline and belittle the conservative attitudes of the Romans, the letter highlights how accepted inoculation had become within Beccaria's community. From Longo, we know that the legitimacy of variolation had become unquestionable for this group of Milanese savants and that arguments against its practice, based upon confused reason and pedantry, such as the Prelate's, deserved neither sympathy nor space within public discourse and were, at best, laughable. The sentiments of inoculation's detractors were expressions of ignorance and irrational judgement, as Longo made clear in further lambasting the Roman prelate:

En général tous ceux qu'on vous nommera fous, ce seront gens de merite; et tous ceux qui vous entenrez decorer du titre de grands hommes, ce sont des pédans insupportables. Tous ceux qu'on vous nommera fripons, le seront en effet; et ceux dont on vous vantera la candeur, sont des imbécilles.¹²⁵²

The purpose of Longo's satire was to mock Roman backwardness; however, his concern for ignorance brings us back to the duty of the savants to educate and illuminate those who suffered at the hands of ignorance. Beccaria's correspondents were unanimously convinced of the merits of inoculation and the reasons they offered within their personal letters for wholeheartedly supporting a medical practice, which for most, was a product of knowledge far removed from their own academic specialities, was utility. Although Beccaria possessed

¹²⁵¹ Alfonso Longo to Beccaria and his Milanese friends (Rome, 2 April 1766), letter 88 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 281.

¹²⁵² Alfonso Longo to Beccaria and his Milanese friends (Rome, 2 April 1766), letter 88 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 281.

a strong medical understanding of inoculation, both he and his correspondents framed their support for its practice exclusively in terms of its usefulness. Inoculation was no longer considered to be a solely professional, medical issue, but, as an ultimately *useful* development in the interest of society, it was perceived to be an important topic of discussion for the *hommes de lettres*, whose responsibility it was to work in support of humankind. Correspondence networks had long been central to the inoculation cause. James Jurin (who will be addressed in greater detail in the next section) had used his correspondence network to collect data from inoculation practitioners to create his statistical analyses of inoculation; members of the Royal Society, such as Hans Sloane, used their personal correspondence networks to circulate information regarding the practice; and physicians frequently circulated lymph and pustules via their professional correspondence to enable other practitioners to perform grafts. However, unlike Beccaria's network, the majority of these inoculation networks had a different social makeup, either predominantly comprising physicians and other medical professionals or members of organised academic societies. What is consequently so striking about Beccaria's network is that it is perpetuated by men of letters under the auspices of public utility and social duty, and bears little similarity to the medical discussion of inoculation taking place in the same period. This is demonstrated further by the language used to discuss inoculation, which was distinctly non-medical and instead focused utility and the good of mankind in a conscious attempt to deprofessionalise the inoculation discussion. Turning to the words of D'Alembert, written to Beccaria in an addendum to Condillac's letter of December 1765, gives us some clues as to how utility was intimately connected to language. In reference to Beccaria's own *Dei delitti e delle pene*, D'Alembert discussed the benefits of removing its geometric and scientific language in favour of a more simplistic and vernacular style:

Je desiderois seulement, pour rendre l'ouvrage plus utile en lui procurant plus de lecteurs, qu'on en retranchât à une seconde édition toutes les expressions geometriques et scientifiques, aux quelles on en pourra substituer de simples et vulgaires. En metaphysique, et surtout morale, il faut, ce me semble, s'ecarter le moins que faire se peut de la langue commune, parceque dans ces ouvrages on parle au genre humain, et qu'on ne sauroit lui parler trop clairement de ce qui l'interesse si fort.¹²⁵³

Beccaria's non-medical correspondents faced the task of normalising the smallpox debate, removing the medical vocabulary on inoculation in order to emphasise its benefits and

¹²⁵³ D'Alembert in letter from Étienne Bonnot de Condillac to Beccaria (Parma, 20 December 1765), letter 58 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 172–4.

utility to a much wider audience. It is interesting here to draw attention to a letter received by Beccaria from André Morellet, in which he promised to send Beccaria those publications he had translated and whose subjects he deemed to be useful and of interest to an author, so clearly dedicated to the good of mankind.¹²⁵⁴ Within the list Morellet included Gatti's *Réflexions sur les préjugés qui s'opposent aux progrès et à la perfection de l'inoculation*, alongside *Réflexions sur les avantages de la fabrication des toiles peintes en France, pour servir de éponse aux divers mémoires des fabriquants de Paris, Lyon Tours, Rouen etc. sur cette matière*, *Le manuel des Inquisiteurs, à l'usage des Inquisitions d'Espagne et du Portugal, ou Abrégé de l'ouvrage intitulé: Directorium Inquisitorum, composé vers 1358 pas Nicolas Eymeric ... On y a joint une courte histoire de l'établissement de l'Inquisition dans le Royaume de Portugal, tirée du latin de Louis a Paramo*, *Petit écrit sur une matière intéressante*, *Mémoires des fabriquants de Lorraine et de Bar, présenté a Mgr. l'Intendant de la province, concernant le projet d'un nouveau tarif, et servant de réponse à un ouvrage intitulé 'Lettres d'un citoyen à un magistrat'*, *Fragment d'une lettre sur la police des grains*, *Observations sur une dénonciation de la 'Gazette littéraire' faite à Mgr. l'Archevêque de Paris*, *Dictionnaire de commerce*. The list reflects diverse subject matter, ranging from religious toleration and the Inquisition, to commerce and taxes, but what is most striking, is that Morellet considered all these pamphlets and texts to be distinctly useful for an individual concerned with the perfectibility of the human race, such as the likes of Beccaria.¹²⁵⁵ It causes us to reflect on what Morellet meant by "useful" with regards to Gatti's text, as clearly this was not reserved to the purely medical significance of Gatti's work, but indicates that it had a wider social significance, comparable to works such as the *Fragment d'une lettre sur la police des grains*, which, very different in content, discussed the removal of obstacles to the free trade of grain. Looking at the recommendations in general, we see that Morellet was promoting texts which had made great cases for equality, be it in terms of economics, religion, or legal rights, and by

¹²⁵⁴André Morellet to Beccaria (con una postilla di d'Alembert) (Paris, 3 January 1766), letter 60 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 193–8: "J'attens quelque occasion favorable pour vous faire parvenir quelques petits ouvrages que je me flatte que vous trouverez dignes de votre traducteur, parceque l'objet en est utile.... je dois avoir auprès de vous le mérite de travailler véritablement pour le bien des hommes; chimere, si l'on veut, mais chimere douce, et dont vous n'êtes pas homme à me détromper, vous qui en êtes dupe autant et plus qui personne. Je me jette insensiblement dans une grande et belle question de la perfectibilité de l'espèce humaine, que vous devriez bien examiner un jour, et sur la quelle vous pourriés repandre cette métaphysique profonde et surtout cette sensibilité tendre dont votre ouvrage est rempli."

¹²⁵⁵ André Morellet to Beccaria (con una postilla di d'Alembert) (Paris, 3 January 1766), letter 60 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 197: "Je suis bien aise que vous preniés de moi une opinion favorable, en voyand que j'ai toujours été occupé d'objets utiles, et que j'étois digne d'entreprendre la traduction de votre ouvrage précisément parceque vous y plaidés la cause la plus intéressante de l'humanité."

including Gatti's work, Morellet was alluding to the fact that inoculation was likewise perceived as an issue of social equality, ultimately useful in its protection of the public and their livelihoods. Morellet was not alone in recognising why Gatti's work possessed such great value for the wider, educated audience, as Beccaria demonstrated in his reply to Morellet's letter:

My friends and I have an infinite estimation for the excellently written work of Signor Gatti, as translated by yourself, which I would not have read had Condillac not sent it to me. French books are very difficult for us to get hold of, at least promptly, which has deprived me of the pleasure of admiring many more of your works. The abovementioned work is filled with a philosophical spirit, which is rare in medical books.¹²⁵⁶

Gatti's work, in Beccaria's mind, was so remarkable because it transversed the boundaries between the medical and philosophical spheres, possessing a philosophic spirit so rarely seen in medical writings. Coming back to the title of this chapter, "where philosophy ends, medicine begins" helps to address this connection between the medical and the philosophical. This originally Aristotelian premise rests upon the conclusion that health and disease are in fact common concerns to both the philosopher and the physician.¹²⁵⁷ While the practical, professional treatment of disease forms the individual field of the physician, the study of the principles of health naturally fall into the domains of both the physician and the philosopher as, ultimately related to the living, natural state, the investigation of disease's theoretical principles are of equal concern to both scholars. Gatti's work was renowned due to its groundbreaking contagionist principles and far from exclusively addressing the treatment of inoculation, Gatti discussed at length, the prejudices and superstitions obstructing the practice and the enlightenment of those nations who had

¹²⁵⁶ Beccaria to André Morellet (Milan, 26 January 1766), letter 68 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 225: "To e i miei amici abbiamo una infinita stima dell'opera eccellentemente scritta e da voi tradotta del signor dottor Gatti, né l'avrei letta se il signor abate di Condillac non me l'avesse mandata. I libri francesi è per noi difficilissimo averli, almeno prontamente, e ciò mi ha privato del contento di ammirare le altre vostre produzioni. L'opera sudetta è ripiena di spirito filosofico, che sembra rarissimo ne' libri di medicina."

¹²⁵⁷ The work of Charles B. Schmitt and Simone Mammola on the need for approaches which look at the history of philosophy and medicine in Italy in greater union helps to shape this argument. Though focused on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their calls to appreciate the connections between philosophy and medicine have much resonance for the period studied here and they demonstrate a long-lasting and distinctly Italian intellectual tradition which saw a strong relationship between medicine and philosophy. See: Charles B. Schmitt, "Aristotle among the physicians," in *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Andrew Wear, Roger Kenneth French, Iain M. Lonie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1–15; Simone Mammola, "Does the History of Medicine Begin Where the History of Philosophy Ends? An Example of Interdisciplinarity in the Early Modern Era," *History of European Ideas*, vol. 40, no. 4 (2014): 457–73.

chosen to accept it. Gatti was incensed by the fact that inoculation had long been successfully practiced by those nations considered barbarous by the Europeans, yet many Europeans themselves were still hesitant to learn from observation and experiment, and accept a procedure which had repeatedly proven its utility.¹²⁵⁸ Consequently, one gets the distinct impression that these savants interpreted the promotion of inoculation as part of their moral duty as Philosophes to encourage the developments of the age which were crucial to man's advancement and enlightenment. Morellet, writing to Beccaria, drew great attention to the decision in France to ban inoculation, highlighting the absurdity of having left this decision to the Faculty of Theology.¹²⁵⁹ Inoculation, after all, was not a solely moral issue, but one of public utility. Beccaria's correspondents consequently set themselves the task of circulating and promoting Gatti's work and other pro-inoculation publications among their non-medical correspondents. Within Beccaria's biblioscope we find four of Angelo Gatti's works, all of which were being circulated and cited throughout the correspondence, often by Beccaria himself: *Lettre à M. Roux, docteur régent de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris*; *Nouvelles Réflexions sur la pratique de l'inoculation*; *Réflexions sur les préjugés qui s'opposent aux progrès et à la perfection de l'inoculation en France*; *Réponse à une des principales objections qu'on oppose aux partisans de l'inoculation de la petite vérole*. We also find Pietro Verri's "Sull'innesto del vaiuolo" which we can trace circulating throughout the network, being sent to both Condamine and Gatti, as well as the *Gazzetta letteraria*.¹²⁶⁰ Returning to Beccaria's response to Morellet, we see that he briefly draws attention to the difficulties the Milanese had in obtaining texts from abroad and their reliance on contacts within the

¹²⁵⁸ Speaking of France's objections to inoculation, Gatti, *Réflexions sur les préjugés qui s'opposent aux progrès et à la perfection de l'inoculation*, 2–3: "Je ne pensois pas qu'une pratique très-simple et plus facile que le traitement de la plupart des maladies les mieux connues, seroient regardée avec une grande défiance, et trouveroit d'aussi grands obstacles à son établissement. Je me persuadois que l'Inoculation pratiquée depuis plusieurs siècles par des peuples entiers, adoptée dans plusieurs pays de l'Europe... N'éprouveroit pas autant de contradictions dans une Nation éclairée; enfin, je ne prévoyois pas que chez le plus doux de tous les peuples, il se trouveroit des hommes qui mettroient de l'aigreur, de la haine, et toutes les passions, dans la discussion d'une question qui intéresse aussi fortement le bien de l'humanité. Je me suis trompé sur tout cela."

¹²⁵⁹ André Morellet to Beccaria, (Paris, 17–30 July 1766), letter 113 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 347: "On veut répandre en France l'inoculation: ils portent un arrêt qui la proscribit des villes, et qui pour comble d'absurdité renvoie la décision de cette question à la Faculté de théologie."

¹²⁶⁰ Alessandro Verri to Pietro Verri, (Paris, 1 March 1767) in in Carlo Casati, ed. and Alessandro Verri. *Lettere E Scritti Inediti Di Pietro E Di Alessandro Verri*, vol. 1, 184: "Gli ho ancor dati, dalla parte di Carli, la sua opera sulla moneta; darò un libro sull'innesto a Condamine; un esemplare del *Caffè* agli autori della *Gazzetta letteraria*, e procurerò di far bene questa distribuzione."; Alessandro Verri to Pietro Verri, (Paris, 4 March 1767), 190: "Ho poi mandato una copia d'*Innesto* a Condamine ed una a Gatti."

Republic of Letters to provide them with crucial publications. In the case of inoculation, the Milanese were, as we have already seen in the case of Beccaria's relationship with Condillac, part of a much wider chain of communication and dependence, and in further letters we see that Beccaria, after receiving Gatti's work, endeavoured to circulate it amongst his correspondents based in Italy, initiating its momentum on a regional level.¹²⁶¹

Inoculation, probability and the social contract

Beccaria's interest in inoculation was based neither on fashion, nor the medical marvel and humanitarian significance of the procedure, but rather stemmed from concerns for utility, the social contract and the mathematical advances of probability in the field of political arithmetic. Beccaria was a staunch believer in the merits of inoculation and his argument in support of the practice rested on two conclusions, one economically pragmatic, the other philosophical. Firstly, upon identifying the economic importance of preserving a healthy population, historically ravaged by smallpox and other epidemics, Beccaria highlighted how the declining population as a result of poor health, sanitation and disease had a direct, destructive impact on the economy, which could be reduced through the removal of those physical impediments to public health. Secondly, inoculation was not only sensible economically but, Beccaria added, was the responsibility of the legislator, whose duty it was to reduce those inexact and inadequate hazards, superstitions and malpractices which endangered the population and the endeavours of the capable expert. Underlining the proliferation of medical texts published in support of inoculation as well as the mounting evidence of its efficacy and the growing experience of physicians carrying out the practice, Beccaria concluded that this tried and tested procedure was being restrained only by the ignorant and scared, who would prefer to see the violent suffering of natural infection over the milder symptoms of the inoculation process: an attitude not only economically damaging, but which contradicted the terms of the social contract. For Beccaria, the issue of inoculation was based on the utility calculation. As a procedure which, as proved by

¹²⁶¹ Beccaria to Barbon Vincenzo (?) Morosini (Milan, 28 September 1768), letter 242 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 668: "ho l'onore di rimettere a Vostra Eccellenza il libro di Gatti sull'inoculazione del vaiolo. Spero che i di lei lumi e' l di lei cuore, capaci di cose di maggiore importanza, resteranno convinti dall'evidenza. L'Eccellenza Vostra ne farà quell'uso che stimerà più opportuno."

empirical evidence, lessened the economic hardships of the population (as was the responsibility of the state), it was to be supported and encouraged.

While there were many moral entreaties to support inoculation,¹²⁶² Beccaria's contractual approach was greatly influenced by the growing trend in statistical analyses of smallpox mortality. With increasing numbers of smallpox epidemics throughout the century, the crisis had attracted attention from staticians and political arithmeticians engaged in discussions on the application of probability calculations to society and human beings. The creation of the Life Table and mortality indexes gave mathematicians the raw data and mathematical tools from which to explore probabilities regarding the human lifespan, weighing in on the smallpox debate with controversial calculations on the likelihood of mortality before and after the introduction of inoculation.¹²⁶³ Initially taking shape in England, the mathematical approach was first employed by Drs John Arbuthnot, Thomas Nettleton and James Jurin.¹²⁶⁴ As early as 1723, Jurin had concluded that the risk of dying from natural smallpox during recent epidemics was around one in five or six. The risk of dying from smallpox inoculation on the other hand, was one in ninety-one.¹²⁶⁵ With such formidable conclusions, it was not long before the mathematical approaches of Jurin and the other English staticians were promptly exported to the continent and enthusiastically taken up by French mathematicians in particular. At the heart of the debate were Charles de la Condamine, Daniel Bernoulli and Jean D'Alembert, who all made crucial, albeit statistically conflicting, contributions to the variolation discussion based upon the new mathematical

¹²⁶² Hopkins, *Smallpox*, 51.

¹²⁶³ The first life table was published in John Graunt's (speculated to have been actually authored by William Petty) *Natural and Political Observations Made upon the Bills of Mortality* (London: Printed by Tho. Roycroft for John Martin, James Allestry, and Tho. Dicas, 1662). Edmond Halley's famous "An Estimate of the Degrees of the Mortality of Mankind, drawn from Curious Tables of the Births and Funerals at the City of Breslaw; with an Attempt to ascertain the Price of Annuities upon Lives," in *Philosophical Transactions*, January 1692/3.

¹²⁶⁴ John Arbuthnot, *Mr. Maitland's Account of Inoculating the Small Pox: The Second Edition. To which is Added, a Postscript Confirming the Success of this Practice, from Mr. Massey the Apothecary's Pamphlet on the Subject. And a Word to the Reverend Mr. Massey on His Vindication of His Sermon* (London: Printed and sold by J. Peele, 1723); James Jurin, *A Letter to the Learned Caleb Cotesworth, M.D. [...] Containing, a Comparison Between the Mortality of the Natural Small Pox, and that Given by Inoculation* (London: Printed for W. and J. Innys, 1723); Thomas Nettleton, "A part of a letter from Dr. Nettleton, Physician at Halifax, to Dr. Jurin, R.S Secr concerning the Inoculation of the Small Pox, and the mortality of that Distemper in the natural Way," *Philosophical Transactions*, 32, 1722, no. 374.

¹²⁶⁵ Jurin, *A Letter to the Learned Caleb Cotesworth*, 17–18.

approaches.¹²⁶⁶ The most significant contribution was made by Charles Marie de La Condamine, who in presenting his *Mémoire sur l'inoculation de la petite vérole* to the Royal Academy of Science in 1754, provocatively asserted that if France had accepted inoculation at the same time as in England, approximately one million lives would have been spared.¹²⁶⁷

His presentation generated waves across the continent.¹²⁶⁸ Thenceforth nicknamed the “l’apôtre de l’inoculation”¹²⁶⁹ Condamine’s conclusion proved so divisive because he did not interpret inoculation as any type of medical or moral question, but rather a purely mathematical one, basing his argument on the premise of the individual having to choose between two potential risks. The first was the possibility of dying after inoculation which, he admitted, although being the safer option, was still not entirely hazard free and carried a probability of death of one in several hundred. The second option was waiting for the more likely death from natural infection, the probability of which Condamine calculated was a much higher one in seven.¹²⁷⁰ In addition to underlining the burden on the state in allowing smallpox to continue unhindered, Condamine drew attention to the lack of data available in France regarding smallpox infections. Unlike in England, there were no existing figures on the total death toll from smallpox, making it exceedingly challenging to calculate the true risk of variolation. This lack of evidence encouraged the mathematician Daniel Bernoulli to come to Condamine’s aid, providing statistical support for La Condamine’s argument in his 1760 paper presented to the Academy of Science, *Essai d’une nouvelle analyse de la mortalité*

¹²⁶⁶ For detailed accounts of the smallpox debate in France see: Lorraine Daston, *Classical Probability in the Enlightenment* (Princeton University Press, 1996); Arnold Horrex Rowbotham, “The ‘Philosophes’ and the Propaganda for Inoculation of Smallpox in Eighteenth-century France,” *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, vol. 18, issue 4 (1935); Andrea A. Rusnock, *Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Gérard Jorland, Annick Opinel and George Weis eds., *Body Counts: Medical Quantification in Historical and Sociological Perspectives* (Kingston, Ontario, MQUP, 2005).

¹²⁶⁷ Charles de la Condamine, *Mémoire sur l'inoculation de la petite vérole: lu à l'assemblée publique de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, le mercredi 24 avril 1754*, (Paris: Chez Durand, 1754), 94.

¹²⁶⁸ T. Needham to Paolo Frisi (written at the bottom of a letter from Charles Walmsley) (Paris, 6 May 1754), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Y. 153. Sup., vol. VI. Paolo Frisi, no. 11: “un memoire fort bien ecrit de Monsieur de la Condamine en faveur de l'inoculation pour les petites veroles, lu à la derniere ouverture de l'academie des Sciences, et tres applaudie, qui s'imprime actuellement”.

¹²⁶⁹ Fadda, *L'innesto del Vaiolo*, 56.

¹²⁷⁰ Condamine, *Mémoire sur l'inoculation de la petite vérole*, 58.

*causée par la petite vérole, et des avantages d'inoculation pour la prévenir.*¹²⁷¹ In the absence of such vital figures, Daniel Bernoulli employed a mathematical model to reach his conclusions. Using Halley's Life Table and adapting the existing calculations to include the mortality from smallpox at each age group, Bernoulli was able to compare the mortality rates of a society both with and without smallpox.¹²⁷² Most strikingly, Bernoulli made smallpox analogous with gambling. While Condamine had alluded to the "lottery" of smallpox,¹²⁷³ Bernoulli employed the same formula used to calculate lottery outcomes to assess smallpox mortality, ostensibly calculating the "stakes" for each given age facing smallpox. He concluded that the average life expectancy of someone who chose inoculation was, on average, three years longer than those who gambled with natural infection. It has been considered a pioneering application of mathematics to evaluate medical advancements. Nonetheless, as an equally pioneering application of mathematics to moral questions, Bernoulli was subjected to scathing criticism. While calculations such as Bernoulli's in support of inoculation were mathematically convincing on paper, they in turn raised many ethical questions regarding the applicability of probability calculations to issues of human life, especially where so little concrete data existed in support of such theoretical conclusions. Were these estimations sufficient evidence to potentially sacrifice the wellbeing of citizens? Was it morally correct to align the utilitarian concerns of the state with the private utility of the individual? Could the legislator oblige the citizen to be inoculated based on the probability that the majority would survive at the possible expense of the few? These concerns were articulated by D'Alembert in his response to Bernoulli, generating what was to become a prominent controversy over the immorality of the probability calculus. In his rebuttal, D'Alembert claimed that the interests of the state regarding inoculation had been too readily confused with those of the individual, especially considering that these calculations relied on theory alone and had no observational evidence to support their conclusions. The state would certainly gain from inoculation since, by sacrificing one citizen out of five, society would be sure of keeping its other members healthy until the age of

¹²⁷¹ Daniel Bernoulli, "Essai d'une nouvelle analyse de la mortalité causée par la petite vérole, et des avantages d'inoculation pour la prévenir," in *Histoire de l'Académie royale des sciences [...] avec les mémoires de mathématique & de physique [...] tirez des registres de cette Académie* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1760), 1.

¹²⁷² Bernoulli, "Essai d'une nouvelle analyse de la mortalité causée par la petite vérole".

¹²⁷³ Condamine, *Mémoire sur l'inoculation de la petite vérole*, 58.

100.¹²⁷⁴ However, with the same hypothesis, D’Alembert argues, there would perhaps be no citizen courageous or reckless enough to expose himself to an operation where there was a one in four risk of death. While each individual places his own preservation first, the state regards all its citizens impartially, and would not discriminate as to which citizen is sacrificed and D’Alembert thus asks whether “any legislator would be right to compel the citizens to be inoculated on the assumption (even so favourable to the state) that one out of five of them would perish, and that the four who recovered would be assured of 100 years of life.”¹²⁷⁵ D’Alembert concluded that the interests of the state and the individual had to be calculated separately and that society must not “as the celebrated mathematician already quoted seems to have believed”, consider inoculation to be advantageous if the average life were extended by some days at the expense of one in ten individuals.¹²⁷⁶ D’Alembert’s denunciation of Bernoulli’s work was not a stand against inoculation as a practice, which he strongly encouraged as useful for society, but rather a firm objection to the arrogance of the political arithmeticians. For D’Alembert, Bernoulli’s work was a dangerous example of the careless application of the geometric method and the haste with which matters of human life were reduced to mere calculation.¹²⁷⁷ In essence, D’Alembert did not object to the mathematical approach, but he was unnerved by Bernoulli’s calculations, remarking that the ambition of the probability calculus to generate objective criteria for social questions assumed that universal values existed with regards to public utility, which had little to no role for the individual’s estimation of inoculation’s risks and solely privileged those of the state from a utilitarian perspective. In condemning Bernoulli’s eagerness to count lives like a state, without consideration of the individual’s opinion, D’Alembert intended to condemn the underlying assumption that the state could possess the right to require inoculation based on utilitarian principles. In D’Alembert’s eyes, the state had a legitimate prerogative to encourage inoculation, perhaps through building dedicated hospitals, or through financial incentivisation, but it had no authority with which to oblige citizens to endanger themselves

¹²⁷⁴ D’Alembert, “Onzième Mémoire. Sur l’application du Calcul des Probabilités à l’inoculation de la petite vérole,” in *Opuscules mathématiques ou Mémoires sur différens sujets de géométrie, de mécanique, d’optique*, vol. II (Paris: David : [puis] Briasson : [puis] C.-A. Jombert, 1761-1780), 37.

¹²⁷⁵ D’Alembert, “Onzième Mémoire,” 38: “Or je demande si aucun Législateur seroit en droit d’obliger les citoyens à l’inoculation, dans la supposition (d’ailleurs si favorable à l’Etat) qu’il pérît un sur cinq, & que les quatre qui en réchapperoient, sussent assurés de cent ans de vie?”

¹²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

for the good of the nation.¹²⁷⁸ Only in one case was there a crucial exception, which in turn demonstrated the limits of the state's intrusion into individuals' health: abandoned children, for whom the state substituted the role of the parent, could be obliged to be inoculated, provided that the state was discerning and did not inoculate those children who were ill, lest it become like Sparta and condemn its weaker children to death.¹²⁷⁹ D'Alembert's views on inoculation directly challenged the state and notions of public utility by drawing attention to the somewhat inherent conflict of interests between the state and its citizens. He was not alone in his criticism of state prerogatives. Condorcet, D'Alembert's protégé, rose to his defence, arguing that to frame an argument solely in terms of the benefit for the state could easily lead to dangerous injustices:

It is not enough to believe that it will benefit the child in order to expose it to danger; this benefit must be proven. It is futile to evade the difficulty, by deciding that the interests of all should transcend it; such exaggerated patriotism is simply a dangerous illusion, capable of leading ignorant and hot-blooded individuals to commit injustice. No doubt circumstances exist where one might voluntarily sacrifice one's rights to the public good, but to sacrifice the rights of another cannot be just or legitimate.¹²⁸⁰

In his defence of D'Alembert, Condorcet returned to the issue of sacrifice, plainly stating that while an individual may choose to surrender their rights to the state, the state possessed no right to demand the life of its own citizens. In terms of inoculation, the state could not oblige citizens to part from their right to self-sacrifice and be inoculated against their will as long as inoculation carried some potential for harm. This final point led into the additional question of evidence. Even if it were acceptable to reduce society to utilitarian mathematical calculations, could decisions regarding human lives really be based upon such speculative calculations as Bernoulli's? In stating that the individual could not be sacrificed to the majority, D'Alembert was subsequently chastised for his lack of patriotic values. Among his critics was Denis Diderot, who famously compared smallpox inoculation to war in an attempt to highlight the cowardice of D'Alembert's argument:

Consider the case where 100,000 men should fight against 100,000 others, and that at some point there remain only 20,000 from each side on the field of battle? I ask M. D'Alembert if the legislator would not have the right to make him take up the sword or the musket in an instance where the defence of the State is at stake.¹²⁸¹

¹²⁷⁸ Marks, "When the State Counts Lives," 55-6.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid., 56.

¹²⁸⁰ Marks, "When the State Counts Lives," 59.

¹²⁸¹ Diderot, "Deux mémoires de D'Alembert, l'un concernant le calcul des probabilités, l'autre l'inoculation," in *Œuvres complètes de Diderot: comprenant ce qui a été publié à diverses époques et tous les*

Diderot claimed that the same question applied to inoculation. If inoculation was known to be effective and in the best interests of the nation at large, the state could indeed request citizens to be inoculated in order to defeat an enemy who it was known would decimate the population. While D'Alembert was a fine geometer, Diderot claimed, he had proven himself to be a bad citizen, willing to destroy the nation in pursuit of the satisfaction of individual freedom of choice.

We can discern from the books Beccaria was reading and discussing within his personal correspondence that it was this French discussion that was most influential on his own conclusions regarding inoculation, above all D'Alembert's refusal to sacrifice the individual to the greater good in terms of inoculation. We know that Beccaria was aware of D'Alembert and Condamine's work on inoculation through references in his letters, and that he was similarly aware of D'Alembert's student, Bougainville's treatise on integral calculus which refuted much of Bernouilli's mathematics.¹²⁸² This is particularly striking considering that, in his role as an administrator, Beccaria was integrated in the Habsburg tradition of medical police, whose formative literature similarly addressed the issue of disease, smallpox included, though mostly from a non-statistical perspective. Sonnenfels, Justi and Frank had all discussed smallpox, and Frank in particular believed strongly that compulsory inoculation (and later vaccination) was in the best interests of the state. It consequently raises further questions regarding the cameralist influence on Beccaria's thought, as while Beccaria shared the cameralists' scope of areas which should be subjected to state regulation and was arguably working within a cameralist administrative framework, we can find no trace of cameralist views on inoculation in either his reading habits or his own reflections on the matter.

The use of probability calculations to investigate the efficacy of smallpox inoculation consequently had much greater significance than purely providing mathematical evidence, revealing important political and moral questions regarding the nature of the social contract

manuscrits inédits conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Ermitage: revues sur les éditions originales, vol. IX (1761), 211: "Est-ce un cas bien rare que cent mille hommes se battent contre cent mille hommes et qu'un moment il en reste vingt mille de chaque côté sur le champ de bataille? Or, je demande à M d'Alembert si le législateur n'aurait pas le droit de lui faire prendre, à lui, l'épée et le mousquet dans le cas où il s'agirait de la défense de l'État?"

¹²⁸² M. De Bougainville, *Traité du calcul integral, pour servir de suite à l'Analyse des infiniments-petits de M. le Marquis de l'Hôpital* (Paris: Chez H.L. Guérin & L.F. d'Aquin, 1754).

and individual rights. At the core of the inoculation debate lay a fundamental philosophical disagreement: whose rights took precedence in matters of health, the individual's or the state's? Bernoulli had not mistakenly neglected the individual in his calculations, but had purposefully and explicitly calculated the benefits of inoculation for the state, and state only. He did not assume that the individual's calculation of utility would naturally align with that of the nation, but chose to privilege the state's calculation over the individual's. In so doing, Bernoulli generated debate not over the efficacy of inoculation, or even the mathematics used to prove its efficacy, but over the right to demand medical intervention and the limitations of the utility calculation. The ensuing disagreements between Diderot, D'Alembert and their supporters, pivoted around differences as to the percentage of liberty to be sacrificed by individuals to the state in pursuit of security and utility, which in D'Alembert's case, could never exceed that which was freely given. It is an argument which is reflected in Beccaria's conclusions regarding the limits of the social contract. Beccaria specified that only the smallest portion of liberty should be sacrificed by each individual to generate the sovereign authority, within which could not be included the right to one's own life. This stipulation thus prevented the state from inflicting any penalty on, or requiring any action of citizens in the knowledge that such obligation would cause death. However, there appears to be a fundamental incongruence at the root of Beccaria's outlook on inoculation. While he personally believed that the practice was crucial to public utility, could its obligatory use be aligned with his vision of the social contract? Did the limitations of the smallest portion of liberty also apply to inoculation or did Beccaria alter his theory to allow the state to oblige its citizens to undertake a potentially fatal medical procedure? While Beccaria does use the social contract theory to support his claims that the state ought to take responsibility for inoculation, at no point does he make reference to the right to one's own life, perhaps due to his convictions that inoculation was entirely harmless and could in no way be considered an act of sacrifice, be it state-enforced or by individual choice. Beccaria makes a strong argument that it is the state's responsibility to tackle epidemic diseases, based upon the social contract which brings men out of the state of nature and generates the sovereign power, and the maxim of the greatest happiness of shared among the greater number. However, while there is great utility for the state in requiring inoculation, public utility is defined by the adherence to the social contract, thus the state cannot make such a demand and consequently, at no point does Beccaria claim that the state should implement inoculation as an obligatory practice, but argues that it should be

more active in encouraging its use. While most explicitly laid out in *Dei delitti e delle pene*, this requirement of the social contract to facilitate the greatest happiness of the greater number, carried over into Beccaria's reflections on public health within the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, in which he passionately encouraged inoculation as an issue not just of medicine, but of politics. The question of inoculation falls into the section on population, where Beccaria addressed the sources of depopulation, divided between what he interpreted as physical and moral causes. Within this first category, Beccaria drew attention to problems such as the effects of climate and geography, and the dangers of poor air and stagnant, disease-breeding waters: issues which he perceived to be resolvable through employing preventative measures such as treating channels and waterways to provide cleaner irrigation.¹²⁸³ Within this category of preventable or reducible physical causes, Beccaria added epidemics and contagious diseases, using the examples of the decline of the plague and the slow acceptance of variolation to highlight the unnecessary dangers resulting from neglecting public health as a political issue. Beccaria argued that the "peste orientale" had been kept at bay through the assiduous and watchful care of the maritime nations of Europe, and the success of this method demonstrated how disease control should, for reasons of utility, be removed from the solely medical sphere and become the responsibility of the legislator.¹²⁸⁴ Similarly, Beccaria used smallpox inoculation to emphasise the benefits for the state in taking responsibility for infectious diseases. Praising variolation's prevention of the natural and violent forms of smallpox, Beccaria remarkably claimed that the "chivalrous" practice had already by 1769, reduced smallpox to a mild illness, proving that it should be further encouraged as there was sufficient evidence attesting to its medical worth.¹²⁸⁵ The *Elementi di economia pubblica* thus highlighted both the political consequences

¹²⁸³ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 128–9: "Varie sono le cause spopolatrici: altre fisiche, ed altre morali. Fra le cause fisiche, la prima può annoverarsi essere il clima e la situazione malsana. I paesi rinchiusi tra monti, che fermino i vapori esalanti dalla terra, le terre palluose e ripiene d'acque stagnanti, sia naturalmente sia artificialmente, per alcuni generi di coltura, sono quelle in cui costantemente le malattie sono più frequenti, e per conseguenza le morti."

¹²⁸⁴ Beccaria, "Il Manoscritto di Minuta: Elementi di economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 415: "Le provvidenze economiche, poi, allontanano ed estirpano i morbi contagiosi. La peste orientale dalle salutari provvidenze dei sovrani, dalle cure assidue e vigilanti delle nazioni marittime d'Europa è tenuta lontana."

¹²⁸⁵ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," 131–2: "Il vaiuolo, che decimava le popolazioni, coll'inoculazione, invenzione benefica della vanità e galanteria, è divenuto una leggera malattia, che previene la naturale e violenta. Tante opere eccellenti pubblicate e le felici e tranquille esperienze, se due se ne eccettuino molto equivoche, che nella nostra città si sono fatte, assicurano della bontà di

of infectious diseases and the necessary role of politics in policing disease spread, starting from the premise that contagious diseases were one of the key physical causes of depopulation: an ultimately economic and political issue for the state, which demanded greater state intervention for the good of the public at large. In Beccaria's mind, inoculation had already proven its efficacy in reducing the dangers of natural smallpox, thus there was little reason not to encourage its widespread use. In fact, to neglect to do so was an abuse of state authority. After all, "man needed more than silver and gold to live". Mankind had originally left the state of nature and united to form society out of the common need to avoid pain and pursue pleasure. Toiling to provide the means to defend, protect and govern this new society with security and tranquillity, man was consequently owed more than the most basic necessities, but was guaranteed the greatest happiness of the greater number, most easily understood as the equal access to pleasure through the ability to pursue wealth.¹²⁸⁶ Depopulation through disease thus heavily played into this contract. On an individual level, it prevented the pursuit of wealth, through sickness and death, but on a general level, the economic consequences of avoidable depopulation compromised the overall state wealth, which was intended to be put to the best use of the nation. The social contract thus determined the limits of state involvement inoculation: as a proven method to prevent depopulation, inoculation had to be promoted by the state to ensure the best interests of the nation but it could not be enforced, which would remove the individual's right to his own life. Although devastating, Beccaria claimed that those diseases causing depopulation could be remedied through both the thorough regulation of the medical discipline and encouraging its advancement and perfection through the study of anatomy, natural history, chemistry and research into the precise properties and actions of the body.¹²⁸⁷ With these scientific and administrative improvements set to reap great economic benefits, Beccaria went even further to assert that all the useful sciences should be protected as the rewards compensated the hardships, and the hope and expectation tied to their utility, fuelled the research. Asserting that the calm and positive experience of inoculation in Milan was a confirmation of the efficacy of a procedure approved by the 'enlightened nations', Beccaria continued to argue that inoculation was only being restricted by those

un metodo che il grido delle illuminate nazioni ha approvato, sebbene alcuni ignoranti fremono di vedere sottratta alla loro giurisdizione una malattia sì lunga, e per conseguenza così perniciosa e sì violenta."

¹²⁸⁶ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," 108.

¹²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 130.

who would, for fear of change, prefer to maintain the pernicious and violent suffering of the disease.¹²⁸⁸ Consequently, if the state was to encourage inoculation, great efforts had to be made in undermining the dangerous attitudes towards medicine, perpetuated by ignorance and superstition.

Public ignorance and medical pedantry

*The strongest obstacle all the arts and sciences encounter in perfecting themselves [is] the stubborn preference most men have for the old ways*¹²⁸⁹

The issue of inoculation within the *Elementi di economia pubblica* raised additional questions pertaining to two polarised, but equally pernicious dangers: ignorance and pedantry. We already saw in Chapter IV that Beccaria considers ignorance and superstition to be core moral causes of depopulation which posed a threat to public utility and which were yet to be truly challenged by the strengths of science and reason. It was the responsibility of the legislature to remove any inaccurate and useless knowledge which compromised the population, leading individuals to make poor decisions based on false conclusions as Beccaria claimed that “blind ignorance is less lethal than mediocre and confused knowledge, since the latter adds to the former the inevitable mistakes of one who has a limited vision even within the bounds of truth”.¹²⁹⁰ In the case of inoculation, which could not be imposed upon the population, its positive reception by the public was a crucial factor in determining its success and thus undermining the popular superstition surrounding the practice through instilling the public with basic medical knowledge and regulating the medical profession more strictly, was vital in making inoculation better accepted and thus effective. However, public ignorance was not the only hindrance to inoculation’s acceptance as Beccaria interprets the pedantry of physicians to be equally damaging to public utility. Although the sciences more generally contributed to the destruction of ignorance and the conversion of false knowledge, Beccaria argues that they must not become pedantic, lest

¹²⁸⁸ Ibid., 132–3.

¹²⁸⁹ Pietro Verri, “Dell’agricoltura: Dialogo,” in *Il Caffè*, 72: “L’ostacolo pus forte che incontrano le arti tutte e le scienze a perfezionarsi è la tenace prevenzione della maggior parte degli uomini in favore delle cose vecchie”.

¹²⁹⁰ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 106–7. This is also echoed by Alessandro Verri who claims that “it is better not to reason than to abuse reason: it is better to be ignorant than mistaken”. See, Alessandro Verri, “Dei difetti della letteratura e di alcune loro cagioni,” in *Il Caffè*, 557: “È meglio non ragionare che abusar della ragione: è meglio esser ignorante che dotto di errori.”

they become an even more dangerous obstruction to public utility. Standing firm against the tendency of the medical profession to blindly follow theory or tradition, with little regard for the public good, Beccaria demanded that science be removed from its ivory tower and put into a more practical context. His claims reflected the extensive criticism of pedantry found in *Il Caffè* and we find a similar outlook in Verri's article "La medicina," where he defended Moscati's vitalist arguments, in which he stated that pedantry in the medical profession is more pernicious than 'learned ignorance' – the realisation of the limitations of one's own knowledge:

Medicine will always be very uncertain both in its principles and in the application of these same principles; and a philosopher who makes this his profession, when he has adhered to the most careful diligence in particular cases, will constantly have a cautious doubt and a reasonable Pyrrhonism as his constant companion, which will lead him always to omit rather than exceed in his work. Aspire to this end from the very beginning and know that what has been said perhaps too generically of all the sciences, that is that their extremes touch and that ignorance is equally to be found at both ends, is particularly the case for medicine, where if you are mediocre, you think you share nature's secrets but, as you progress and examine your notions with deeper analysis, the number of secrets unveiled declines and you approach learned ignorance; which is waiting at the end of your career.¹²⁹¹

Verri interpreted ignorance, doubt and error to be crucial elements of medicine which contributed to the discipline's advancement and its public utility. The arrogance and ignorance of mediocrity however were dangerous to the public as these pedants, who believed that they comprehensively possessed the truths of their discipline, would always commit blindly to their knowledge rather than bend to circumstance and change. Verri claimed that these individuals tried to hide their ignorance under their knowledge of *practice*. However, this was not the cumulative practice formed by centuries' worth of observation, experience and error, but rather the practice of the single individual who, Verri stated, could never keep up the "ridiculous pretence" of having experience of all the disorders

¹²⁹¹ Pietro Verri, "La medicina," in *Il Caffè*, 202–3: "ed è che sempre sarà molto incerta e ne' suoi principii e nella applicazione di essi principii la medicina; e che un filosofo che ne faccia la professione, adoperata che abbia la più scrupolosa diligenza ne' casi particolari, avrà costantemente compagno un cauto dubbio ed un pirronismo ragionevole, che lo porterà sempre ad omettere anzi che ad eccedere operando. A questo termine proponetevi dal bel principio di giungere, e sappiate che quello che è stato detto forse troppo generalmente delle scienze tutte, cioè che le estremità loro si toccano, e che al principio e al termine egualmente trovasi l'ignoranza, ciò particolarmente è proprio della medicina, in cui quando siete mediocre vi credete a parte de' secreti di natura, ma a misura che fate progressi e che esaminate con maggiore analisi le vostre nozioni, scema il numero de' secreti svelati, e vi accostate all'ignoranza dotta, che resta al termine della carriera."

suffered by mankind.¹²⁹² For Verri, this practice merely encompassed the sufficient performance of medical conventions to generate the appearance of a good doctor, which contrary to the actually good physician, was defined thus:

If it suffices you to be commonly considered a good physician, make your rounds of the public schools, qualify as a doctor, run around following a good pulse reader, break many shoes, learn to write twenty remedies, learn by heart around forty Greek words and thirty Hippocratic aphorisms, celebrate the virtue of the pulse,¹²⁹³ enrich the language by creating new words and phrases, receive the pension that will be assigned to you and above all pray to the heavens that the light of rational philosophy does not continue to make the same progress it does across Europe.¹²⁹⁴

Drawing attention to the appearance of the good doctor, as testified by his ability to take pulses and knowledge of a handful of Hippocratic aphorisms, Verri underlined the fracture between the science of medicine and medicine as the “sum of all actions performed by doctors on human bodies”, or *practice*. The physician who performed the role of the good doctor contributed little to individual, discipline or society at large and had little concern for anything other than preserving his image, esteem and pension, referring always to authority and tradition to legitimise his actions. Verri similarly remarks on the division of practice and theory in “Tempio dell’Ignoranza”, in which he paints this opposition as a marker of ignorance. Describing the facade of the temple to the Goddess Ignorance, Verri states that on either side of the door stands a statue, one with *theory* etched upon the pedestal, the other with *practice*, both of whom spitefully turn their back towards the other.¹²⁹⁵ Within the temple are sages learning by rote and poorly groomed erudites surrounded by dusty medallions, crumbling inscriptions and ritual pateras, who convene each year to throw the works of Bacon, Galileo and Newton, the *Esprit des Loix* and the *Traité des sensations* upon the ritual bonfire.¹²⁹⁶ The abstraction and antiquarianism of the sages and their refusal to accept the most significant intellectual developments in favour of

¹²⁹² Ibid., 206.

¹²⁹³ Throughout the article Verri mocks the fascination of Italian physicians with pulse taking, the ability to do so apparently being sufficient education for the profession.

¹²⁹⁴ Verri, “La medicina,” 210: “Se poi vi bastasse l’essere volgarmente creduto buon medico, fate il vostro giro alle scuole pubbliche, fatevi addottorare, mettetevi a correr le strade in seguito a qualche buon polsista, rompete molte scarpe, imparate a scrivere una ventina di ricette, imparate a mente una quarantina di parole greche, una trentina di afforismi d’Ipocrate, celebrate le virtù del polso, arricchite la lingua colla creazione di nuove frasi e parole nuove, ricevete le pensioni che vi verranno assegnate e sopra tutto pregate il Cielo che i lumi della sana filosofia non continuino a fare i progressi che tutto di vanno facendo in Europa.”

¹²⁹⁵ Pietro Verri, “Il Tempio dell’ignoranza,” in *Il Caffè*, 27.

¹²⁹⁶ Ibid., 28–9.

the authorities renders them both ignorant and threatening to the cultural development of society. Buffon had made a very similar allusion in his *Histoire Naturelle*, claiming that:

Is it not plain that abstractions can never become principles, neither of existence nor real knowledge? On the contrary, our knowledge can only proceed from the results of properly comparing our sensations. These results are what is termed *experience*, the sole source of all real science. The adoption of every other principle is an abuse, and every edifice built on abstracted ideas is a temple founded on error.¹²⁹⁷

Criticising what he defined as “Pythagorean philosophy”, Buffon, like Verri, alerted his readers to the dangers of knowledge based upon unstable foundations, namely those of abstraction, as was the core criticism made by the *caffetisti* of the geometric method, and the “existence of final causes” or speculation, for which he accused Leibniz and Plato:

To say there is light because we have eyes, and sounds because we have ears, or to say that we have ears and eyes because there is light and sound, is it not exactly the same thing? Shall we ever discover anything by this mode of explanation?¹²⁹⁸

In the case of inoculation, the academic posturing of the medical community was as large an obstruction to the acceptance of the practice as was the ignorance of the population. The reluctance of physicians to accept, or even explore the practice not only limited its use but further discouraged the general public from accepting inoculation. This refusal was not due to the radical nature of variolation but rather resulted from the vanity of medicine which prevented any break with tradition or doctrine. In the article “Sull’innesto del vaiuolo”, Verri drew attention to other scientific developments and discoveries which had been similarly opposed by physicians only to become standard practice:

The antipodes and the motion of the earth... the circulation of blood, the use of antimony, mercury and quinine were strongly opposed by physicians. Now the common opinion of these is stable and uniform.... I venture that the same will happen to inoculation in a few years and that the wise and reasonable people, before the populace of our nation, will profit from this important opportunity. It remains to be wished that this object is well-known to doctors who will read some of the many excellent authors able to give them ideas and that they will not pronounce their judgment on such a delicate point before they are perfectly instructed.¹²⁹⁹

¹²⁹⁷ Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon, *Buffon's Natural History. Containing a Theory of the Earth, a General History of Man, of the Brute Creation, and of Vegetables, Minerals, &c. &c. &c.*, vol. II (London: H.D. Symonds, 1807), 334.

¹²⁹⁸ Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon, *Buffon's Natural History. Containing a Theory of the Earth, a General History of Man, of the Brute Creation, and of Vegetables, Minerals, &c. &c. &c.*, vol. II (London: H.D. Symonds, 1807), 335.

¹²⁹⁹ Verri, “Sull’innesto del vaiuolo,” in *Il Caffè*, 802: “Gli antipodi e il moto della terra... La circolazione del sangue, l’uso dell’antimonio, del mercurio e della china-china ebbero fortissime

Verri illustrated further paradigm shifts within medical practice and smallpox treatment more specifically in his *Idee politiche da non pubblicarsi*:

Thirty years ago physicians recommended warm drinks to dilate the canals in the body, to release obstructions and to purge them mildly. Now physicians condemn the use of warm drinks which inflame the viscera and galvanise the muscles, prescribing cold water, freezes and cold baths instead. Thirty years ago you would keep someone infected with smallpox inside and closed up, away from fresh air and well-covered so as to let the sickly matter rise to the skin. Now you want fresh air and ventilation, with no cover for the sick body, so as not to encourage decay.¹³⁰⁰

In Verri's statements, we see that inoculation is painted as an inevitable medical development which is being held back unnecessarily by tradition. Consequently, in the absence of sufficient medical support for inoculation, Pietro Verri interpreted his article to be like a balm, applying healing knowledge of a subject which interested all of humanity,¹³⁰¹ and by taking responsibility for raising awareness of inoculation, Verri implicitly criticised the negligence of physicians in matters of public utility. By refusing to acknowledge that medicine as both theory and practice must progress, physicians fail to administer to the public good, pandering only to their own abstract esteem. The importance of converting physicians to inoculation had been expressly addressed in Angelo Gatti's writings, as he believed that it was only the trickle down effect from the medical community to the public that would ensure that inoculation was a widespread success.¹³⁰² Like Verri, Gatti claims that the public were more easily persuaded than physicians of the efficacy of inoculation, as

opposizioni dai medici. Ora sono stabili e uniformi le comuni opinioni su di ciò... Oso predire che fra pochi anni ciò accaderà all'innesto pure e che le sagge e ragionevoli persone, prima che il volgo ancora della patria nostra sia istruito, sapranno profittare in una sì importante e premurosa occasione de' lumi propri. Resta a desiderarsi che quest'oggetto sia ben noto ai medici, che leggano alcuno de' molti eccellenti autori capaci di somministrarne idea e che prima di esserne perfettamente instrutti non pronunzino il giudizio loro sopra un punto sì delicato."

¹³⁰⁰ Pietro Verri, *Idee politiche da non pubblicarsi "Dei medici,"* in Carlo Capra, *Edizione Nazionale delle opere di Pietro Verri*, Vol. VI, (Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2010), 510: "Trenta anni fa si raccomandavano bibite calde dai medici per dilatare i meati, per rilasciare le ostruzioni, per purgare blandamente. Ora i medici condannano le bibite calde, che inflorescono i visceri, levano il tuono ai muscoli, e in vece prescrivono acque fredde, gelate, bagni freddi ecc. Trent'anni fa un ammalato di vajuolo si teneva chiuso, riparatissimo dall'aria; si teneva ben coperto per lasciare adito a presentarsi alla cute la materia morbosa. Ora si vuole aria, aria fresca, ventilata, nessun riparo sul corpo infermo, acciocché non si moltiplichi l'infradiciamento e la corruzione."

¹³⁰¹ Pietro Verri to Alessandro Verri and Beccaria, (Milan, 6 October 1766), letter 144 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. IV, 428: "La materia interessa l'umanità ed io darò questo libro come un ceroto."

¹³⁰² Gatti, *Nouvelles réflexions sur la pratique de l'inoculation*, 17: "Le public ne pense pas d'après lui même mais d'après les Médecins."

physicians were in possession of dangerous half-knowledge which was contradicted by variolation theory:

The educated man... civilised man, reasonable peoples, accustomed to greater reflection, to making connections, to conversing about animal economy and medicine, and reasoning above all on facts, and his subtle reasoning, founded on half-knowledge that is always misplaced, dictated by prejudice and by bias, is more common in civilised societies and often detracts from the simple truth, to which the simple and ignorant are more easily guided.¹³⁰³

When this half-knowledge was shared with the public however, it became even more toxic and we see that Gatti, Beccaria and Verri similarly interpreted the vanity of physicians to stand directly in the way of public utility. While the total ignorance of the public could not threaten reason, the half-knowledge of the pedant bred further half-knowledge among both physicians and the public alike.

Not limited to just physicians, the inability or refusal of professionals, whatever their profession, to translate their expertise to different contexts and to benefit public utility was considered particularly problematic. We see this sentiment articulated most strongly in Beccaria's discussion of the role of the Church, in which he makes a remarkable claim regarding useful and context specific knowledge:

I would like that... the respectable class that administer to the sacred instruction of religion, that keep watch, pastors and parish, over the common good of the soul, extend their aims and their enlightenment beyond a respectable theology, often useless among the uniform and simple ways of ignorant labourers, and substitute a bizarre and tortuous casuistry with the lights of agriculture and medicine. Surely this venerable class is not missing persons capable of addressing such wholesome objects.¹³⁰⁴

Here, Beccaria presents a vision of society where agriculture and medicine were to be preached from the pulpits, replacing the abstract theology which had little meaning and

¹³⁰³ Gatti, *Reflexions sur les préjugés qui s'opposent aux progrès et à la perfection de l'Inoculation*, 215–6: "L'homme instruit... l'homme policé, le peuple raisonneur, accoutumé à réfléchir davantage, à combiner des rapports, à s'entretenir d'économie animale, de médecine, et raisonne beaucoup sur les faits, et ses raisonnemens subtils, fondés sur des demi-connoissances qui égarent presque toujours, dictés par les préventions, par l'esprit de parti, plus commun dans les sociétés policées, l'écartent souvent de la vérité pratique, à laquelle les simples et les ignorans sont conduits plus directement que lui."

¹³⁰⁴ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol.III, 169: "Vorrei ancora, col voto comune de' più illuminati politici, che quella classe rispettabile che è destinata alla sacra istruzione della religione, che vegliano, pastori e parroci, per il bene comune dell'anima, estendessero ancora le loro mire e i loro lumi al di là d'una teologia sempre rispettabile, sovente inutile, fra l'uniforme e semplice maniera di vivere degl'ignoranti contadini, e che ad una sovente bizzarra e tortuosa casuistica' sostituissero i lumi dell'agricoltura e della medicina. Non mancano certamente in questo venerabile ceto persone capaci di adempire così salutari oggetti."

impact upon the labouring classes. Abstraction, whether it be in theology or medicine could not be directed towards the public good and worked against the enlightenment spirit of progress. This attitude was visible in the more general criticism of pedantry running through *Il Caffè*. The pedant, once a comedic literary figure, is interpreted by the writers as having transformed into a real danger to Enlightenment values, becoming the true enemy of freedom and cultural advancement.¹³⁰⁵ The writers clarify that the modern pedant, previously found only on the comedy stage, is now to be found in public institutions, therein becoming a threat to society. *Il Caffè* consequently sought to wage a “war against pedants and imitators” which as Pietro Verri claimed in a letter to his brother Alessandro, “ought to be the occupation of all who care for the progress of the arts and letters in Italy.”¹³⁰⁶ Contrary to recent literature interpreting the eighteenth-century physician as a “vector of Enlightenment”,¹³⁰⁷ Verri and Beccaria saw medical pedants as counter-Enlightenment agents.

The dangers of pedantry echo the Milanese criticism of the geometric method. Attesting to the importance of error and imagination, Beccaria claims in “I piaceri dell’immaginazione”, “for charity, do not let slip from your hands a beautiful chimera of Plato in favour of the cold reason of Locke”.¹³⁰⁸ Similarly, Verri decries the “pedants” who “in situations where their souls are excited by sentiments, instead of surrendering to the magic of the illusion, pull out their callipers or their pendulum to coldly examine them.”¹³⁰⁹ No matter whether discernable through reference to authority, experience, or method, and whether articulated by physicians or poets, pedantry was the dogmatic and mechanical reaction to stimuli which overshadowed both reason and sentiment. Reason and sentiment were thus bounded at both ends by pedantry. At one limit was the pedantry of the mediocre who, believing they

¹³⁰⁵ Thorsten Greiner, “Der Pedant im *Caffè*. Zur Funktionalisierung einer Komödienfigur in der italienische Aufklärung,” in *Die Zeitschrift ‘Il Caffè’: Vernunftprinzip und Stimmenvielfalt in der italienischen Aufklärung*, ed. Helmut C. Jacobs (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2003,) 69–70.

¹³⁰⁶ Pietro Verri to Alessandro Verri, (Milan, 9 May 1767) in Gianmarco Gaspari ed., *Viaggio a Parigi e Londra, 1766-1767. Carteggio di Pietro e Alessandro Verri* (Milano, Adelphi, 1980), 37: “La guerra ai Pedanti ed agli Imitatori è quella che ora si deve fare da chiunque ha cuore per i progressi delle lettere d’Italia”.

¹³⁰⁷ Lois C. Dubin, “Medicine as Enlightenment Cure: Benedetto Frizzi, Physician to Eighteenth-Century Italian Jewish Society,” *Jewish History*, vol. 26, issue 1–2 (2012): 213.

¹³⁰⁸ Beccaria, “I piaceri dell’immaginazione,” in *Il Caffè*, 478: “Sia avro degli errori aggradevoli, e per carità non ti lasciare sfuggire dalle mani una bella chimera di Platone per un freddo ragionamento di Locke.”

¹³⁰⁹ Pietro Verri, “Ai giovani d’ingegno che temono i pedanti,” in *Il Caffè*, 392–5.

had nothing to learn, endangered the public and the advancement of their disciplines through their obstinacy and appeal to tradition. At the other end were the pedants who dedicated themselves to banal learning, directing their efforts away from truly useful study. Once again, we can find clear traces of this argumentation in Buffon's critique of the geometric method:

To regard numbers, geometrical lines, and metaphysical abstractions, as efficient and real physical causes, on which the formation of the elements, the generation of animals and plants, and all the phenomena of nature depend, seems to me to be the most absurd abuse of reason, and the greatest obstacle that can be put against the advancement of our knowledge.¹³¹⁰

Verri reflected on these two forms of pedantry in his reflections on medicine, claiming that the discipline would be advanced through opening up to other fields of scientific knowledge, which would help to heal the divide between theory and practice, and overcome the pedantry of the "practiced" physician. By the same token however, it would not necessarily benefit from the sterile study of all sciences.¹³¹¹ However, this did not mean that one science was more useful than another. Verri acknowledges that the discovery of truth is always useful to mankind:

Crude men know that winning a case at law is something *useful*, that curing an illness is *useful*; so they conclude that the science of the law and the science of medicine, are *useful* sciences. But crude men do not know the delicate connection which all sciences have between them; nor do they know that there is but one science in the world, called *the discovery of truth*, and that, whatever the *truth* may be, they are always *useful* to mankind and are, in the universal culture in which Europe finds itself in this century, glorious at least to that nation which discovers it.¹³¹²

However, banal learning, as exemplified by the pedants and their pendulums, was not however the discovery of truth. While all truths were useful, sterile examination lost sight of the delicate connections between these truths and the sciences were rendered most

¹³¹⁰ Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon, *Buffon's Natural History. Containing a Theory of the Earth, a General History of Man, of the Brute Creation, and of Vegetables, Minerals, &c. &c. &c.*, vol. II (London: H.D. Symonds, 1807), 332.

¹³¹¹ Verri, "La medicina," 204–205.

¹³¹² Pietro Verri, "Gli Studi Utili," in *Il Caffè*, 313: "Gli uomini volgari conoscono che il guadagnare una lite è una cosa utile, che il guarire una malattia è una cosa utile: quindi concludono che la scienza delle leggi, la scienza della medicina sono scienze utili; ma gli uomini volgari non conoscono quell'infima e delicata connessione che hanno tutte le scienze fra di loro; né sanno che di scienze al mondo non ve n'è che una sola, che si chiama la scoperta della verità, e che, di qualunque genere sieno le verità, sono elleno sempre utili agli uomini e sono, nella universale coltura in cui trovasi l'Europa in questo secolo, gloriose per lo meno a quella nazione in cui più se ne scoprono."

useful when they were taken out of the “gabinetto”. We can thus roughly sketch out the epistemology which underlies Beccaria’s thought. Blind ignorance is surpassed by more dangerous half-truths and superstition, after which comes the process of enlightenment leading to truth and reason. The perversion of this however, is pedantry, routed either in practice or theory. Finally, comes learned ignorance which is only reached upon accepting the inevitability and importance of the limitations of one’s own knowledge. Consequently, in order to encourage and institutionalise inoculation, medical pedantry had to be overcome and physicians needed to accept the limitations of their existing knowledge and practices. Discussing these limitations, Verri claimed that:

The mystery of reproduction, the mystery of nutrition... everything eludes itself from our research and escapes into an impenetrable mist. What is fever? No one knows. How does digestion work? No one knows. How do purges, astringents, diaphoretics, narcotics etc. work? An imposter will explain everything, but neither he nor a reasonable man will understand it.¹³¹³

It was only by surrendering to the fact that medicine had the potential to change and advance, and by acknowledging that ignorance was a fundamental part of this process, that physicians would finally be able to embrace inoculation and free themselves from pedantry.

The limits of government intervention into public health

Looking at both Beccaria’s correspondence and the *Elementi di economia pubblica* we see that his conclusions regarding inoculation were confident and unwavering. For reasons of public utility, inoculation was to be considered the responsibility of the state and to be vigorously encouraged. With such strong convictions, one would expect these values to translate into practice, forming a core concern in Beccaria’s administrative engagements in public health. In reality however, what degree of intervention into the health of Lombard citizens was economically, ethically and bureaucratically feasible? Could the philosophical reasoning Beccaria had placed at the root of his argument rationally provide the legitimacy needed for such a state imposition? In his role in the Consiglio, Beccaria was directly responsible for

¹³¹³ Pietro Verri, *Idee politiche da non pubblicarsi “Dei medici”*: “Il mistero della generazione, il mistero della nutrizione... tutto si sottrae alle nostre ricerche e s’asconde in una nebbia impenetrabile. Cosa è febbre? Nessuno lo sa. Come si digerisce? Non lo sa alcuno. Come operano i purganti, gli astringenti, i diaforetici, i narcotici ecc? Un impostore spiegherà tutto, ma nè s’intenderà egli nè medesimo nè un uomo ragionevole potrà intenderlo.”

dealing with outbreaks of smallpox and other epidemics within Lombardy and his state documents on sanitation consequently provide ample evidence from which to examine whether his belief in inoculation as a matter of public utility bound to the tenets of the social contract, was indeed carried over into practice. While Beccaria was obviously not able to expound his views on inoculation so firmly in his professional work, when given the liberty to include his personal reflections on the matter, he made it exceedingly clear that encouraging inoculation should be the prerogative of the state and that no further discussion was needed regarding its potential benefits and dangers. His consistency in forecasting the value of institutionalised inoculation remains visible, most clearly highlighted in documents from early 1790 pertaining to the spread of smallpox and rubella throughout Lombardy. Upon facing a potential epidemic, Beccaria and Plenipotentiary Wilczeck had requested medical advice from the sanitary inspector general, Johann Peter Frank on how to prevent further contagion and in January 1790, received the following recommendations:

1. Di dare un premio ai medici che proveranno di aver ottenuto guarigioni, indicando il metodo seguito
2. Di emanare un ordine ai medici e alle delegazioni mediche per aggiornare il Direttorio medico sulle epidemie, sui metodi di cura attuati e sugli esiti degli stessi
3. Di avvertire i parenti e gli assistenti degli ammalati del pericolo di contrarre l'infezione; tale ordine dovrebbe essere esteso anche agli ospedali
4. Di disporre che i morti per tali malattie vengano subito collocati in luoghi appartati, per evitare che i miasmi alimentino le epidemie.¹³¹⁴

On paper, Frank's suggestions were not overly ambitious, but relied on a combination of traditional quarantine methods and rigorous information exchange, which we saw already in Chapter V. What lies hidden beneath the surface however, is Frank's personal advocacy of inoculation (he would later go on to research and promote Jennerian vaccination). Encouraging bonuses for physicians who could prove the success of their treatments and demanding that the medical authority be alerted as to which methods and cures were being used, successfully and unsuccessfully, would serve to demonstrate the efficacy of inoculation without requiring the state to sanction its use. In calling for observational evidence from physicians and medical officials on smallpox treatment, the superiority of inoculation would become noticeably apparent of its own accord when compared to the alternate methods in use, generating an empirical legitimacy for the procedure based upon *in situ* evidence. Frank's suggestions received Beccaria's full support however the

¹³¹⁴ "Vaiolo e rosolia in Lombardia, voto, 4 January 1790," no. 3484 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 25.

observations of the Court claimed that the rewards offered were too high, and admitted to not knowing enough about the state of inoculation in Lombardy.¹³¹⁵ In his response to the Court's observations, Beccaria revealed his frustration with the administration's lack of initiative, drawing attention to the fact that inoculation, despite its popularity across the continent and the plausibility of Frank's proposal, had not taken great root in Lombardy, for reasons he was tired of repeating in vain. Taking the opportunity to offer his admittedly "private sentiments" regarding inoculation, Beccaria claimed that "in order to widen the use of a preventative method, so useful and so safe, nothing would be more appropriate than to establish some type of public institution in order to convince the many unbelievers, including those physicians, that inoculation, if responsibly administered to subjects, does not cause death" and stated that he strongly supported Frank's advocacy of inoculation.¹³¹⁶ Despite Beccaria's claims that inoculation ought to be institutionalised, the discussion with Vienna ended with no further reflections on this matter and after this interaction we find no further discussion on the subject. While Beccaria had continued to argue for the utility of institutionalised inoculation, it remained a non-issue for the Vienna who did not see this as a matter of government responsibility.

Beccaria's support for Frank's proposal was not solely based upon his belief in inoculation but additionally due to the fact that their philosophies regarding the state's responsibility for public health were remarkably similar. Like Beccaria, Frank had drawn attention to the detrimental effects of poverty caused by the disproportionate ownership of land by the nobles and clergy and the stagnant circulation of wealth. Claiming that, "after all the land has been divided among the powerful and rich, there is hardly any difference left between the common people and the beasts of burden except that the beasts precede and pull the plow, while the men guide and follow", Frank proceeded to assert that poverty in turn

¹³¹⁵ "Gioco del bilardo a Pavia. Quarentena a Venezia. Milizia Poviciale mantovana. Vaiolo e rosolia in Lombardia, riscontri, 1 Marzo 1790," no. 3592 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 182–3: "Osservazioni della Corte al protocollo del II Dipartimento, N.719: apprezza i suggerimenti dati da Wilczek al Consigliere Frank per far fronte all'epidemia di vaiolo e di rosolia; considera però elevato il premio promesso in caso di guarigione dei malati, a meno che si tratti di un nuovo metodo di cura; non conosce il parere del Direttorio medico sull'inoculazione e si il suo uso sia stato introdotto in Lombardia"

¹³¹⁶ "Gioco del bilardo a Pavia. Quarentena a Venezia. Milizia Poviciale mantovana. Vaiolo e rosolia in Lombardia, riscontri, 1 Marzo 1790," no. 3592 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 182–3: "Per dilatare un metodo preservativo così utili e così sicuro, niente vi sarebbe di più opportuno che un qualche pubblico stabilimento esemplare per convincere gli molti increduli, anche medici, col fatto che l'inoculazione cautamente amministrata a' soggetti non ammazza."

brought disease, due to the lack of successful paternalistic governance which dedicated itself to preserving its population.¹³¹⁷ In Frank's vision it was the duty of the Habsburg Empire to not only ensure the health of its citizens, but additionally, to instil them with a basic knowledge of health and disease and create regulations which would prevent the unnecessary suffering accompanying poverty. Medicine was not just reserved to the treatment of individuals but was a far broader project based upon ensuring the posterity of public health. However, while Frank and Beccaria sought to underline the responsibility the state should take for these matters, based upon the duty owed not just to citizens individually but in preserving the posterity of the state more generally, the attitudes of the Habsburg administration were more reserved on the issue and later in 1790, we see that Beccaria is forced to conclude that "The II Dipartimento notes that not all malignant diseases may require the intervention of the Government" and agreeing to follow the prescriptions set by the Royal Court.¹³¹⁸ Despite Beccaria's beliefs in the necessity and benefits of state intervention into public health, his views were not shared by the Viennese administration, who saw limited economic advantages to such a strategy.

Looking back to before the discussion on inoculation, we can perhaps see why the Court had to press for restraint regarding state responsibility for public health. In a report from 24 November 1784 entitled *Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi* which contained proposals for improving the organisation and functioning of medical and surgical practice throughout the Milanese provinces, Beccaria had once again articulated his views that public health was the full responsibility of the Consiglio.¹³¹⁹ This plan, part of a dialogue already circulating between the Faculty of Medicine, the Lombard administration and Vienna, conveyed far more than Beccaria's responsibilities as an administrator, clearly voicing his philosophical views on the social contract which stood behind the paper's pragmatic suggestions. In essence, the plan fused together the practical concerns of the Milanese

¹³¹⁷ Johann Peter Frank, *System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey*, translation follows John Cairns, *Matters of Life and Death: Perspectives on Public Health, Molecular Biology Cancer, and the Prospects for the Human Race* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 18–19.

¹³¹⁸ "Questioni giudiziarie e di Polizia. Vendita di vino. Epidemia a Milano. Pretore di Fontanella. Ergastolo a Pizzighettone. Risaie a Pandino. Piano degli incendi, Riscontri, 26 Luglio 1790," no. 3749 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. XII, 399–400: "rileva che non tutte le malattie maligne possono richiedere l'intervento del Governo... Il Consiglio, all'evenienza del caso, si regolerà giusta le venerate prescrizioni della Reale Corte."

¹³¹⁹ "Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi, relazione, 5 Ottobre 1784," no. 982 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. VIII, 161.

bureaucracy with Beccaria's steadfast dedication to ensuring a more equitable society, framing public utility in terms of access to health and placing it at the centre of a both economic and philosophical argument.

The *Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi* is in many ways comparable to Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene*. From the standpoint of this thesis, which has asserted that Beccaria's famous treatise was a practical articulation of his imagining of a new social framework – an example, as it were, of one of manifold institutional reforms required to facilitate the evolution of a new society based upon equal access to the pursuit of happiness – it is arguable that the *Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi* was likewise a proposal for the reorganisation of a particular institution, which articulated deeper concerns for wider social change. In calling for reforms to the medical system which were not only economically viable as based upon calculations by political arithmeticians, but which would provide extended medical services to the poor and rural communities who made up the majority of the population, Beccaria was once again exhibiting his resolution towards the destruction of stagnant social hierarchies, using his proposal to not only tackle the practical problems of public health, but to additionally criticise the habitual neglect of the lower, more populous classes, who were, in Beccaria's eyes, equally guaranteed the protection of the social contract. Medicine, much like the law in *Dei delitti*, was treated as an expression of a social system and the reforms proposed by Beccaria indicate, once again, that he had high ambitions for altering the very foundations of these state institutions. The proposal reveals that at the heart of the problem facing the Milanese administration was the bitter reality that the number, distribution and remuneration of medical professionals were not only limited, but gravely disproportionate to the public need.¹³²⁰ To give a picture of the extent of this unbalanced distribution, based upon calculations from 1782, the Milanese countryside comprised 1,400 estates in which there were 160,000 families and 880,000 inhabitants, only 217,000 of whom were eligible to pay taxes. From this small group, 75,000 lire was collected and put towards the salaries of 158 physicians who, distributed between 92 practices and serving 265 estates comprising 300,000 inhabitants, consequently left approximately

¹³²⁰ "Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi, relazione, 5 Ottobre 1784," no. 982 in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. VIII, 164: "numero, la distribuzione ed il premio delle condotte sono egualmente scarsi e non proporzionati al pubblico bisogno."

500,000 inhabitants of the Milanese provinces without medical assistance.¹³²¹ In response to such dire findings, the plan produced by Beccaria centred around the request for the Habsburg state to facilitate the creation of more hospitals in the peripheries and to extend medical services and relief to the poor in these areas.¹³²² With the inhabitants of the Milanese countryside making up the vast majority of the province's population, Beccaria stated that it was no longer acceptable for a "civilised nation" to continue to subject the rural communities to such hardships, especially considering the economic contribution these individuals made in terms of agriculture and industry. Even within the countryside there was great irregularity between the medical treatment available to those in mountainous regions of Lombardy and the lowlands, and those who lived in the more accessible areas closer to the cities.¹³²³ Upon acknowledging this poor distribution of medical professionals, Beccaria concluded that the lack of adequate treatment in these areas was due to two factors. Firstly, he argued, the salaries received by these rural doctors were insufficient to maintain a family, consequently causing physicians to travel to the wealthier cities to supplement their modest income, at the expense of the poor who received compromised medical treatment as a result.¹³²⁴ Beccaria calculated that the average wage awarded to these physicians and surgeons was around L.188 annually, an amount which was unsatisfactory for persons expected to provide a decent, professional service to a vast percentage of the

¹³²¹ Ibid., 162–3: "che la campagna milanese composta di 1.400 terre che contengono 160.000 famiglie formanti 880.000 abitanti, fra' quali ve ne sono 217.000 collettibili di tassa personale... contribuisce 75.000 lire con le quali stipendia 158 professori, lasciando mancanti di assistenza più di 500.000 abitanti. Soggiungendo in seguito che li 158 professori sono 'distribuiti in 92 residenze di condotta, servono 265 terre formanti 300.000 abitanti, frattanto che restano però più di mille comunità o terre sprovviste e mancanti di condotte."

¹³²² Ibid., 185: "Conclude ricercando che il Magistrato rappresenti al Reale Governo la necessità d'implorare da Sua Maestà la sovrana e paterna provvidenza così di moltiplicare l'ospedali d'infermi della campagna e di somministrare i medicinali ed altri salutari soccorsi ai contadini infermi poveri."

¹³²³ Ibid., 164: "Quanto alla cattiva distribuzione, merita particolare riflessione il vedere che tanto la parte montuosa quanto la parte più bassa dello Stato siano le più sprovviste di professori in confronto della parte media, ossia asciutta, e ne attribuisce la cagione per la parte montuosa alla molteplicità dei piccoli proprietari, i quali difficilmente si occupano dei mezzi di conservare la salute ai loro coloni; per la parte più bassa, all'essere la campagna investita per lo più a' così detti fittabili ai quali essendo appoggiato dai proprietari il peso delle spese comunali, sono renitenti a dar mano allo stipendio dei professori."

¹³²⁴ Ibid., 164: "Principalmente la prima è la modicità dei stipendi, troppo insufficienti al mantenimento della famiglia di un onesto cittadino, che lontano vivendo dalle popolose ed opulenti città non può che procacciarsi uno stentato supplemento a' suoi bisogni, e questo a danno dell'assistenza de' poveri, col fare lunghi viaggi e col protrare le visite più frequenti ai ricchi ed agiati."

population.¹³²⁵ If physicians were not paid adequately for their services, it would be the most vulnerable who would suffer, as doctors would privilege the more lucrative, metropolitan patients over the rural population who often could not afford medical treatment all together. Secondly, came the issue of politics within the medical bureaucracy. Beccaria sternly warned that the corrupt nature of the election procedure for medical professionals, in which the unknown, unfavoured or less-competent physicians were sent to the less desirable areas of Lombardy, too often resulted in inadequate and disinterested medical treatment in the peripheries.¹³²⁶ In Beccaria's eyes, both causes were unacceptable and he reiterated the premise that should form the basis of medical treatment: the condition of the sick and the poor was the same everywhere, thus the geographical location in which doctors found themselves could alter their salaries, but not their obligation to their patients.¹³²⁷ While it was clearly problematic that many of these physicians were not being paid adequately to support their families, the underlying mentality that it was acceptable to sacrifice the treatment of the poor in preference of the needs of the higher social classes, was of far greater concern to Beccaria and he consequently proposed to remedy this issue through creating a new government edict which stipulated the responsibilities and conditions to be accepted by all physicians. This was not a question of morality, but of duty. The picture painted by Beccaria is one of a broken medical system, severely compromised by poor institutional organisation from above and he did not hesitate to explain the

¹³²⁵ Ibid., 165: "Distribuita questa spesa sopra 158 professori tra medici e chirurghi non verrebbe a toccare a uno per l'altro che l'annuale stipendio fisso di L.188 circa; stipendio troppo incongruo quando si esigga una reale non apparente assistenza alla parte più interessante e più numerosa dello Stato."

¹³²⁶ Ibid.: "La seconda è il capriccio dell'elezioni e i patti sovente onerosi a' medici e chirurghi o al pubblico servizio ce la accompagnano. Per ciò che riguarda il capriccio dell'elezioni, sa il Regio Ducal Magistrato Camerale per una lunga e frequente sperienza quanto spesso clamorose, quanto irregolari ed intricate di raggiri, impegni e parzialità siano quelle che dipendono dai Convocati generali non ostante che sia del loro interesse il farle cadere sovra soggetti utili al bene comune; le scelte che fa il popolo sono plausibili ordinariamente quando versano sopra i soggetti che egli può conoscere, ma altrettante sono pericolose o cattive quando vuol farle su persone a lui sconosciute di cui non può discernere il merito, e in questo caso sono i medici e i chirurghi per la campagna, sebbene che dirà mai che sia il popolo quella che gli sceglie?"

¹³²⁷ Ibid., 166: "Giacché la condizione dell'ammalato e povero è dappertutto la stessa, cosicché la maggiore o minore malsania di un paese in confronto dell'altro può portare della varietà nella fissazione de' stipendi, ma non già in quella degli obblighi assunti da un professore nella cura delle malattie. Perciò invece dei patti che sogliono stipularsi nello stabilimento de' professori condotti, stimerei preferibile di concertare colla Facoltà medica e subordinare al Governo un editto nel quale si contenessero e fossero chiaramente circoscritti i reciprochi doveri e diritti che si richieggono in una condotta medica, di modo che qualunque professore accettante alcuna di queste, s'intendesse accettare le condizioni imposte dalla legge che in nome sovrano sarebbe su di ciò pubblicata."

reasoning behind his proposals, clarifying that the treatment of the greatest portion of the population – the hardworking, poor peasants – was an issue too respectable and important not to demand the full attention of the sovereign and the government. For Beccaria, the provision of medical care to the larger and poorer percentage of the population was unquestionably the responsibility of the state, who could not ignore the suffering of those who were supporting the state economically, but who received no reciprocal support in response to their obvious economic hardships.¹³²⁸ Beccaria thus refrained from making any ethical appeals in reference to the difficulties of the poor. At no point did he frame his convictions in terms of the un-Christian or immoral nature of the administration's neglect, but rather balanced his argument upon the unshakable responsibility of the state, derived from the tenets of the social contract, to provide equal access. The solution was to increase and disperse medical facilities throughout the Milanese territory. According to the proposal, there were to be 120 practices across the region, forty located in the mountainous areas and eighty in the plains, with each providing care for approximately 8,000 inhabitants. The provinces had been redivided into areas of treatment and the proposed sites for new practices had already been allocated and illustrated on a map (Fig. 14) provided for the Habsburg court which highlighted both the existing and proposed locations.¹³²⁹ The map reflects the increasing value placed upon cartography both within the Habsburg Empire and the Lombard administration. The *censimento* survey between 1718 and 1750 had culminated in the extensive mapping of the State of Milan, resulting in 2378 cadastral maps being surveyed for all the municipalities of Milan, which were eventually collated in the Topographical Atlas of the State of Milan.¹³³⁰ With no map of the entire province of Lombardy however, the uncle of Beccaria's first wife, Michelangelo Blasco was subsequently commissioned to compile the survey maps into one comprehensive and to scale map (though the Habsburg authorities later considered it largely unsuccessful due to

¹³²⁸ Ibid., 167: "Ciò non ostante, l'incremento della massima parte della popolazione che consiste ne' laboriosi e poveri contadini, è un oggetto troppo rispettabile ed importante per non interessare tutte le cure del Tribunale e del Reale Governo e del glorioso nostro Sovrano, né cesserebbe d'esserlo anche per coloro che non fossero del tutto persuasi dell'influenza dell'arte medica sulla salute degli uomini, giacché e i soccorsi della chirurgia e quelli d'una caritatevole assistenza nello stato di debolezza e di abbandono, e l'opinione e fiducia che ne hanno i pazienti debbono costituire anche per gl'increduli una parte non indifferente dei reali soccorsi e vantaggi che la medicina può recare."

¹³²⁹ Ibid., 168.

¹³³⁰ Madalina Valeria Veres, "Unravelling a Trans-Imperial Career: Michel Angelo de Blasco's Mapmaking Abilities in the Service of Vienna and Lisbon," *Itinerario*, vol. 38, issue 2 (2014): 85–6.

its lack of topographical details).¹³³¹ The *Topographia Agrojatriva Mediolanensi* was derived from these cadastral survey maps and possibly Blasco's map of Lombardy, and executed by Giovanni Cicognini, director of the faculty of medicine at the University of Pavia.¹³³² Cicognini, alongside Johann Peter Frank, was at the forefront of demands calling for the reorganisation of the system of public health, based upon scientific and ethical motivations.¹³³³ The map clearly visualised the dramatic discrepancies in medical distribution. The clusters of locations marked in red to signify the new practices illustrate the extent to which entire areas had been deprived of medical assistance. In particular, the areas surrounding the cities of Pavia, Como and Cremona had received especially limited resources, in part due to the local administration's failure to disperse finances out of the bigger cities into the peripheries. Lest Beccaria's criticism within the proposal go unnoticed, the vignette in the lower right-hand corner of the map reiterated his concerns: Salus, Roman goddess of public welfare, health and prosperity extends a patera towards a snake coiled atop a plinth reading "Sal. Pub", the *salute pubblica*. Behind her we see a pastoral scene, with men labouring in the field alongside their cattle. Lest Beccaria's criticism of current medical services within the proposal go unnoticed, the vignette in the lower right-hand corner of the map reiterated his concerns: Salus, Roman goddess of public welfare,¹³³⁴ health and prosperity extends a patera towards a snake coiled atop a plinth reading "Sal. Pub", the *salute pubblica*. Behind her we see a pastoral scene, with men labouring in the field alongside their cattle. Though ostensibly a mere detail, the vignette serves to remind us of the role of the sovereign and the state in attending to the public wellbeing. The health of the Milanese countryside and its agricultural labourers were the responsibility of the state which, like Salus, was entrusted with the welfare and safety of all.

¹³³¹ Ibid., 86.

¹³³² Archivio di Stato di Milano, Atti di Governo Parte Antica, provvidenze generali, cartella 243.

¹³³³ For more on Cicognini and Frank see: Paola Zocchi, *Il Comune e la salute amministrazione municipale e igiene pubblica a Milano, 1814-1859* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2006).

¹³³⁴ Unlike the Greek goddess Hygeia, with whom Salus is often confused, Salus represented public well-being, as opposed to individual health, as was Hygeia's concern.



Fig. 14) Topographia Agrojatrca Mediolanensi
 Archivio di Stato di Milano, Atti di Governo Parte Antica, provvidenze generali, cartella 243.

Luoghi Delegazioni	Torre Capitale d'Alfame & Esistenti Stabiliti	Numero dei Letti dini aggiunti nuovi nelli Spedali Esistenti Spedali Stabiliti	Denominazione della Lica Assistenza per i Medicinali	Luogo Esistenti unificati	Luogo Delegazioni	Torre Capitale d'Alfame & Esistenti Stabiliti	Numero dei Letti dini aggiunti nuovi nelli Spedali Esistenti Spedali Stabiliti	Denominazione della Lica Assistenza per i Medicinali	Luogo Esistenti unificati
Provincia Milanese									
Alghiate	Carate		Scuola di Loversi	2500	650				
Angera	Angera *	20	Legato del Comitorio		200				
Arona	Santa Caterina		Legato S. Maria	150					
Arona	Arona		Legato della Confraternita		150				
Arona	Arona e Marinone		Legato Casino	100	160				
Binasco	Binasco *	30	Legato del Ospedale di Casina	1000					
Bollate	Bollate		Legato della S. V. del latte		170				
Borico	Borico		Legato Uccelli		200				
Borico	Alvate *	20	Legato Albicani		130				
Borico	Verderio Inferiore		Legato M. Cristina	1600					
Casale Ripone	Casale Ripone		Scuola di Loversi	50					
Comabbio	Comabbio		Scuola di Loversi	3000					
Comabbio	Albiate grando *	30							
Comabbio	Albiate *	30	Scuola di Loversi	3000					
Comabbio	Albiate *	14	Scuola di Loversi		100				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Larianelli	2000	900				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Archinti	900	840				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Barnovano						
Comabbio	Comabbio *	30	Scuola di Loversi		150				
Comabbio	Pusto Asiatico		Legato Larianelli		138				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Archinti	300	400				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Scuola di Loversi	200	120				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Confraternita		20				
Comabbio	Comabbio *	23							
Comabbio	Rivolto *	16							
Comabbio	Comabbio *	40	Legato Discepoli		144				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Savona		600				
Comabbio	Comabbio *	30	Legato Sallona		350				
Comabbio	Comabbio *	30	Legato Scandriani		118				
Comabbio	Comabbio *	32	Legato dell'ospedale		4000				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Visconti e Capitolo	480	225				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Scuola di Loversi, S. Conventuali	425	71				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Scuola di Loversi		100				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Scuola di Loversi		50				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Scuola di Loversi	70					
Comabbio	Comabbio		Scuola di Loversi		80				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Scuola di Loversi	45					
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Crivelli		240				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Confraternita		225				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Villani		95				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Marziani	900	1007				
				125	39	250			18929 6866
Provincia Lodigiana									
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Arli		100				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato della Carita	3000	750				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Curioni		50				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Zanetti		60				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato del Ospedale		790				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato Belloni		1000				
Provincia Cremonese									
Comabbio	Comabbio		Consorzio di S. Maria		100				
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato della Canonica		500				
Provincia Mantovana									
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato della Canonica		500				
Provincia Pavesana									
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato della Canonica		500				
Provincia Sondriana									
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato della Canonica		500				
Provincia Vercellina									
Comabbio	Comabbio		Legato della Canonica		500				

Fig. 15) Proposed redistribution of medical services corresponding to Fig. 14)
 Archivio di Stato di Milano, Atti di Governo Parte Antica, provvidenze generali, cartella 243.

Strikingly, we find this image of Salus recurring throughout the documentation from the Milanese public health archives. In a similar vignette (Fig. 16) from the printed 1775 *Regolamento Generale della Facoltà Medica*, Salus again extends a patera towards a serpent atop the plinth of *salute pubblica*, but is this time flanked by a small child and the motto “Felix Insubria”, “Blessed” or “Happy Milan” above her. Next to the plinth stands the caduceus of Ceres, goddess of agriculture and grain, entwined with wheat sheaves. The image forms the reverse side of a medallion bearing the likeness of Empress Maria Theresa and Salus, with her ward by her side, represents the beneficence of the sovereign, who stands to nurture the public good, ensuring the happiness of Milan, the wellbeing of the public and the fecundity of agriculture. Salus, in her dual caregiving and protecting role, represents paternalistic government and such visual rhetoric served a political role in affirming the duty of the sovereign in preserving the public good through public health. The standardisation of such imagery is representative of the growing acceptance of public health as a government obligation and likewise carried implicit criticism when paternalistic government failed to attend to this issue.



Fig. 16) Vignette from *Regolamento Generale della Facoltà Medica* Archivio di Stato di Milano, Atti di Governo Parte Antica, provvidenze generali, cartella 186.

The fair distribution of medical practices in the *Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi* echoes the approach taken by Beccaria regarding the foundation of the Milanese veterinary school. In dispersing medical professionals across the peripheral areas to ensure the equal access of citizens to medical services, as was the ambition of training veterinarians from all

regions to be then sent back to their original communities, Beccaria's proposal sought to ensure the provision of medical treatment to the lower, labouring classes, not as a right in itself, but as the fulfilment of the state's responsibility to preserve the greatest happiness of the greater number. Beccaria had already criticised the disparity in access to medical care near verbatim in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*. Speaking about the rural classes, Beccaria claimed that:

This supporting part of the nation is often abandoned to the misery and languor of illness and to the inconvenient transport to hospitals, far from the tender care of their families, under the hard and negligent protection of men, indifferent and hardened to the suffering of the miserable. While this aids the perfection of medicine, and is an illustrious monument of public beneficence, it is not the best relief against disease and mortality. I would like that the public beneficence can relieve them of their diseases in their own homes, or close to home.¹³³⁵

Here, Beccaria creates an important hierarchy between public utility and the advancement of the arts and sciences. While the centralised system served to improve medical conduct more abstractly, it failed to address the issue of rural disease and mortality on an individual as opposed to utilitarian basis. Beccaria proceeded to claim that while the state would have to take responsibility for the afflicted, by preventing so many inevitable expenses and illnesses, the public beneficence could be spread further throughout the nation. Public utility echoes throughout the proposal. We find it, for example, in Beccaria's reflections regarding increasing the number of midwives available throughout the provinces:

It is unnecessary here to dwell on commending the importance of an establishment whose utility and necessity for protecting that most precious part of the population, has clearly manifested itself. In my opinion, it would be desirable that the education of obstetricians in the countryside was not limited only to the assistance of women in labour, but was enhanced to include the treatment of common paediatric diseases, thus slowly breaking down, way by the sure value of education, the damaging prejudices often harboured by rural populations.¹³³⁶

¹³³⁵ Beccaria, "Elementi di economia pubblica," in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 168-9: "Questa parte sostenitrice delle nazioni è abbandonata spesse volte alla miseria ed al languore delle malattie, e all'incomodo trasporto nelli spedali, lungi dalla minuta e tenera assistenza delle care famiglie, sotto la dura e negligente tutela di uomini indifferenti ed incalliti fra le sofferenze de' miserabili. È un aiuto per la perfezione della medicina, ed anche un illustre monumento della vera pubblica beneficenza, ma non il migliore soccorso contro i morbi e la mortalità. Vorrei che più da vicino ai loro alberghi, o in questi medesimi, fossero dalla pubblica beneficenza alleviati dai loro malori. Io credo che dall'una parte ci guadagnerebbero i miserabili, e dall'altra l'erario pubblico, col risparmio di molti salari e di molti disordini che dall'avvicinamento delle grandi ricchezze sono inevitabili, coll'avvantaggio di spandere in tutto lo stato i monumenti e gli esempi della pubblica beneficenza."

¹³³⁶ "Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi, relazione, 5 Ottobre 1784", 171-2: "È superfluo il qui dilongarsi nel comendare l'importanza d'uno stabilimento del quale l'utilità e la necessità per la conservazione ed aumento della parte più preziosa della popolazione è per sé manifesta, e sarebbe desiderabile secondo me che non solamente l'istruzione delle ostetrici per la

Beginning with the very pragmatic observation that, due to the nature of childbirth, midwives could not travel long distances to reach patients, Beccaria concluded that the number of available midwives needed to be both proportional to, and equally distributed amongst, the rural population. What is more striking however, are the additional reflections on the advancement of the profession which Beccaria framed in terms of utility and the destruction of ignorance. Beccaria held provincial attitudes to be dangerous for public utility, as convictions based on folklore and superstition often restricted useful medical practices. Consequently, midwives could serve a dual purpose, not only performing their professional duties but moreover, through their increased presence in the provinces, slowly disperse useful knowledge and break down the prejudices which Beccaria interpreted as hindering public utility. Already reflecting on the dangers of childbirth due to the poor training of midwives in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, Beccaria reflected on the success of having regulated obstetric training: “a quanti errori e a quanta ignoranza non era una volta esposta l’epoca la più pericolosa per due persone, cioè quella del nascimento d’un uomo?”.¹³³⁷ It was part of a wider criticism of outdated paediatric practices and Beccaria proceeded to similarly condemn the ignorance with which swaddling was still practiced, which he argued suffocated children and impeded the growth of their muscles and also cast doubt over the practice of wetnursing.¹³³⁸ Consequently, employing additional midwives was of the utmost value in remedying one of the most dangerous results of poverty: the perpetuation of superstition. As we have already seen from Beccaria’s writings, confused knowledge was worse than ignorance, reflective of those early tyrannical stages of civilisation.¹³³⁹ Educating the rural population, bringing them out of their state of false convictions, was thus essential to the perpetuation of good governance, the instruction of the multitude in the “simple and true relations of things” being ultimately beneficial for the

campagna si limitasse alla assistenza delle parturienti, ma eziandio ad abitarle a dar qualche soccorso alle malattie le più comuni e frequenti che sogliono assalire la nascente prole, sgombrando così a poco a poco per la via lenta ma sicura dell’istruzione quella folla di pregiudizi dei quali in questa parte è danosamente involta la mente delle rustiche persone.”

¹³³⁷ Beccaria, “Elementi di economia pubblica,” in *Edizione Nazionale*, vol. III, 133.

¹³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 133-4.

¹³³⁹ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments*, 106–7: “blind ignorance is less lethal than mediocre and confused knowledge, since the latter adds to the former the inevitable mistakes of one who has a limited vision even within the bounds of truth...But as it is a feature of error to divide itself *ad infinitum*, the sciences which were born out of error turned men into a blind and fanatical mob who, caught in a maze ran into each other and muddled each other to such an extent that some sensitive and philosophic souls went so far as to regret the ancient state of savagery. This is the first age in which knowledge, or at least opinion, is harmful.”

state.¹³⁴⁰ Beccaria's reflections on the vital role of midwifery reflected cameralist medical literature coming from Vienna. The populationist discourses of Sonnenfels and Frank had called for state intervention to protect pregnant women from medical malpractice, which would be secured through the training of medical professionals and the translation and diffusion of current literature from the growing field of obstetrics.¹³⁴¹ Texts such as Plenck's *Elementa artis obstetriciae*, were translated into Italian and were intended to educate male surgeons and midwives who would use these publications to raise their own practice to Habsburg standards and in turn train new midwives. Furthermore, Beccaria's more specific views on obstetrics and paediatric practices reveal that he had knowledge of the most current medical literature in these fields, as conveyed in the handbooks of Johann Raphael Steidele (*Unterricht für Hebammen* and *Lehrbuch von der Hebammenkunst*),¹³⁴² which comprehensively addressed such diverse elements as the emotional and anatomical stages of pregnancy, legal issues resulting from death in childbirth and the latest medical instruments such as forceps, birthing chairs and breast pumps.

While the previous chapter demonstrated the concern for the question of who ought to have access to medical knowledge, the use of midwives as a tool for spreading information demonstrates Beccaria's equal dissatisfaction with the forms in which this knowledge was circulated. In the case of smallpox inoculation, the limited forms of mainly elite print media had proved largely unsuccessful in circulating information among and ultimately convincing the populace and the *Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi* showed that the administration were actively seeking other means of educating the rural class. Looking back to an essay written by Beccaria entitled "On Periodicals" we see how he was deeply concerned about the un-egalitarian nature of information exchange, arguing that books as a medium alienated a great percentage of the potential reading population:

The majority of people view a book as they do a man who wants to come into their affairs and reform their entire families; they are terrified of having the entire structure of their ideas overturned. But a periodical paper, which presents itself to you as a friend who wants just to whisper a word or two in your ear, and that may suggest just a few useful

¹³⁴⁰ Ibid., 107: "Who then will be able to say that the light which illuminates the multitude is more harmful than the shadows, or that a good understanding of the true and simple relations of things can ever be ruinous to men?"

¹³⁴¹ Sechel, "Medical Knowledge and the Improvement of Vernacular Languages in the Habsburg Monarchy," 308–9.

¹³⁴² Raphael Johann Steidele, *Lehrbuch von der Hebammenkunst* (Vienna: Joh. Thomas Edlen v. Trattner, 1784).

truths, not in bulk, but one by one, and that may remove one or another error out of your mind almost without your noticing it, is much more welcome and much more heeded.¹³⁴³

It was the result of amour-propre, Beccaria claimed: “most people do not believe themselves able to write a book; but everyone thinks he can write a periodical.”¹³⁴⁴

Continuing, Beccaria compared the advantages of periodical circulation to that of the circulation of wealth, “just as the circulation of money is advantageous because it increases man’s activity in regards to things, so the circulation of periodicals increases the activity of the human mind, upon which the perfection of ideas and manners depends”¹³⁴⁵ It suggests that Beccaria perceived a fundamental breakdown in how knowledge was being communicated. While the popularisation and vernacularisation of professional texts were steps towards making knowledge accessible to a wider audience, by relying on the same forms of monograph print they continued to ostracise entire sections of the public. Still Beccaria clarified that the multitude needed to be brought out of the darkness. Provincial attitudes were especially dangerous for public utility, as beliefs based on folklore and superstition ultimately restricted useful medical practices. Educating the rural population, bringing them out of their state of false convictions, was thus essential to the perpetuation of good governance and relied on the ability of physicians to translate their professional knowledge and conceptual language to those with an infinitely different vocabulary. In the case of veterinary medicine, this meant vernacular and regionalised training, meritocratic studentship and the formalisation of dialect vocabulary and concepts. In the case of human medicine, this meant that the administration was left to find new ways of circulating medical knowledge in the peripheries, often by employing more midwives who could enter individuals’ homes and impart practical health knowledge through oral knowledge

¹³⁴³ Beccaria, “De’ Fogli Periodici,” in *Il Caffè*, 411–12: “Gli Uomini di questo genere, cioè la maggior parte, considerano un libro come un uomo che volesse entrare ne’ loro affari e rifromar tutta la loro famiglia; sono ributtati dal timore di rovesciar tutto l’edificio delle loro idee; e gli uomini invischiati, per dir così, nell’abitudine soffrono nel doverne esser tratti. Ma un foglio periodico, che ti presenta come un amico che vuol quasi dirti una sola parola all’orecchio, e che or l’una or l’altra delle utili verità ti suggerisce non in massa ma in dettaglio, e che or l’una or l’altra errore della mente ti toglie quasi senza che te ne avveda, è per lo più il più ben accolto il più ascoltato.”

¹³⁴⁴ Ibid.: “La distanza che passa tra l’autore di un libro e chi lo legge mortifica per lo più il nostro amor proprio, poiché il maggior numero non si crede capace di fare un libro, ma per un foglio periodico ognuno si crede abilità sufficiente, essendo poi sempre la mole e il numero i principali motori della stima volgare.”

¹³⁴⁵ Ibid., 412: “come la circolazione del denaro è avvantaggiosa, perché accresce il numero delle azioni degli uomini sulle cose, così la circolazione dei fogli periodici aumenta il numero delle azioni della mente umana, dalle quali dipende la perfezione delle idee e de’ costumi.”

transmission, demonstration and common-sense practice. As Beccaria already stated in the *Elementi di economia pubblica*, local priests could also contribute to the dissemination of useful knowledge, if only they would direct themselves to less abstract subjects. While the intellectual values of the administration were visibly changing under the influence of the sciences, finding the channels through which to convey this shift to the public remained a significant challenge. While popular print provided a means with which to transition science out of its professional, university sphere and into the public arena, Beccaria had little interest in encouraging scientific print culture in and of itself, but only where it stood to benefit the public good. In cases where print culture had little currency, then the state sought alternate forms of knowledge exchange. What we thus see in the case of Lombardy is that the popularisation of scientific texts was in many cases dependent upon the state's calculation of utility, this was not the attempt to popularise science for the advancement or circulation of science itself, but rather to put professional science and its products to work for the public good.

In practice the greatest challenge was assessing who was entitled to free medical treatment. While it was all well and good for the government to stipulate that physicians should give free services to the poor, deciding who should pay and who not was then left to the individual physician's discretion. Such a system could easily result, Beccaria argued, in the discriminatory assessment of poverty, likely to be influenced by the lowly wages paid to physicians. While there was great sense in leaving this assessment to local parishes, Beccaria likewise speculated that without rigorous and standardised criteria with which to assess an individual's situation, they too could provide false assessments. Not to mention, such discrimination was not made easier by the reality that dishonest individuals would try to take advantage of free treatment. Discerning which citizens should receive medical aid was, without any specific criteria or financial thresholds, a challenge in and of itself, without the added difficulties of having to then assess the legitimacy of the individual appearance of poverty. Beccaria consequently attempted to quantify what entitled individuals to free medical treatment, stating that anyone with either less than one hundred crowns, an income corresponding to less than one hundred crowns, or who was deemed by the parish to be in

need of free assistance due to family circumstances, would freely receive medical care.¹³⁴⁶ This financial threshold would not only make assessments clearer and more traceable but additionally, allowed the administration to forecast the percentage of free treatment required, as based on taxes. Yet, although corruption and dishonesty were potentially circumvented by setting such criteria, Beccaria's definition raised more worrying concerns. The forecast revealed the vast number of citizens who would be rightfully considered eligible for such aid. Beccaria stated that if properly calculated, the majority of the rural population would fall into this category of the "deserving poor", and it was this disproportionate number that troubled Beccaria so deeply.¹³⁴⁷ Here it is worth briefly returning to Beccaria's reflections on the social causes of delinquency within *Dei delitti e delle pene*, to remind ourselves of his adamant criticism of material inequality. Arguing that theft was "generally the crime of poverty and desperation, the crime of that unhappy section of men to whom the perhaps 'terrible' and 'unnecessary' right to property has allowed nothing but a bare existence",¹³⁴⁸ Beccaria revealed the extent to which he interpreted inequality in access to wealth, as opposed to possession of wealth itself, to be the root cause of social unrest. Without the opportunity for mobility, as was the premise of the social contract, society would function unjustly and without concern for public utility. There is a similar criticism at the heart of the *Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi*. Beneath the concerns and logistics for the redistribution of medical resources lies the more pressing issue within the proposal, that of poverty. Though this concern primarily arises with regards to the logistics of providing free medical treatment for the poor, in how it should be awarded and who should receive it, the proposal contains an underlying criticism of the institutions which facilitate the continued impoverishment of the Milanese provinces. While the proposal ostensibly addresses the effects of poverty, Beccaria coterminously draws attention to the root cause of poverty: the accumulation of wealth by the higher echelons,

¹³⁴⁶ "Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi, relazione, 5 Ottobre 1784," 184: "In generale si può dire che chi in campagna non ha estimo prediale, ovvero ne ha un minore di cento scudi, né altronde ha una rendita maggiore della corrispondente a quest'estimo, possa chiamarsi povero, ed avere diritto alla gratuita assistenza, come parimenti potrebbe averla quelli che per le circostanze di famiglia meritasse a detta del Parroco fede speciale di povertà."

¹³⁴⁷ Ibid., 177: "Ho sopra diffusamente espone le difficoltà che vi sarebbero da superare nel distinguere i poveri meritevoli di gratuito servizio e li immeritevoli, giacché nella campagna quasi tutti hanno buone ragioni per esser posti nella prima classe, e per fissare la tassa medica fra quei limiti per cui o non li estenda a troppo numero di persone con grave disagio de' poveri, o non sia troppo ristretta nel numero o nel valore e così rendersi incongrua a supplire alla modicità dello stipendio."

¹³⁴⁸ Bellamy, *On Crimes and Punishments and Other Writings*, 53.

preventing its circulation throughout the provinces and amongst the classes. In his frequent reference to the “hardworking” and “populous” poor, Beccaria served to underscore the skewed economic dynamics of the region, which stagnated in the hands of the nobles and the Church who failed to place any investment into industry and prevented any circulation of capital from reaching the hands of the rural labourers. What becomes clear from Beccaria’s proposal is his criticism of the Habsburg government, which in attempts to centralise and regulate the empire had imposed a new structure of bureaucracy over existing administrative layers, but had done little to alter or dismantle local economic power hierarchies which remained rooted in elements such as grain supply monopolies. The Habsburg rule had thus further entrenched poverty from above without endeavouring to stimulate the flow of capital through initiatives such as the creation of factories, incentivising luxury or encouraging the nobles to invest in manufacturing, as Beccaria had so argued for. Thus, while on the surface the proposal deals with the redistribution of medical professionals to better serve the rural population, their health being both economically beneficial to the state and the responsibility of the administration, it simultaneously shows the limits of medicine’s utility if poverty, the underlying cause of this issue of public health, was not addressed. Without remedying poverty, ensuring public health would always remain a challenge for the state. However, it must be made clear that Beccaria was not calling for any ideological abolition of poverty, nor did he naively believe that it could be made to disappear in favour of complete equality. Rather, he wanted to prevent systematic impoverishment imposed from above, which in blocking the equal opportunity to pursue wealth, stood in opposition to the terms of the social contract. By opening the circulation and pursuit of wealth to all, poverty was not necessarily remedied, but the government’s responsibility to ensure the greatest happiness of the greater number was at least fulfilled.

Beccaria’s proposals were not solely built upon his resolute adherence to the tenets of the social contract, but were additionally supported by extensive calculations and approaches from political arithmeticians. Stating that political economy was built upon the conjecture and calculations of political arithmetic, Beccaria proceeded to demonstrate, with the help of existing statistics and the records of the Ospedale Maggiore, the correlation between population, sickness and the number of hospitals required. His calculations went as follows: In the past three years, one seventh, or 14 percent, of patients admitted had died, to which

Beccaria added the 3.5 percent ratio between living and dead calculated by political arithmeticians, concluding that out of 10,000 poor, 350 would die in a year and 2,450 would become ill. Consequently, assuming that the average illness lasted fifteen days, Beccaria estimated that for every 10,000 poor inhabitants, a hospital of around 100 beds would be required. Thus, in the countryside, where one could assume that in a district of 15,000 inhabitants, two-thirds or 10,000 individuals would require free treatment, a population of one million people would thus require 66 to 67 hospitals of 100 beds.¹³⁴⁹ It was not a perfect calculation, Beccaria admitted, but it was intended to highlight the connection between the public good and the sovereign providence, drawing attention to the sheer number of poor inhabitants who would not only require hospital treatment, but free hospital treatment, thus putting the claims for medical aid in perspective.¹³⁵⁰ The calculations ultimately gave Beccaria's philosophical underpinnings a stronger empirical backbone, couched in the descriptive statistical practices (*Staatenkunde*) common throughout the Habsburg territories. The lack of medical resources for the provinces was not purely a matter of social good, but was supported by observational evidence in a form which was familiar and practiced within the Habsburg state, thus attesting to the accuracy of Beccaria's conclusions.

The *Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi* gives great insight into the continuity of Beccaria's claims regarding poverty. Although the proposal appears practical and bureaucratic at face value, the repeated allusion to the state's responsibility via the social contract for medical assistance highlights the coherence which runs through Beccaria's earlier writings into his career in the state administration. Yet, we see that not only were

¹³⁴⁹ "Piano per le condotte mediche e chirurgiche forensi, relazione, 5 Ottobre 1784," no. 982, 174–5: "Dal numero totale degli ammalati entrati in questo Ospitale Maggiore nel decorso triennio, e da quello de' morti raccolgo che ogni anno circa un settimo degli ammalati vi muore, cioè circa il 14 per cento; supposto altresì ciò che risulta e dalle tabelle di popolazione e dagli autori di aritmetica politica, che il rapporto annuale tra i morti e i viventi sia circa del 3 ½ %, risulterebbe che di 10.000 poveri ne morirebbero in un anno 350 e se ne ammalerebbero 2.450; chi calcolasse la durata di una malattia l'una per l'altra 15 giorni, supposizione che non mi sembra del tutto erronea, ne verrebbe la conseguenza che per ogni 10.000 poveri fa bisogno di un ospedale di circa 100 letti, di modo che trattandosi della campagna, supponendo che un distretto di 15.000 abitanti abbia due terzi di essi ossia 10.000 bisognosi di gratuita assistenza nelle malattie, la popolazione di un milione di persone esigerebbe il servizio di 66 in 67 ospitali di cento letti circa."

¹³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 176: "Ho voluto subordinare queste osservazioni meno per suggerire in tanta incertezza di dati ciò che convenga farsi, quanto per porre sotto gli occhi del Dicastero la necessaria connessione che passa tra un interesse così importante per il bene delle comunità e quello che è l'oggetto delle sovrane provvidenze."

Beccaria's underlying convictions on the matter consistent, but that he had adopted the pragmatic attitude of the administration in demanding direct, practical action to ameliorate the immediate situation of the poor. While Beccaria could sharply criticise the institutionalisation of poverty in his more philosophical writings, the proposal illustrates that he also possessed the pragmatism to lobby for the immediate reforms required to ensure a more equal treatment of the symptoms of poverty, if not the root causes of poverty itself. The proposal was comprised of a combination of empirical elements –maps, calculations, records – which gave the demands greater legitimacy in the climate of Habsburg cameralism, which were undoubtedly more convincing than Beccaria's personal belief in the social contract. In using the approaches of the political arithmeticians, in tailoring the cartographic style to highlight the discrepancy between the current and the required situation, Beccaria employed and manipulated trusted empirical tools, fusing such scientific results with his underlying philosophic reasoning.

Conclusion

Inoculation, as an empirically proven method, was understood by Beccaria to have great potential for public utility. As seen in his correspondence, state papers and the *Elementi di Economic Pubblica*, Beccaria's convictions regarding the copious benefits of inoculation were consistent and assertive, and were at no point swayed by the arguments against its practice made by those who had been witness to its failings or who based their judgements on rigid theoretical, moral or religious principles with no regard for experience or observation. Throughout the century smallpox had been a pressing and contentious issue, yet Beccaria's interest in inoculation was stimulated neither by fashion nor its scientific value, but through concern for public utility and the social contract. By removing one of the key physical factors in depopulation, inoculation was a responsibility of government as it would help to ensure the pursuit of wealth for each individual equally. However, this duty to prevent economically devastating depopulation was at the same time in conflict with the social contract's protection of the right to one's own life, which was theoretically compromised through compulsory inoculation. Variolation consequently had to be encouraged by the administration, but could never be enforced. Beccaria's involvement in the smallpox inoculation debate thus elucidates both the extent to which he adhered to the social contract and how the terms and limits of this contract played out in practice. From this

particular example we see that Beccaria tested the applicability of inoculation in matters of public utility, setting rigorous limits to its usage by concluding that it could not be obligatory but should be strongly encouraged through institutional change, better distributed medical resources and education to remove the prejudices hindering its use. Unlike political mathematicians such as La Condamine and Bernoulli, Beccaria did not go so far as to let utility compromise individual rights or to reduce humankind to mathematical principles, as he had so frequently stated in works such as *Dei delitti e delle pene* and *Tentativo analitico su i Contrabbandi*. Beccaria had always urged that scientific methods must be used with caution, and in restricting inoculation he additionally demonstrated the coherence in his understanding of the limits that public utility placed upon science. Inoculation was an unquestionably useful innovation, but it was not useful enough to compromise the social contract: it was an expression of science as a means to an end, not an end in itself. Beyond the continuity of Beccaria's political philosophy, the inoculation debate also raises important questions regarding the popularisation of science and the role of print media in paternalistic governance. These were key elements of the Habsburg medical empire, intended to standardise and improve medical practice and health and sanitation knowledge throughout the provinces. Yet, this initiative was unsuccessful in the case of Lombard inoculation and Beccaria never achieved the popularisation of inoculation in his lifetime due to both the conflict of his theory with compulsory inoculation and the failure to convince physicians and the public to adopt the practice. While he could use his intellectual network to circulate inoculation literature among like-minded savants, such publications and such forms of communication had little impact on the agricultural and working classes. Consequently, both the social contract and the existing communication systems limited inoculation's success and without a rigorous vernacular programme of education regarding inoculation, Beccaria was ultimately powerless in dismantling the superstition and half-knowledge surrounding the practice. As Beccaria made repeatedly clear, both in the proposals for the Milanese veterinary school and in the plan for medical redistribution, context specific knowledge was crucial in order to be useful and communicable to the audience in hand: as long as physicians were reluctant to adapt to circumstance and break with tradition, widescale inoculation would remain an impossible task.

The uses of history, the forgotten millions and the future of Cesare Beccaria

History may truly be defined as a famous war against time; for she doth take from him the years that he had made prisoner, or rather, utterly slain, and doth call them back into life, and pass them into review and set them again in order of battle. But the illustrious champions who in this arena reap a harvest of palms and laurels, seize only upon the most pompous and brilliant of spoils, embalming with their ink the enterprise of princes and potentates, and such-like qualified personages, and embroidering with the acute needle of genius those golden and silken threads which form an uninterrupted tapestry of famous actions.

– Alessandro Manzoni, *I Promessi Sposi*¹³⁵¹

Inexplicably interred miles from the family tomb in the ever-expanding Mojazza cemetery just beyond Milan's Porta Comasina, the body of Cesare Beccaria found its final resting place in a communal grave.¹³⁵² A marshy site, prone to flooding and deemed woefully unfit for use by the Tribunale della Sanità, the Mojazza had little logic to its organisation, with the names of even its most prestigious inhabitants only haphazardly recorded on the surrounding wall.¹³⁵³ With no headstone, no burial site records and no confirmed reports of even a funeral service, no trace of the mortal Beccaria survives today. When, in 1895, the municipal authorities came to transfer his remains to the Cimitero Monumentale, no one was able to identify where the mighty Beccaria had been buried and so there he stayed, anonymous and, now with all but one wall of the cemetery consumed by urban sprawl, lost forever.

Cesare Beccaria's nameless burial seems a fitting tribute to the man who so fiercely strove for equality in inequality. Yet, while the mortal Beccaria slipped quietly into anonymity, his charismatic memory – champion of the furious charge against the death penalty – flourished in the intellectual and popular imagination. So much so, that Pietro Verri's

¹³⁵¹ Alessandro Manzoni, *I Promessi Sposi*, Vol. 1, (Parma: A. Barion, 1832), 1.

¹³⁵² In 1782 Joseph II decreed that all burials must take place outside the city walls. However, in 1790 it was reported that noxious fumes were coming from the Milanese cemeteries. See "Esalazioni nocive a Milano," no. 3623 in *Edizione Nazionale*, Vol. XII, 225.

¹³⁵³ The Mojazza is said to have earned its name from the dialect description of the perennially damp and stagnant ground, "terren moisc". The *Fisici collegiati conservatori del Tribunale della sanità* deemed it unfit for use.

impassioned call for Beccaria's legacy to be memorialised was finally realised. In 1871, coupled with a tremendous inaugural ceremony (Fig. 17), a statue in Beccaria's honour was erected in Milan: the project of the Italian abolitionist movement and laden with political rhetoric forecasting legislative reform. The commemoration was heavily infused with the celebration of the 1865 parliament vote in favour of abolition and the protest against the Senate's subsequent rejection of the proposal. Further politicising Cesare Beccaria's memory, the *Comitato Esecutivo Centrale per il Monumento al Primo Apostolo dell'abolizione della Pena di Morte* campaigned for the day on which they could finally inscribe the words, "the deputies and the senators of the Italian Republic have voted for the abolition of the death penalty," beneath Beccaria's likeness.¹³⁵⁴ Thus, Beccaria's fate was sealed in stone. Consumed by the furious polemics of the abolitionist movement, Beccaria would remain ever the face of the contemporary struggle against the death penalty.

The guest list for the celebration was illustrious. Representatives from across Italy's provinces, its municipalities, its universities, institutions and associations – even Giuseppe Garibaldi – congregated alongside international figures the likes of Victor Hugo, Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf and Jules Favre, to honour Beccaria's contribution to criminal justice. In a series of speeches, the mayor and the head of the committee took the opportunity to remark on the unifying spirit of the occasion:

Nell'albo dei membri della nostra Commissione abbiamo il nome di cittadini che sono l'onore dell'Impero Germanico e della repubblica Francese: che lo spirito di umanità, che ha unito in fratellanza con noi quei campioni della libertà e della giustizia ispiri le due grandi nazione di cui sono gloriosi figli! – Dopo tanti lutti sia *pace!*

The marble statue before them (since replaced in bronze), sculpted by Giuseppe Grandi, towered atop a granite plinth, flanked by the allegorical figures of *Tempo* and *Civiltà o il Trionfo della Giustizia* set into the base relief. Avowing that Beccaria's sage reflections would mature with time into tangible legislation, the depictions of *Tempo* and *Civiltà* (Fig. 18) are rich with symbols attesting to *Dei delitti e delle pene's* legal virtues. Civilisation – a crowned Lady Justice – sits, sceptre in hand, atop a collection of books, her left hand purposefully resting on Beccaria's treatise. Behind her we catch glimpse of two medallions inscribed with the names of Risi and Gallerati Scotti, the magistrates who, alongside Beccaria, voted

¹³⁵⁴ Amato Amati, *Cesare Beccaria e l'abolizione della pena di morte, Esecutivo Centrale per il Monumento a Cesare Beccaria* (Milan: Dottor Francesco Vallardi, 1872), 315.

L'EMPORIO PITTORESCO

ILLUSTRAZIONE UNIVERSALE

ANNO VIII.

GIORNALE SETTIMANALE

N. 343.

PREZZO D'ABBONAMENTO.

ALL' EDIZIONE DI LUSO.			
Franci di porto nel Regno.	Anno L. 10	Sem. L. 5	—
Svizzera.....	> 12	> 6	—
Austria, Egitto, Francia, Germ. >	14	> 7	—
Inghilterra, Portog., Spagna. >	16	> 8	—
America, Australia, India..... >	20	> 10	—
ALL' EDIZIONE COMUNE.			
Franci di porto nel Regno.	Anno L. 6	Sem. L. 3	—
Svizzera.....	> 8	> 4	—
Austria, Egitto Francia, Germ. >	10	> 5	—
Inghilterra, Portog., Spagna. >	12	> 6	—
America, Australia, India..... >	15	> 8	—

DAL 26 MARZO AL 1 APRILE 1871

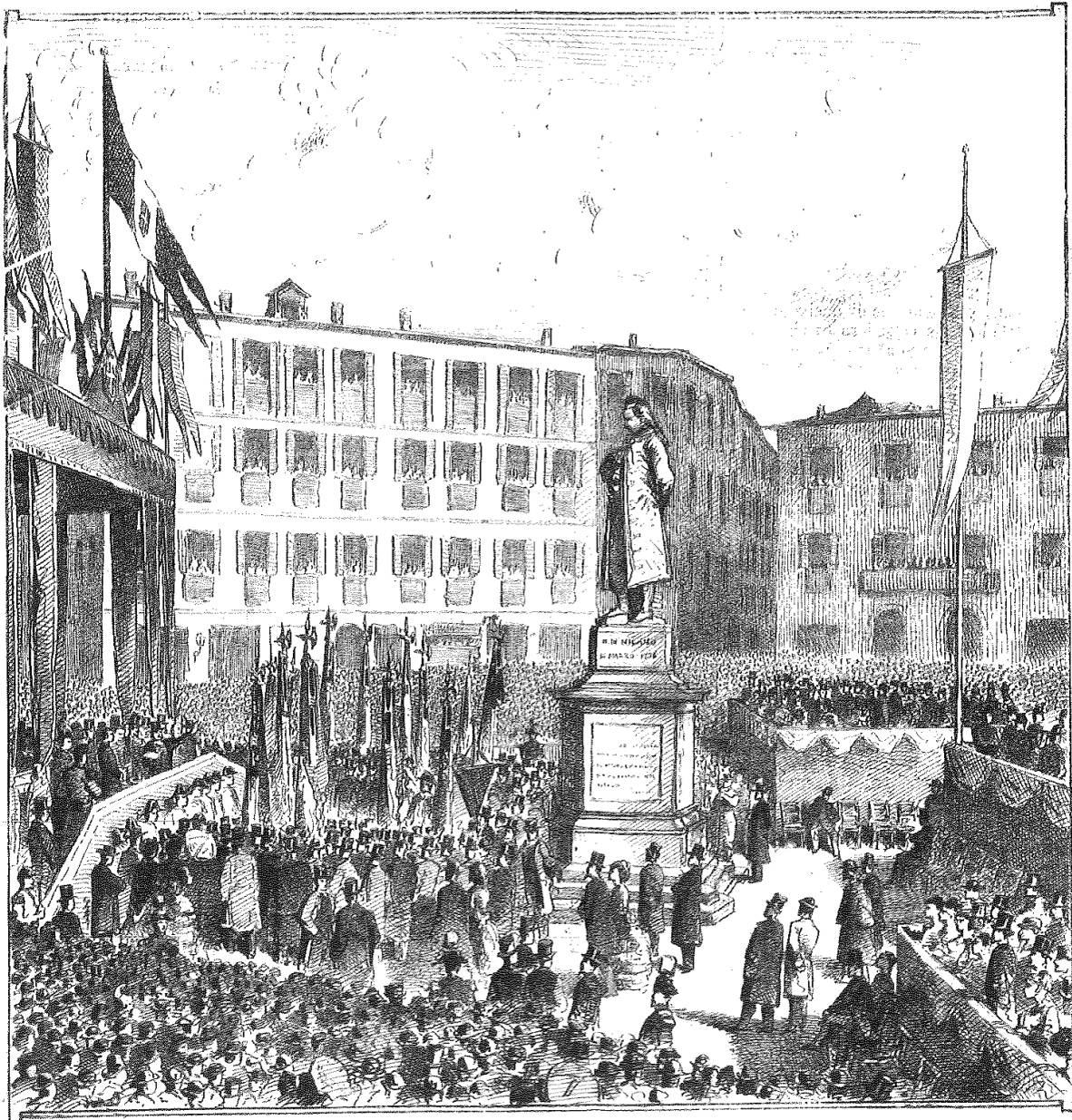
EDIZIONE DI LUSO

La presente edizione

non si rilascia che in abbonamento.

AVVERTENZE.

Si abbonati hanno diritto alle copertine, frontispizi ed indici di ciascun volume semestrale, ed inoltre quegli annui ricevono i seguenti doni: (Edizione di lusso). 1. Un esemplare del romanzo di A. Dumas: GIUSEPPE BARBADE. — 2. UN CALENDARIO DA GABINETTO PER 1871. (Edizione comune): 1. Un esemplare del romanzo di Sand: IL MASCHERE DI VILLESER. — 2. UN CALENDARIO DA GABINETTO PER 1871. — il miglior mezzo d'abbonarsi è l'invio dell'importo in vaglia postale intestato all'editore EDOARDO SONZOGNO, Milano, Via Pasquino, N. 14. Lettere, gruppi, disegni, devono inviarsi franchi all'editore EDOARDO SONZOGNO, in Milano, inserzioni L. 1 per linea o spazio di linea.



Cerimonia dell'inaugurazione del monumento a CESARE BECCARIA il giorno 19 marzo in Milano;

Fig. 17) Cover of *L'Emporio Pittoresco*, 1871, Anno VIII, N.343.

against the death penalty in 1792. As she stares resolutely into the foreground, Lady Justice asserts herself as protector of civilisation, supported by the pillars of erudition and Beccaria's sage philosophy. On the reverse, *Civiltà's* companion, *Tempo*, shields his eyes, ashamed, as his cloak sweeps away the archaic debris of the past. An owl, no doubt Minerva's, likewise turns its head away from the skulls, swords, chains and tattered papers littering the scene below. Considering the professedly Hegelian lens through which the accompanying publication to the ceremony interpreted Beccaria's philosophy, it seems reasonable that the scene should bring to mind the owl from the *Philosophy of Right*, which "spreads its wings only with the falling of the dusk", an allusion to philosophy's ability to understand history only after its passing. As time and erudition gaze away from the brutality of the world and its arbitrary notions of justice, we are reminded of the understanding and, ultimately, construction of history that comes with the gift of hindsight: that with time comes the philosophical maturity to transform Beccaria's ideal into reality. History and time, it seems, are the centrifugal force in philosophical revolution and the commemoration of Beccaria and *Dei delitti e delle pene* sought to ensure that it was this abolitionist history, in particular, that captured the philosophic spirit.

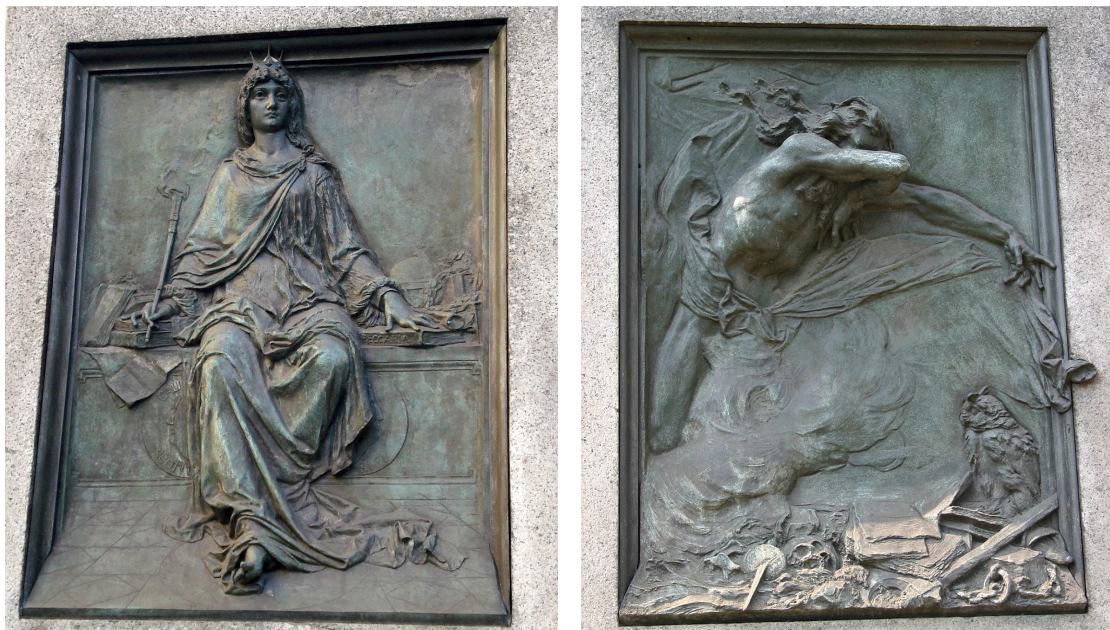


Fig. 18) *Civiltà* and *Tempo*, Statue of Cesare Beccaria by Giuseppe Grandi, 1871.
Picture credit: G.dallorto, Wikimedia commons, Public domain.

Already forty years before the commemoration, Beccaria's grandson Alessandro Manzoni had warned of the dangers of history in his novel *I Promessi Sposi*. Set in the Lombardy of his forebears suffering under Spanish rule and the devastation of the Thirty Years War, Manzoni's tale, documenting the triumph of love above all odds, sought to bring the forgotten millions – the “gente di nessuno” – into the limelight. Using the seventeenth century as a backdrop with which to highlight the abuses of his own times, Manzoni articulated a stern social critique reminiscent of his grandfather's, fervently condemning privilege, the oppression of the poor and the introspection of the political class. Though ostensibly a work of nascent historical fiction, *I Promessi Sposi* pivoted around a rewriting of historical events through a distinctly political lens, obstinately questioning “historical” interpretations which had turned a blind eye to the injustices and root causes of social and political turmoil. In the additional chapters entitled, *La Colonna della Infama*, (a nebulous digression re-evaluating the torture and execution of the *untori*, accused of deliberately spreading the plague) Manzoni painstakingly criticised the complacency of history and historians who, never querying whether justice had been miscarried, had “unthinkingly collaborated in forging new links in the chain of error”.¹³⁵⁵ We would do well to heed Manzoni's advice regarding the perils of history and the ethical responsibility of the historian. Cesare Beccaria's name, like many others, has and continues to be used in contemporary political rhetoric as a figure of historical legitimacy, above all in recent years by those striving to defend the legitimacy of the second amendment. Yet, while Cesare Beccaria now has a resplendent sepulchre, the question remains of whether it is indeed in the right place. Although his abolitionist views were radical and effected vast legislative and ideological change, it is their relationship to Beccaria's wider programme of societal reform which is truly remarkable and which has the greatest resonance in 2017. In the shadow of Brexit and the inauguration of Donald Trump, and in a world increasingly divided and institutionalised between rich and poor, restoring Beccaria's contribution as a philosopher-administrator would seem to be particularly salient. In fact, it is remarkable that he has not already been co-opted by the Neoliberal camp. While Beccaria was no socialist, no feminist, no true humanitarian, nor believer in a proto-welfare state, his vision of society – his belief in equality in inequality – nonetheless offered the equal opportunity to pursue happiness to all individuals. If Beccaria is to continue to play a political role in our modern world, it is

¹³⁵⁵ Alessandro Manzoni, *The betrothed: and History of the column of infamy*, eds. David Forgacs and Matthew Reynolds, (London: Dent, 1997), xxv.

perhaps more apt to use his name to call for social justice, not just in criminal law, but with regards to poverty, education and the eradication of inopportunity. Access, be it perceived today in terms of medical care, legal services, education or gendered working rights, and which is denied to millions across the globe, was pivotal to Beccaria's conception of the social contract and the nature of the economy. If, as his grandson argued, it is the role of history not just to recount the most brilliant and famous of actions, but to recover the "forgotten millions", we would be well served by placing greater emphasis on Beccaria's neglected calls for a society free of institutional prejudice and privilege. Though perhaps less so for those whose hopes still burn for the welfare state.

Placing Beccaria in the Enlightenment: The contribution of the thesis

This thesis has sought to recover Cesare Beccaria's identity as a philosopher, both on the page and in practice. It is not, by far, the first work to acknowledge Cesare Beccaria's contribution as a philosopher. However, it is part of a nascent collection of studies which attempt to piece together the complicated relationship between Beccaria's philosophy, its intellectual origins and his administrative practices. In so doing, perhaps the most important contribution of this thesis is revealing previously overlooked intellectual connections to Cesare Beccaria. Though only first steps into addressing these links have been taken here, they have been shown to be significant enough to demand further dedicated research and these new directions will hopefully give rise to even greater scrutiny of Beccaria's intellectual identity in the future, producing an ever more complex account of his intellectual history. Two of these connections stand out in particular, the first being Beccaria's relationship to the physiocrats. While Beccaria by no means espoused physiocratic values, the degree of his interaction with physiocratic literature and its proponents reveals an underlying tension which calls for greater investigation into which elements of Physiocracy Beccaria embraced and what he thought Physiocracy could offer his own political philosophy. Moreover, it raises larger questions regarding the reception of Physiocracy in Italy, so commonly seen as being rejected outright by Italian economists such as Genovesi and Verri, and subsequently draws attention to the various manipulations and forms of physiocratic doctrines that existed across Europe. As we have already seen, Beccaria's writings severely disappointed the French physiocrats, however would his approach have had more resonance with other mediated forms of Physiocracy, such as that

practised by Ferdinando Paoletti in the Tuscany of Leopold II, or the physiocracy *lite* of Filangieri? Secondly, uncovering the links between Beccaria and Buffon indicates that exploration into Beccaria's involvement in anthropological discussions, above all the circulation of ideas taking place within networks spanning across France, the Swiss territories and the Italian peninsula regarding the origins and development of man, and the essence of human nature, will serve to deepen our understanding of not only the origins of Beccaria's philosophy, but also the discussions with which his work was intended to be in dialogue. However, pursuing these links serves a broader purpose than just refining Beccaria's own intellectual history. On the one hand, Beccaria's interaction with these traditions and individuals demonstrates a high degree of intellectual fluidity, whereby we see the perceived compatibility of political philosophy with economic and anthropological thought. The example of Beccaria and the interconnectedness of the individuals in his intellectual networks suggests that this interaction could be mapped for other Enlightenment figures, especially those in the Swiss-French-Italian networks mentioned above, whose works can also be read in the context of these debates. On the other hand, these connections help to contribute to our understanding of the intellectual backbone of the Lombard Enlightenment. After all, Beccaria was not the only Milanese reformer within these intellectual networks and we see that many of the publications and ideas being circulated were passing through the hands of Beccaria's Lombard friends and colleagues. We can thus safely assume that Beccaria was representative of wider Milanese intellectual interests and changing cultural tastes and if this line were pursued further, one would hope to build a clearer picture of not only the more specific reading culture in Milan, but exactly which individuals were responsible for propagating which ideas and in which variations, translations and interpretations. For instance, while it is often remarked that the Scottish school of economics had little impact in Italy and that Anglophone works were not readily available – as evidenced by the fact that Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* was only translated into Italian in 1790 –, Beccaria's networks demonstrate that French translations of this literature were circulating. What then, can we conclude about the reception of Anglo thought via French translation? Moreover, what effect did the Anglophilia of the Verri brothers have on this reception? Did their exposure to the English language once again transform or alter the consumption of French translations? Furthermore, what was the impact of Pietro Moscati's translation of Buffon's work and other subsequent translations and editions made by the Galeazzi publishing house? These questions all tie into the

broader query underlying much of this research: can we begin to make conclusions as to the existence of a uniquely Lombard interpretation of key doctrines through the mediation of translations and subsequent writings of the Illuministi? The research pursued in this thesis would suggest that this is a valuable line of enquiry and one which demonstrates the importance of translation studies and book history in both exacting intellectual history practices and as a crucial methodology in rebuilding peripheral Enlightenment experiences.

It is only through these new connections that it has been possible to argue that Beccaria's philosophy is the product of intellectual traditions which have been greatly overlooked. However, the close reading of Beccaria's opus has likewise raised questions regarding Beccaria's intellectual heritage. As a result, this research has sought to present an alternate reading of Cesare Beccaria's political philosophy, which argues that Beccaria presented a more cohesive social criticism than has often been claimed. The social contract that he presents and the roles of public utility and individual liberty within it, draw Beccaria away from both the utilitarian and contractarian traditions – from Locke, Condillac and Helvétius, especially – and towards alternate intellectual threads, including the sensationist views arising from the life sciences as encapsulated by Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* and Pietro Moscati's vitalism, and the physiocratic interpretations of the motivating force of pain and pleasure. This conclusion demands rethinking Beccaria's place in the intellectual history of the Enlightenment and his thought, though not unusual in its interaction with anthropological concepts, indicates that the spread of this anthropological literature in Lombardy was perhaps more pervasive and foundational than has been previously noted. Although it is well recorded that the *Il Caffè* group rallied behind Moscati and celebrated Buffon, Beccaria's work indicates that the involvement of the Illuministi with these debates went far beyond the promotion of vitalist materials, to the active intellectual interrogation of this doctrine.

However, there are two aspects of Beccaria's thought which are particularly important in reassessing his role in the Enlightenment. Firstly, his hesitancy regarding inoculation is not only the pivotal point at which we witness him cement his commitment to individual liberty over utility, but is also where we truly understand the sense of real-life application that underlines his work. Likewise, Beccaria's attitude towards poverty and its remedy demonstrates the extent to which he strove to secure the terms of the social contract.

These factors are not only striking in their internal coherence, but because they document changing attitudes towards welfare and increasing reflection on the difficulty of implementing social provisions; concerns which were at the same time both academic and political and which were characteristic of the transition in the final decades of the eighteenth century in Italy towards fair institutional reform, as well as more general European debates on the practicalities of social justice. Moreover, it is these two examples that are pivotal in making the case for reinterpreting Beccaria as a practical philosopher. The coherence in Beccaria's vision and application of the social contract indicates that he consistently interpreted his philosophy to be of practical orientation. His intention was neither to contribute to the body of human knowledge, nor to augment how we interpret this knowledge, but to bring about genuine reform. While many of Beccaria's intellectual influences are clear, his purpose shifts him away from the majority of these Enlightenment figures, whose contributions rather served to effect moral and intellectual change on a higher plane. Although these were often more radical proposals than the ultimately moderate enlightened absolutist values espoused by Beccaria, his philosophy was less concerned with shifting the way in which we think about the world, than with how we live, have lived and ought to live in it. In so doing, Beccaria successfully straddled two spheres: that of the philosopher proper, as witnessed by his intellectual dialogue with other philosophical discussions of the day, and that of the administrator, a character whose hands are always tied by the sensitivities of the environment, human nature and the status quo. He was ultimately a philosopher, but a philosopher primarily concerned, to borrow the *Il Caffè* maxim, *cose non parole*. Such pragmatism is not ideologically void, but it does jettison idealism. Philosophy, as based upon the nature of humanity, was to serve this same humanity in tangible ways and Beccaria's philosophy is consequently one of limits, caution and context, which confounds the tropes of reason, calculability, individualism and universalism levelled against much Enlightenment thought. After all, there was nothing abstract in the philosophy that Beccaria presented. The biggest contender for abstraction, the social contract, was accompanied by a detailed anthropological account of human history. His reflections on the mind were based upon a physiological understanding of the senses. His interpretation of happiness was grounded in the natural human desire to avoid pain and was presented in terms of economic opportunity. All were the products of experience and observation, and differed according to period, individual, and location. Nor did Beccaria ever deviate from the practical concerns of man. God, the soul, the utopian

state, morals – all were absent from Beccaria’s writings, not as a matter of principle, but because they were superfluous to the most basic of reforms. There is ultimately nothing ideal about Beccaria’s society. Although it is equal in the distribution of inequality, it remains inequitable.

This attitude draws Beccaria closer to groups whose receptiveness to traditional political philosophy had provoked similar concerns for the here and now, not only with regards to the more lofty deliberations on the structure of government, but in the nuts and bolts of administration and provision of resources and services. Proponents of a “Pragmatic Enlightenment” who, as Rasmussen has argued, were more “realistic, moderate, flexible, and contextually sensitive”.¹³⁵⁶ As have recurred throughout this thesis, the physiocrats were but one collective who, like Beccaria, hoped to attend to both the high and low, but we can find similar pragmatic objectives among the likes of Sonnenfels, Justi, Diderot, Adam Smith, David Hume and to a lesser extent Montesquieu and Voltaire. However, the similarities are not merely found in their intentions, but also in their use of innate human nature as the source for a social regime. Again, it was the physiocrats who, like Beccaria, proposed an entire economic system which pivoted around humankind’s response to pain and pleasure. The origins of their interpretations of human nature were above all found in the natural and life sciences, and these accounts encouraged a greater sensitivity to history and context and challenged the primacy of a priori principles. Beccaria is thus representative of a broader shift in the late eighteenth century towards what we could anachronously call interdisciplinarity. Both as philosopher and administrator, Beccaria intellectually borrowed from traditions which were more frequently being interpreted as complementary, but due to the increasing delineation of the disciplines, were at the same time becoming more distinct. One thread which runs throughout this thesis is the degree of connectivity between the themes and individuals who feature in Beccaria’s world. This was not merely the Republic of Letters at work, but was an active attempt by many of these individuals to address the growing dissatisfaction they experienced with some of the values and directions of the Enlightenment itself, and to seek alternatives. They were, of course, products of this Enlightenment, nurtured on its intellectual traditions and epistemologies, but they also craved an Enlightenment which played out in the universities and other

¹³⁵⁶Denis C. Rasmussen, *The Pragmatic Enlightenment: Recovering the Liberalism of Hume, Smith, Montesquieu, and Voltaire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1.

public institutions and which embraced forms of knowledge and knowledge producers from a broader spectrum of society. Their connections enabled this and would go on to further complicate the nature of the Enlightenment. This research thus presents an individual whose thought and actions raise questions not only regarding his own place in the Enlightenment, but the very places where the Enlightenment might be found.

Not only does this account demonstrate the benefit of interpreting the Enlightenment more generally as a set of both practices and ideas, reframing Beccaria as a philosopher-administrator helps to refine our understandings of the Lombard Enlightenment and the nature of Habsburg enlightened absolutism. Importantly, it distinguishes Beccaria from the proponents of other regional Italian Enlightenments, the Napolitan Enlightenment in particular which, resting upon very different intellectual premises to its Lombard counterpart, was directed towards “the reasonable utopia of the way things *ought to be*, towards a fair and just model of society intended to embrace all”.¹³⁵⁷ However, while Beccaria is in many ways exemplary of many of the characteristics of this regional Enlightenment, this research has revealed some elements, above all through Beccaria’s intellectual connections, which would be important to examine with regards to other Lombard reformers. While it is commonplace to state that the Lombard Enlightenment was both patriotic and cosmopolitan, and that it was greatly shaped by the influx of French publications via the Swiss booktrade, some subtleties we have noted in Beccaria’s networks, such as the overwhelming prevalence of French translations of English texts in Beccaria’s biblioscope; the informal and formal intellectual cooperation he maintained with university professors as an administrator; and the clear preference for anthropological, as opposed to mathematical ideas in his political philosophical thought, might help to hone in on some narrower but intellectually and culturally important facets of the Lombard Enlightenment and help to soften some of the historiographical tropes which risk oversimplifying this phenomenon before it even reaches mainstream English-language historical writing. Moreover, Beccaria’s networks have shown that while Milan remained in many ways politically impotent, it was deeply imbedded in a cross-cultural exchange of ideas which, it is arguable, provided the intellectual foment to both live harmoniously within the bounds of enlightened absolutism and begin to challenge its very underpinnings.

¹³⁵⁷ Vincenzo Ferrone and Sophus A. Reinert, *The Politics of Enlightenment: Constitutionalism, Republicanism, and the Rights of Man in Gaetano Filangieri*, 219.

However, despite exposure to ideas and literature reflective of changing political climates across Europe, what is striking about Beccaria is his political temperance. Beccaria never questioned his collaboration with the Habsburgs and his writings and policy always sought to work with enlightened absolutism. This is perhaps what distinguishes him as representing the apex of Lombard Enlightenment values. Working as a Habsburg functionary right at the cusp of dramatic political change across Europe, Beccaria did not, unlike many of his colleagues, display any significant turning point in either attitude or activity, away from enlightened absolutism, cooperation and reform. It is of great significance that we know nothing of Beccaria's response to the French Revolution, as was furiously supported by many of his Milanese colleagues, and it is of even greater note that he died just before the Napoleonic conquest and foundation of the Cisalpine Republic, an event which triggered a new period of Lombard political activism. We see this clearly in Verri's calls for Beccaria's monument. Written only two years after Beccaria's death, we are presented with this new Milan, distinctly evolved from its Habsburg predecessor and which now needed to acknowledge the vestiges of the Lombard Enlightenment in order to progress towards an independent Italy. The "first steps of the French in their revolution was to honour Voltaire and Rousseau", claimed Verri, and it is in this spirit that he rallies behind Beccaria's monument, claiming that it is only by honouring the *lumi* who "know the intimate connection between the progress of reason and the public happiness" that citizens can be encouraged to embark upon the "honoured careers of the sciences". While Beccaria captured the essence of this short-lived but ultimately productive Enlightenment and although he and Pietro Verri were intellectual collaborators, friends, even family, unlike Pietro he was not part of this new revolutionary political class attempting to overthrow the shackles of Habsburg and Napoleonic rule, and ultimately campaign for a unified Italy. What he represented – public utility, reason, public happiness – had transformed Milan, but it was now time, as Verri claims, to usher in a new dawn ("Nella Lombardia spunta l'aurora di un nuovo giorno"). Beccaria thus helps us to narrow the temporality of this Enlightenment to the final decades of the eighteenth century, roughly from 1760 to 1794, after which Lombardy was thrown into an entirely new political constellation, incompatible with the philosophy of governance that Beccaria had made his own.

While Beccaria's administrative career helps us to reconsider the dimensions of the Lombard Enlightenment, his networks and correspondence contribute to thickening our

understanding of the meaning and functioning of the Republic of Letters in Enlightenment peripheries. The reality that Cesare Beccaria maintained a healthy correspondence with administrative officials, Philosophes, religious figures and close intellectual colleagues alike, and forged extensive connections to booksellers, the majority of whom were responsible for sourcing books which could not be easily found on the Milanese market, is not only important for reassessing Beccaria's participation in the Republic of Letters, but provides a valuable account of how individuals located outside of the Enlightenment centres often held diverse understandings of the role and duties of this Republic, as well as the epistolary practices they employed to counteract the effects of geographical distance. What is perhaps most striking, is the reality that Beccaria's participation in the Republic of Letters was entirely accepted and his involvement in this community was never questioned, despite not adhering to much of the etiquette proscribed in contemporary rhetoric. It indicates that there was, beyond the Republic of Letters *ideal*, a functioning Republic formed of smaller, interlinked networks, which had developed sophisticated literary and sociological strategies for counteracting the fracture between ideal and reality. While Beccaria's location in the periphery demanded a different form of maneuvering within the Republic, above all in how he used his connections, he was by no means peripheral in the perception of his peers.

This point links to the contribution of this research to the growing body of intellectual histories based upon non-textual study and which acknowledge the existence of authorial intention in traditionally more functional documents. Without mapping Beccaria's correspondence, generating his imagined intellectual networks and biblioscape, or scouring his administrative records, the significance of his philosophical coherence would be much reduced. While there has always been great speculation surrounding whether Beccaria's theory carried over into practice, it is only by moving away from his published works that we see not only the extent to which this is the case, but are also made aware of new interpretative directions for examining Beccaria's work in the future. Many of the methods used in this thesis have arisen from Beccaria's incomplete correspondence and archival collections and which may have resonance for other intellectual histories facing similar challenges with sources. The biblioscape, for example, has served to compensate for the lack of direct references left by Beccaria, a scenario which is all too common in the early modern period. However, it goes beyond purely filling a gap. The biblioscape has introduced new connections which have greatly altered the conclusions made in this study

and, with the development of new network analysis tools such as Palladio, the biblioscope can be greatly expanded and layered so as to show temporality, connections between the texts and authors within the network, and detailed information as to the individuals involved in the circulation of these texts and the routes by which they made their way into Beccaria's hands. To my mind, this is an exciting demonstration of how digital tools are resculpting historical inquiry and helping to uncover the complicated links between ideas, texts, practices and the people and institutions making, altering and circulating them. This, I believe, is the next step for this research and is an approach that promises to benefit intellectual history more generally.

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– Appendix –

(i) The creation of Beccaria’s correspondence maps

The maps have been created using the 1724, *Carte d’Europe* by Guillaume Delisle, complete with additions by Delisle’s protégé, Philippe Buache in 1760 and 1769.¹³⁵⁸ In order to transform this map into a geo-located basemap, it was first converted into raster tiles and then geo-referenced,¹³⁵⁹ in order to realign the locations on Delisle’s map with the actual geographical locations as provided by GPS technology. The dates of Buache’s revisions are one reason for using Delisle’s map, as they correspond to the dates of Beccaria’s correspondence. Of equal importance, is the popularity of Delisle’s maps during the eighteenth century, in part due to his extensive and innovative mapping of the Americas.¹³⁶⁰ A former student of Jean-Dominique Cassini, member of the Académie Royale des Sciences, and appointed as the French Royal geographer in 1718, Delisle was renowned for the accuracy of his work and has been heralded as the first “scientific” cartographer, thanks to his reliance on empirical observation and topography as the foundations of his drawings.¹³⁶¹ The map used here is from an early edition of Delisle’s untitled atlas published in Paris, which was subsequently copied by numerous printers and mapmakers, some of whom we can trace trading in Italy.¹³⁶² Throughout the century, Delisle’s map appeared in

¹³⁵⁸ Guillaume Delisle and Philippe Buache, “Carte d’Europe (S.l, 1769)”, Library of Congress, available at www.loc.gov/item/97683588/. The cartouche states: “Carte d’Europe. Dressée pour l’Usage du Roy sur les Itinéraires anciens et modernes et sur les Routiers de mer assujetés aux observations astronomiques. Par G. Delisle Premier Géographe de S.M. de l’Académie Royale des Sciences A PARIS. Chez l’Auteur, Rue du Foin, avec Privilège, May 1724. Augumentée des Nouvelles connoissances Géographiques par Phil. Buache Gendre de L’Auteur. Janvier 1760 et 1769.”

¹³⁵⁹ All the digital tools used in this thesis have been consciously chosen as open-access platforms. To create the maps www.mapbox.com and www.maptiler.com have been used.

¹³⁶⁰ His maps of America contain many innovations: discarding the fallacy of California as an island, first naming of Texas, first correct delineation of the Mississippi Valley, and first correct longitudes of America.

¹³⁶¹ Elegy by Fontenelle: “M. Delisle n’étoit pas de ces maîtres ordinaires, qui n’en scayent qu’autant qu’il faut pour débiter à un écolier ce qu’il ne scavoit pas: il possédoit à fond les sciences dont il faisoit profession.” Available at:

www.academie-sciences.fr/pdf/dossiers/Fontenelle/font_pdf/p75_85_vol3588.pdf

¹³⁶² Christine Marie Petto, *When France was King of Cartography: The Patronage and Production of Maps in Early Modern France* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007), 158–161. Plagiarism was a point of great contention for Delisle. For discussion of Pierre Mortier’s copies of Delisle’s maps being sold under the name De Fer in Italy, see Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 105–6.

countless incarnations and revisions, and its preservation in many library collections today testifies to its extensive reproduction and dissemination, suggesting that Delisle's depiction of Europe (or something close to it depending on the imitation), would have been familiar, via original or copy, to Cesare Beccaria. Although we cannot claim that Beccaria owned any of Delisle's works, we can assume, based upon the map trade at the time, that Beccaria would have been familiar with derivatives of Delisle's map, if not the original itself. We can confirm, using the STN database, that in the years 1769–1794, there was an extensive trade in atlases between Paris, Neuchâtel, and Naples, Florence, Rome, Venice and Turin and that some of the booksellers and traders whom Beccaria used to source publications, such as Claude Philibert (who was the partner of Barthélemy Chirol, who will be focused on later in this chapter, and whose intermediary, Jean Signoret in Turin, was also one of Beccaria's correspondents), were among the subscribers to Robert Vaugondy's *Atlas Universel*, which had used Delisle's original maps as a crucial source. Consequently, having been produced by one of most popular cartographers of the eighteenth century, whose work was among the most widely disseminated during the period, and having been revised twice within the second half of the century, Delisle's map is a safe example of a contemporary vision of Europe available during Beccaria's lifetime.¹³⁶³ The reasons for using a geo-referenced historical map are twofold. On the one hand, by using a map whose image of Europe was probably familiar to Beccaria, we begin to see the Europe that Beccaria would have physically and mentally experienced: where he thought his correspondents were located, the cities of greatest importance and the boundaries of European territories of the period. The choice of which cities were included or excluded from Delisle's map, represented by which symbols, the size of their name and which topographical aspects of terrain were mapped, are all important elements which reflect eighteenth-century perceptions of Europe. Additionally, as place names and borders have changed significantly since Beccaria's lifetime, this map helps provide a degree of accuracy as to the political geography of the time, especially regarding Prussia, the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire, amongst other since superseded territories. To map

¹³⁶³ This is not necessarily unusual as, despite the growing availability of maps and atlases throughout the eighteenth century, they were still a luxury item which the majority could not afford. On average, maps cost around 2–3 livres per sheet, less if one subscribed to an entire atlas. R. Julien's *Atlas Géographique et Topographique* for example, cost 18 livres for part one alone. See Mary Sponberg Pedley, "The Subscription List of the 1757 *Atlas Universel*: A Study in Cartographic Dissemination," *Imago Mundi*, vol. 31 (1979): 66–77.

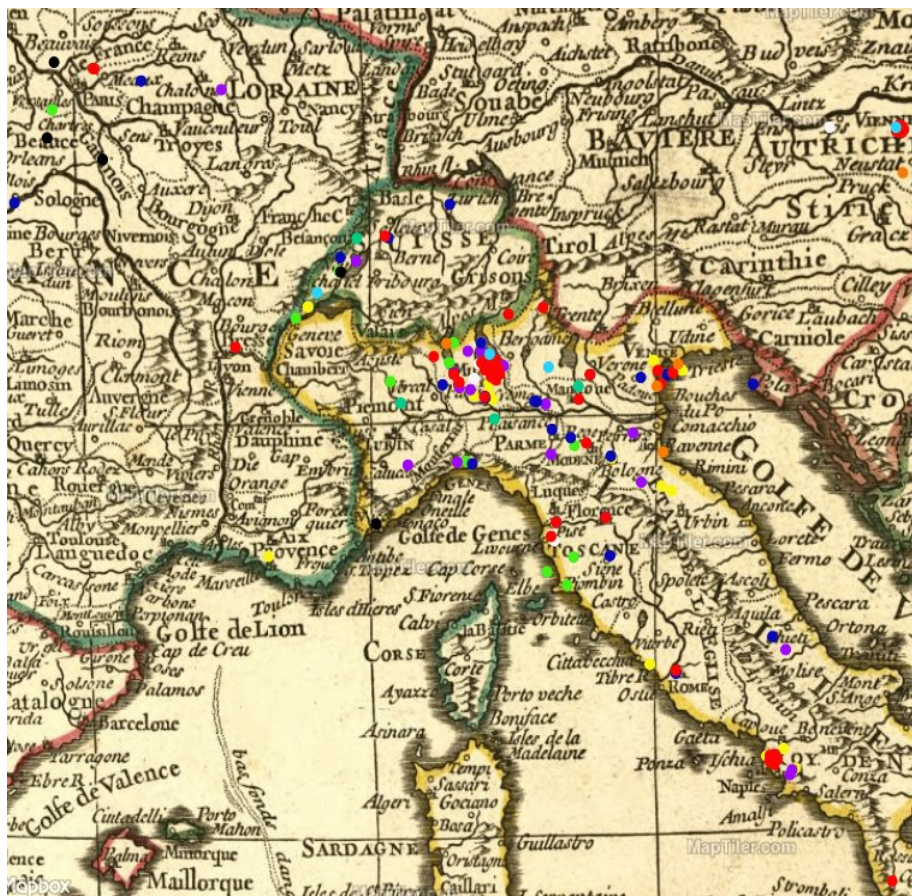
Beccaria's correspondence on a modern map would misleadingly situate many locations within contemporary boundaries, denying the significance of eighteenth-century political geography for Beccaria's correspondence. On the other hand, geo-referencing helps us to address the spatial element of Beccaria's correspondence. In a world where transport and communication were heavily restricted by physical geography, it is important to have a more exact understanding of the distances between locations, regions and countries, as would have been physically experienced by Beccaria and his correspondents. While this physicality was not necessarily felt through actual travel (Beccaria, for one, was particularly untraveled for his milieu), it greatly affected the speed, frequency and possibility of maintaining epistolary relationships, and resulted in heavily mediated forms of communication as letters and goods often had to pass through multiple hands and locations before reaching their desired destination. While not addressed here, it would be possible to compare the geographical distribution of Beccaria's correspondents to the postal route maps of the period, in order to understand the extent to which these material considerations affected correspondence flows. Consequently, the following maps intend to preserve both historical and spatial accuracy, presenting the two Europes which Beccaria would have experienced, political and spatial, on a single map. Contrary to standard digital mapping practice, I have chosen to keep the original Delisle basemap in the following visualisations rather than use a current, more legible map (using the original warps the map, causing a degree of distortion). This decision means that while the locations are correct by today's geographical standards, thus depicting actual physical distances, the impressionistic elements of the map are preserved, which demonstrate the perceptions of Europe at the time as shown through visual elements such as symbols, font size and place name omission, all of which are lost in modern maps, as well as the territorial boundaries of the period. This decision contradicts many methodological guidelines for these digital tools, but I firmly believe that there is more to be gained by this historical visual context, than is to be lost in terms of clarity. Nonetheless, it must be noted that the conversion of these maps from digital to print format loses some accuracy. As we are unable to fully explore the maps at various levels of detail, as possible online, some markers inevitably overlap one another. Regardless, the maps still articulate the main trends in geographical distribution and where greater detail is important, I have provided close-up extracts from the larger visualisations.

(ii) Table of Beccaria's correspondent groups by period and percentage of period

Types of Correspondent	Number 1758–1768	Number 1769–1794	Total number 1758–1794	As percentage of total 1758–1768	As percentage of total 1769–1794	As percentage of total 1758–1794
Political figures, representatives of administrative and government bodies, jurists, diplomatic and military persons	10	56	60	14.5%	32.4%	26.9%
University Professors, Scholars, doctors, Savants	15	29	39	19.7%	16.7%	17.5%
Miscellaneous	9	19	27	11.9%	11%	12.1%
Booksellers, Publishers, Editors, Intermediaries, Go-betweens, Brokers, Merchants	13	13	23	17%	7.5%	10.3%
Religious figures or members of religious orders	3	20	22	3.9%	11.6%	9.9%
Nobility and Important Families	4	10	14	5.3%	5.8%	6.3%
Family	3	10	11	3.9%	5.8%	4.9%
Beccaria's close intellectual circle (<i>Accademia dei Pugni</i> and <i>Il Caffè</i>)	9	6	11	11.8%	3.5%	4.9%
Philosophes	5	6	9	6.6%	3.5%	4.0%
Representatives of Academic Societies	5	4	7	6.6%	2.3%	3.1%



(iii) Map of professional groups in Northern Italy and Swiss territories 1758-1768



(iv) Map of professional groups in Northern Italy and Swiss territories 1769-1794



(v) Map of University Professors, scholars, doctors and savants 1758–1794

(vi) Table showing Beccaria's total biblioscope.

Suffix keys:

S: books that Beccaria owned (from the catalogue of books sold to Reycends)

M: books from leaving the family home

P: books that booksellers sent to Beccaria

B: titles that Beccaria cited, recommended or sent

C: titles that correspondents cited, recommended or sent

R: unfulfilled requests for books that Beccaria sent to booksellers

*: Either sent by a correspondent to Beccaria or sent by Beccaria to a correspondent

Author and Text (where known)	Type	Number of occurrences	Language
"Almanach des Muses"	Cited by correspondent	1	French
"Annales politiques, civiles et littéraires du dix-huitième siècle"	Cited by correspondent	1	French
"Éphémérides du citoyen"* (C, S)	Combined	6	French
"Estratto della letteratura europea" (C, S)	Combined	4	Italian
"Europa letteraria"	From bookseller	1	Italian
"Filalete Ateniese", <i>Quanto il rispetto/ pei/ costumi contribuisce alla felicità/ d'uno Stato*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
"Gazzetta letteraria di Milano"	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
"Gazzetta Letteraria"	Cited by Beccaria	1	Italian
"Gazzetta Toscana"	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
"Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen"	Cited by correspondent	1	German
"Il Caffè"	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
"Journal encyclopédique" (B, C)	Combined	2	French
"L'estratto della letteratura europea"	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
"Mercure de France"*	Cited by correspondent	1	French
"Notizie de' letterati di Palermo"	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
"Notizie del mondo"	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
"Notizie letterarie oltramontane"	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
"Novelle letterarie"	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
"Opuscoli scelti sulle scienze e sulle arti"	Cited by Beccaria	1	Italian
"The Spectator"	Cited by Beccaria	1	English
Accarias de Serionne, Jacques, <i>L'intérêts des nations de l'Europe, développés relativement au commerce</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Addison, Joseph & Seigneux de Correvon, Gabriel, <i>De la religion chrétienne, traduit de l'anglois de Monsieur Addison, avec un discours préliminaire, des notices et dissertations du traducteur</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Aesop, <i>Aesopi Phrygis, et aliorum fabulae</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Agnesi, Maria Gactana	Cited by correspondent	1	
Agrippa von Nettesheim, Heinrich Cornelius, <i>Henrici Cornelii Agrippae ab Nettesheim... Opera omnia</i>	From bookseller	1	Latin
Alcuni autori classici (Omero, Catullo e Tibullo, Cornelio nipote)	Books from the family home	1	Latin
Algarotti, Francesco, <i>Epistole in versi</i>	Books from the family home	1	Italian
Algarotti, Francesco, <i>Il congresso di Citera calamo ludimus</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Algarotti, Francesco, <i>Opere</i>	Combined	3	Italian
Algarotti, Francesco; Bettinelli, Saverio & Frugoni, Carlo	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian

Innocenzo, <i>Lettere di Virgilio</i>			
Algarotti, Francesco; Bettinelli, Saverio & Frugoni, Carlo Innocenzo, <i>Versi sciolti di tre eccellenti moderni autori</i>	Books from the family home	1	Italian
Alighieri, Dante	Cited by correspondent	1	
Allegrini, Giuseppe, <i>Serie di ritratti d'uomini illustri toscani con gli elogi istorici dei medesimi consacrata a Sua Altezza Reale il serenissimo Pietro Leopoldo</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Alléon Dulac, Jean-Louis, <i>Mélanges d'histoire naturelle</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Alletz, Pons-Augustin, <i>Magazin énigmatique, contenant un grand nombre d'énigmes</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Alletz, Pons-Augustin, <i>Tableau de l'histoire de France</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Amelot de la Houssaye, Nicolas, <i>Histoire du gouvernement de Venise avec le supplément et l'examen de la liberté originaire, avec des notes historiques et politiques</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Amidei, Cosimo, <i>Discorso filosofico-politico sopra la carcere dei debitori</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Ammianus Marcellinus	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
André, Yves Marie, <i>Traité de l'homme par les différentes merveilles qui le composent (C, P)</i>	Combined	2	French
Anquetil, Louis-Pierre, <i>L'esprit de la Ligue, ou Histoire politique des troubles de la Ligue pendant les XVI et XVII siècles</i>	From bookseller	2	French
Ansaldi, Casto Innocente, <i>Riflessioni sopra i mezzi di perfezionare la filosofia morale*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Antonini, Annibale, <i>Dictionnaire italien, latin, et françois contenant, non seulement un abrégé du dictionnaire des la Crusca, mais encore tout ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans les meilleurs lexicographes, etymologistes & glossaires, qui ont paru en différentes langues</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Anunciação, Miguel da, <i>Collecção Das Leys, Promulgadas, E Sentenças Proferidas Nos Casos Da Infame Pastoral</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Portuguese
Anville, Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d', <i>Nouvel Atlas de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise et du Thibet</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Aretino, Pietro, <i>Ragionamento e dialogo</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Argens, Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, <i>Philosophie du bon sens</i>	Books from the family home	1	French
Ariani, Agostino	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Ariani, Vincenzo, <i>Vincentii Ariani Augustini f. jurisconsulti Commentarius de claris jureconsultis neapolitanis, ac de iis praesertim, qui superiore saeculo, et hac nostra aetate floruerunt. Ad amplissimum Turicti ducem Josephum Caravitam*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Aristotle, <i>Politica</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Arnaud, François-Thomas-Marie de Baculard d', <i>Les Amants malheureux, ou le compte de Comminge</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Arnaud, François-Thomas-Marie de Baculard d', <i>Lucie et Mélanie, ou les deux soeurs généreuses, anecdote historique</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Arrighi-Landini, Orazio, <i>Il Tempio della filosofia... in cui s'illustra il sepolcro d'Isacco Newton</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Assemani, Giuseppe Simone, <i>Kalendaria ecclesiae universae</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
<i>Atlante</i>	Books from the family home	1	Italian
Augustine of Hippo, <i>D. Aurelii Augustini... Libri XIII confessionum</i>	Books sold to Reycends	2	Latin
Autrey, Henri-Jean-Baptiste Fabry de Moncault, <i>Justification de l'Antiquité dévoilée</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Bacon, Francis, <i>Francisci Baconi... Opera omnia, cum novo eoque insigni augmento tractatum hactenus ineditorum et ex idiomate anglicano in latinum sermonem translatorum, opera Simonis Jobannis Arnoldi</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	Latin
Bacon, Francis, <i>Opere di Bacon di Verulamio (B, C)</i>	Combined	3	Italian

Baldinucci, Filippo, <i>Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*</i> (C, S)	Combined	2	Italian
Barbaro di Cavarzere, Giovan Battista	Cited by correspondent	1	
Barbeau du Bourg, Jacques, <i>Le botaniste français, comprenant toutes les plantes communes et usuelles disposées suivant une nouvelle méthode et décrites en langue vulgaire</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Barrow, John, <i>Abrégé chronologique, ou Histoire des découvertes faites par les Européens dans les différents parties du monde</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Barthélemy, Jean-Jacques, <i>Les amours de Carité et de Polydore</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Basile, Giovanni Battista, <i>Il Pentamerone del cavalier Giovan Battista Basile overo lo Cunto de le cunte, trattenimento de' li peccerille di Gian Alesio Abbattutis</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Basile, Giovanni Battista, <i>La Chiaqlira dla Banzola o per dir mü Fol divers tradutt dal parlar Napulitan in lengua Bulghesa per rimedi innucent dla sonn, e dla malincun*</i> (C, S)	Combined	2	Bolognese dialect
Bassi, Martino, <i>Dispareri in materia d'architettura, e prospettiva</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Bayle, Pierre, <i>Dictionnaire historique et critique</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Beaufort, Louis de, <i>La République romaine, ou Plan général de l'ancien gouvernement de Rom</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Beausobre, Isaac de, <i>Histoire critique de Maniché et du manichéisme</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Beausobre, Louis de, <i>Dissertation sur l'incertitude des 5 premiers siècles de l'histoire romaine</i> (P, S)	Combined	3	French
Beccaria, Cesare, <i>A discourse on public economy and commerce, by the Marquis Caesar Beccaria Bonesana</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	English
Beccaria, Cesare, <i>Del disordine e de' rimedi delle monete nello Stato di Milano nell'anno 1762</i> (B, C)	Combined	6	Italian
Beccaria, Cesare, <i>Discorso accademico sopra i titoli VI e VII del XLII delle Pandette*</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	Italian
Beccaria, Cesare, <i>Elementi di economia pubblica</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
Beccaria, Cesare, <i>Frammento sullo stile</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Beccaria, Cesare, <i>Prolusione nell'apertura della nuova cattedra di scienze camerali</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
Beccaria, Cesare, <i>Ricerche intorno alla natura dello stile*</i> (B, C)	Combined	26	Italian
Beccaria, Cesare, <i>Ripulimento delle nazioni</i> (B, C)	Combined	5	Italian
Belloni, Girolamo, <i>Marchionis Hieronymi Belloni De commercio dissertatio</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Bencivenni Pelli, Giuseppe, <i>Discorso della pena di morte stabilita per i delitti</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Bérault-Bercastel, Antoine-Henri de, <i>La conquête de la Terre promise, poème</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Bergier, Nicolas-Silvestre, <i>Le déisme réfuté par lui même, ou Examen des principes d'incrédulité répandus dans les divers ouvrages de M. Rousseau, en forme de lettres</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Bernouilli, Daniel	Cited by correspondent	1	
Bersezio, Gioachino Bonaventura Argentero, unknown translation of Cesare Beccaria's <i>Prolusione</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Bertolini, Stefano, <i>L'analyse raisonnée de L'Esprit des loix</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Bertrand, Élie, <i>Descriptions des arts et métiers faites ou approuvées par Messieurs de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris. Avec figures en tailles douces. Nouvelle édition publiée avec des observations . . . par J.-t. Bertrand, professeur en Belles-Lettres à Neuch.Atel, dans l'imprimerie de la Société Typographique</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Bertrand, Élie, <i>Recueil de divers traités sur l'histoire naturelle de la terre et des fossiles</i>	Cited by correspondent	3	French
Bertrand, Jean, <i>De l'esprit de la législation pour encourager l'agriculture</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Bianchi, Isidoro, <i>De existentia Dei dissertatio</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Bianchi, Isidoro, <i>Delle scienze e belle arti*</i> (B, C)	Combined	3	Italian

Bielfeld, Jacob Friedrich von, <i>Les premiers traits de l'érudition universelle</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Bigot de Sainte Croix, Louis-Claude, <i>AVIS au Roi sur la libre circulation des grains et la réduction naturelle des prix dans les années de cherté</i> in "Ephémérides du citoyen"*	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Bigot de Sainte Croix, Louis-Claude, <i>Discours prononcé le neuf janvier 1769 par M. le marquis César Beccaria Bonesana à l'ouverture de la nouvelle chaire d'Economie politique, fondée par S. M. l'Impératrice et Reine dans les Écoles Palatines de Milan</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Bitaubé, Paul-Jérémie, <i>De l'influence des belles-lettres sur la philosophie</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Bitaubé, Paul-Jérémie, <i>Joseph en neuf chants</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Blackstone, William, <i>Commentaries on the Laws of England*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	English
Blondel, Jacques-François, <i>De la distribution des maisons de plaisance</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Boari di Ferrara, Ottaviano, <i>De C. Plinii Caecilii Secundi Novocomensis testamentaria inscriptione Mediolanensibus adserta et illustrata dissertatio*</i> (C, S)	Combined	2	Latin
Boiardo, Matteo Maria, <i>Orlando innamorato</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Bonifacio, Giovanni, <i>L'arte de' cenni con la quale formandosi favella visibile, si tratta della muta eloquenza</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Bonnet, Charles	Cited by correspondent	2	
Bonnet, Charles, <i>Contemplation de la nature</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Bonnet, Charles, <i>Essai analytique sur les facultés de l'âme</i>	From bookseller	2	French
Bonnet, Charles, <i>Recherches philosophiques sur les preuves du Christianisme</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Borde, Charles, <i>Tableau philosophique de l'histoire du genre humain depuis l'origine du monde jusqu'à Constantin, traduit de l'anglais</i> (P, S)	Combined	2	French
Bošković, Ruđer Josip	Cited by correspondent	1	
Bottari, Giovanni Gaetano, <i>Dialoghi sopra le tre arti del disegno</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Botton di Castellamonte, Ugo Vincenzo, <i>Saggio sopra la politica e la legislazione romana*</i> (C, S)	Combined	3	Italian
Bottoni, Giuseppe, <i>Notti d'Young tradotte in verso libero dal dottor Giuseppe Bottoni*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Bougainville, Louis-Antoine de, <i>Traité du calcul intégral pour servir de suite à l'Analyse des infiniments petits de M. le marquis de l'Hôpital</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Bouillier, Lucie & Judith-Elisabeth, <i>Repsima, Essai d'une tragédie domestique</i> (C, P, S)	Combined	3	French
Boulanger, Nicolas-Antoine, <i>L'antiquité dévoilée par ses usages, ou Examen critique des principales opinions, cérémonies et institutions religieuses et politiques des différens peuples de la terre*</i> (C, P)	Combined	6	French
Boulanger, Nicolas-Antoine, <i>Recherches sur les origines du despotisme oriental</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Bourdelot, Pierre-Michon <i>Histoire de la musique et de ses effects</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Bourgelat, Claude, <i>Le nouveau Newcastle ou nouveau traité de cavalerie geometrique, theorique et pratique</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Branda, Paolo Onofrio, <i>In difesa di una breve iscrizione lettera seconda contro la risposta del signor canonico Gianandrea Irico dottore del Collegio Ambrosiano</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Brissot de Warville, Jean-Pierre, <i>Bibliothèque philosophique du législateur, du politique, du jurisconsulte, ou choix des meilleurs discours, dissertations, essais, fragmens, composés sur la législation criminelle par les plus célèbres écrivains, en françois, anglais, italien, allemand, espagnol etc. pour parvenir à la réforme des loix pénales dans tous les pays, traduits et accompagnés de notes et d'observations historiques*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Brissot de Warville, Jean-Pierre, <i>De la vérité ou méditations sur</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French

<i>les moyens de parvenir à la vérité dans toutes les connoissances humaines</i>			
Brissot de Warville, Jean-Pierre, <i>Théorie des loix criminelles*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Browne, Thomas & Merryweather, George, <i>Religio Medici</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	Latin
Bruno, Giordano, <i>De l'infinito universo et mundi*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Bruté de Loirelle, Abbé, <i>Les ennemis reconciliés, pièce drammatique</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Buffon, George-Louis Leclerc, <i>Histoire naturelle des Oiseaux</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Buffon, George-Louis Leclerc, <i>Histoire naturelle générale et particulière (B, C)</i>	Combined	5	French
Burke, Edmund & William, <i>Histoire des colonies européennes dans l'Amérique</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Burlamaqui, Jean-Jacques, <i>Principes du droit naturel et politique</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Burman, Pieter, <i>Petri Burmanni Vectigalia populi Romani..., sive Jupiter fulgurator in Cyrrbestarum nummis</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Busching, Antonio Federico, <i>Nuova geografia di Antonio Federigo Busching tradotta dalla lingua tedesca da F. Gaudioso Jagemann, Reggente di Studio dell'Ordine Agostiniano</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Calvin, Jean, <i>Lettres de Calvin a Jacque de Bourgogne, seigneur de Falais & de Bredam, & a son epouse Jolande de Brederode. Imprimees sur les originanx</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Calzabigi, Ranieri, <i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Cambiagi, Antonio; Moücke, Francesco; Lorenzi, Lorenzo & Vanni, Violante, <i>Storia naturale degli uccelli trattata con metodo e adornata di figure intagliate in rame e miniate al naturale (Ornithologia digesta atque iconibus aeneis ad vivum illuminatis ornata) (C, P)</i>	Combined	4	Italian
Camões, Luis Vaz de Obras* (C, S)	Combined	3	Portuguese
Campanella, Tommaso	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	
Canini, Giuseppe Maria, <i>Dissertazione istorica...sopra...l'artificial magnetismo</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Cappelli, Orazio Antonio, <i>Della legge di natura. Poema (C, S)</i>	Combined	2	Italian
Cappelli, Pancrazio, <i>Roma antica e moderna, o sia nuova descrizione di tutti gli edifici antichi e moderni, tanto sagri quanto profani della città di Roma</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Carcano, Francesco; Guilini, Giorgo & Imbonati, Giuseppe Maria, <i>Componimenti in morte del Conte Giuseppe Maria Imbonati</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Cardano, Girolamo, <i>Hieronimi Cardani... Opera omnia, tam haecenus excusa, hic tamen aucta et emendata, quam nunquam alias visa, ac primum ex auctoris ipsius autographis eruta</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Carli, Alessandro, <i>Ariarato*</i> (C, S)	Combined	2	Italian
Carli, Alessandro, <i>I longobardi*</i> (B, C)	Combined	2	Italian
Carli, Alessandro, <i>Telane ed Ermelinda (C, B, S)</i>	Combined	3	Italian
Carli, Gian Rinaldo	Cited by correspondent	2	
Carli, Gian Rinaldo, <i>Delle monete e dell'istituzione delle Zecche d'Italia</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
Carli, Gian Rinaldo, <i>Osservazioni preventive al piano intorno alle monete di Milano</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Carpani, Francesco, <i>Bilancio dello Stato di Milano</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Carpani, Francesco, <i>Risposta ad un amico sopra le monete dello Stato di Milano. Seconda edizione, coll'aggiunta d'una seconda lettera dell'autore*</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	Italian
Castel abbé de Saint-Pierre, Charles-Irénée, <i>Annales politiques</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	2	French
Castel abbé de Saint-Pierre, Charles-Irénée, <i>Ouvrages de l'abbé de St. Pierre</i>	From bookseller	1	French

Castelli, Niccolò, <i>La fontana della Crusca ovvero il Dizionario italiano tedesco e tedesco italiano</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Castiglione, Baldassare, <i>Il cortegiano</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Castillon, Jean-Louis, <i>Almanach philosophique</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Castillon, Jean-Louis, <i>Essais sur les erreurs et superstitions anciennes et modernes</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Catelliano Cotta, Antonio, <i>Statuta Mediol(an)i cum appostillis clarissimi viri iureconsulti Mediolanensis domini Catelliani Cottae in meliorem formam, quam antebac typis excusa, Quibus deinde copiosus adiectus est elenchus, una cum annotationibus quibusdam ad ipsa statuta maxime facientibus, an (sic) egregio iurecon. d. Antonio Rubeo nunc primum in lucem aeditus</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Cecil, Robert, <i>Correspondance secrette du chevalier Robert Cecil avec Jacques VI roi d'Ecosse. . . traduite de l'anglais</i>	From bookseller	2	French
Ceva, Tommaso, <i>Memorie d'alcune virtù del signor conte Francesco De Lemene</i>	Books from the family home	1	Italian
Chaillou de Lisy, Étienne, <i>Traité des délits et des peines, traduit de l'italien*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Chambers, Ephraim, <i>A Supplement to Mr Chambers's Cyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	English
Chambers, Ephraim, <i>Cyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	English
Charpentier, Louis, <i>Nouveaux contes moraux, ou Historiettes galantes et morales par M.C*** (C, R)</i>	Combined	2	French
Chastellux, François-Jean de, <i>De la félicité publique ou considérations sur le sort des hommes dans les différentes époques de l'histoire (C, S)</i>	Combined	2	French
Chaudon, Louis-Mayeul, <i>Nouveau dictionnaire historique portatif</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Chompré, Pierre, <i>Dictionnaire abrégé de la fable, pour l'intelligence des poètes, des tableaux & des statues dont les sujets sont tirés de l'histoire poétique</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Ciaraldi, Domenico, <i>Dissertazione morale politica sul problema se il lusso sia giovevole, o dannoso alle civili società</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Cicero	Cited by correspondent	1	
Cochin, Henri, <i>Œuvres de feu M. Cochin avocat au Parlement</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Collins, Anthony, <i>Discours sur la liberté de penser (C, P)</i>	Combined	2	French
Colonia, Dominique de, <i>De arte rhetorica libri quinque, lectissimis veterum auctorum aetatis aureae, pepetuisque exemplis illustrati</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Colpani, Giuseppe	Cited by correspondent	1	
Colpani, Giuseppe, <i>Dialoghi de' morti</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Colpani, Giuseppe, <i>L'Emilia</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Colpani, Giuseppe, <i>Poemetti e lettere in versi sciolti</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Condillac, Étienne Bonnot de	Cited by Beccaria	1	
Condillac, Étienne Bonnot de, <i>Cours d'études pour l'instruction du Prince de Parme</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Condillac, Étienne Bonnot de, <i>Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Constitutio criminalis Carolina</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Cristiani, Girolamo Francesco, <i>Utilità ed alla dilettazone de' modelli</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Croce, Giulio Cesare, <i>Le piacevoli, et ridicolose simplicità di Bertoldino. Figliuolo del già astuto, & accorto Bertoldo, con le sottili, & argute sentenze della Marcolfa sua madre, & moglie del già detto Bertoldo</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Cudworth, Ralph, <i>Systema intellectuale hujus universi, seu de veris naturae rerum originibus, cum commentario Jo[hannis] Laurent[is] Moshemii</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	Latin

Curiazio, Antonio Maria, <i>Tre lettere d'Anton Maria Curiazio</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Cyrano de Bergerac, Savinien de, <i>Les oeuvres diverses de monsieur Cyrano de Bergerac</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
D'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste le Rond	Cited by correspondent	1	French
D'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste le Rond, <i>Éléments de philosophie</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
D'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste le Rond, <i>Lettre a M. *** conseiller au Parlement de **** pour servir de supplément à l'ouvrage... qui a pour titre "sur la destruction des Jésuites en France" (C, P)</i>	Combined	4	French
D'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste le Rond, <i>Mélanges de littérature, d'histoire et de philosophie</i>	Cited by correspondent	4	French
D'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste le Rond, <i>Nouvelles recherches sur les verres appliqués</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
D'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste le Rond, <i>Opuscules mathématiques</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
D'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste le Rond, <i>Sur la destruction des Jésuites en France</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
D'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste le Rond, <i>Traité de l'équilibre et du mouvement des fluides, pour servir de suite au traité de dynamique</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
D'Antrain, Charuel, <i>La Rhétorique des savans</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
D'Auxiron, Claude-François-Joseph, <i>Principes de tout gouvernement</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
D'Eon de Beaumont, Charles-Geneviève-Louis-Auguste-André-Thunotée, <i>Lettres, mémoires et négociations particulières du Chevalier d'Eon avec MM. le duc de Praslin, de Nivernois, de Sainte Foy et Regnier de Guercy</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
D'Adda, Ferdinando, <i>Riflessioni critico-filosofiche esposte in dialoghi sopra diverse materie scientifiche e letterarie con un discorso preliminare sopra le opere di spirito</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
D'Arnay, Jean-Rodolphe, <i>De la vie privée des Romains</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
D'Ascoli, Francesco degli Stabili (Francesco degli Stabili), <i>Lo illustre poeta Ceco Dascoli con commento</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
De Beauregard, Claude Guillermet, <i>Circulus Pisanus . . . de veteri et peripatetica philosophia in tres libros Aristotelis de anima (C, R)</i>	Combined	2	Latin
De L'Espinace, Charles-David-Emmanuel	Cited by correspondent	1	
De Lusse, Charles, <i>Recueil de romances historiques, tendres et burlesques, tant anciennes que modernes, avec les airs notés (C, P, S)</i>	Combined	3	French
De Pauw, Cornélius, <i>Recherches philosophiques sur les égyptiens et les chinois</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
De Pinto, Isaac, <i>Traité des fonds de commerce, ou Jeu d'actions</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
De Simoni, Alberto, <i>Del furto e sua pena. Con alcune osservazioni generali in materia criminale*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
De Simoni, Alberto, <i>Della ragione di esigere il danaro al corso del tempo del contratto nella redenzione de' censi, nella estinzione de' capitali e ne' ritratti convenzionali*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
De Soria, Giovanni Gualberto & Turco, Giovanni del, <i>Atti letterari</i>	Cited by correspondent	3	Italian
De Soria, Giovanni Gualberto, <i>Giudizio di celebre professore sopra il libro Dei delitti e delle pene</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
De Soria, Giovanni Gualberto, <i>Giudizio di celebre professore sopra il libro Dei delitti e delle pene</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
De Soria, Giovanni Gualberto, <i>I ragionamenti metafisica della esistenza e degli attributi di Dio</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
De Soria, Giovanni Gualberto, <i>Raccolta di opuscoli filosofici e filologici</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
De Thou, Jacques-Auguste, <i>Histoire Universelle</i>	From bookseller	1	French
<i>Délices de la Suisse</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Della Porta, Giovan Battista, <i>De occultis literarum nois seu Artis animi sensa occulte alijs significandi, aut ab alijs significata expiscandi enodandique libri 4</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin

Della Torre di Rezzonico, Antonio Giuseppe, <i>Ludovico Adamato Galliarum et Navarrae regi christiano augusto piaie felici victori Ob minorem fortissimamque balearium expugnatam musarum epinicia</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Della Torre di Rezzonico, Carlo Castone, <i>L'Ascalafò*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Descartes, René	Cited by correspondent	1	
<i>Description des arts et metiers, faites ou approuvées par messieurs de l'Académie Royale des Sciences</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Deville, Charles, <i>Journées physiques</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Dictionnaire portatif de cuisine, d'office et de distillation; contenant la manière de préparer toutes sortes de viandes</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Diderot, Denis	Cited by correspondent	1	
Diderot, Denis & Gessner, Salomon, <i>Moralische Erzählungen und Idyllen von Diderot und Salomon Gessner</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	German
Diderot, Denis, <i>Entretien d'un père avec ses enfants</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Diderot, Denis, <i>Le fils naturel</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
Diderot, Denis, <i>Le père de famille</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
Diderot, Denis, <i>Les deux amis de Bourbonne</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Diderot, Denis, <i>Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
Diderot, Denis, <i>Supplément au voyage de Bougainville, ou dialogue entre A et B sur l'inconvénient d'attacher des idées morales à certaines actions physiques qui n'en comportent pas</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
Dio, Cassius, <i>Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiae Romanae quae supersunt . . . cum adnotationibus maxime Henrici Valecii Jobannis Alberti Fabricii ac paucis aliorum</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	Latin
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Dionysiu Halikarnaseos ta heuriskomena istorika te kai retorika syngammata, Addita fragmenta quaedam cum Glareani Chronologia</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Greek
<i>Dizionario geografico</i>	Books from the family home	1	
<i>Dizionario storico</i>	Books from the family home	1	
Dorat, Claude-Joseph, <i>Lettres en vers et œuvres mêlées de M. D. ci-devant mousquetaire, recueillies par lui-même</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Doria, Paolo Mattia, <i>L'idea della perfetta repubblica</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Dragonetti, Giacinto, <i>Delle virtù e de' premi</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Dreux du Radier, Jean-François, <i>Recréations historiques, critiques, morales et d'érudition</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Du Halde, Jean-Baptiste, <i>Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	French
Du Marsais, César Chesneau, <i>Des tropes, ou des différens sens dans lesquels on peut prendre un même mot dans une même langue*</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
Du Pont de Nemours, Pierre-Samuel & Quesnay, François, <i>Physiocratie ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre humain*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Du Pont de Nemours, Pierre-Samuel, <i>De l'origine et des progrès d'une science nouvelle*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Dubos, Jean-Baptiste, <i>Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Dubreil, Jean Jacques, <i>Dictionnaire lyrique portatif, ou Choix des plus jolies ariettes de tous les genres, disposées pour la voix & les instruments, avec les parols françaises sous la musique (C, S)</i>	Combined	2	French
Dulaurens, Henri-Joseph, <i>Candide en Dannemarc, ou l'optimisme des honnêtes gens</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Dulaurens, Henri-Joseph, <i>Imirce, ou la fille de la nature</i>	Cited by correspondent	3	French
Dulaurens, Henri-Joseph, <i>Le compere Mathieu</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Dulaurens, Henri-Joseph, <i>Les abus dans les cérémonies et dans</i>	Combined	3	French

<i>les moeurs, développés par monsieur L***</i> (C, P, S)			
Dussieux, Louis; Goffaux, François-Joseph & Le Tourneur, Pierre-Prime-Félicien, <i>Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à présent, traduite de l'anglois d'une société de gens de lettres</i> (C, P)	Combined	3	French
Dutens, Louis, <i>Les monades, ou Institutions leibnitienues</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Dutens, Louis, <i>Recherches sur l'origine des découvertes attribuées aux modernes</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Dutot, Nicolas	Cited by Beccaria	1	
Élie de Beaumont, Jean-Baptiste-Jacques, <i>Mémoire et consultation sur le prétendu viol et le prétendu assassinat de la demoiselle Rouge, imputés à six personnes par un enfant de cinq ans et demi*</i> (C, S)	Combined	2	French
<i>Enciclopedia Livornese</i>	Cited by correspondent	5	Italian
<i>Encyclopédie</i> (B, C)	Combined	10	French
Engel, Samuel, <i>Essai sur cette question: Quand et comment l'Amérique a-t-elle été peuplée d'hommes et d'animaux?</i>	From bookseller	2	French
<i>Enlèvement des Sabines</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Equicola, Mario, <i>Libro di natura d'amore</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Erasmus, Desiderius, <i>Adagia, id est proverborum, paroemiarum et parabolarum omnium quae apud Graecos, Latinos, Hebraeos, Arabes & c. in usu fuerunt</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Espiard de la Borde, François-Ignace, <i>Il genio delle nazioni</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
<i>Essais sur l'esprit de la législation, favorable à l'agriculture, à la population, au commerce, aux arts, aux métiers, &c. piece couronnées par la Société oeconomique de Berne</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
<i>Etrennes aux desoeuvrés, ou Lettre d'un quaker Lewis Penn à ses frères et à un grand docteur</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Eugenio da Milano, <i>Controversia de Romani ritus hominibus, ad evadendam patriam jejunii legem, intra dies Cinerum</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Euler, Leonhard	Cited by correspondent	1	
Euripides, <i>Euripidis tragædiæ duæ Hecuba & Iphigenia in Aulide</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Facchinei, Ferdinando, <i>Note ed osservazioni sul libro intitolato dei delitti e delle pene</i> (B, C)	Combined	5	Italian
Falleri, Giuseppe Maria, <i>De rationis et experientiae finibus regundis in philosophicis provinciis deque legitimo utriusque criterii usu in naturae scientia comparanda dissertatio</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
<i>Fastes de Louis XV, avec son portrait</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Favart, Charles-Simon, <i>Soliman second, ou Les trois sultanes</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Fellenberg, Daniel, <i>Jurisprudentia antiqua contiens opuscula et dissertationes, quibus lege antiquae, praesertim Mosaicae, Graecae et Romanae illustrantur</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe, <i>Les Aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Ferguson, Adam, <i>An essay on the history of civil society</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	English
Ferri, Hieronimi, <i>Epistolae pro linguae latinae usu adversus Alambertium. Praecedit Commentarius de rebus gestis et scriptis Hadriani Castellæ Cardinalis ad Clementem XIV Pontificem Optimum Maximum</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Folard, Jean-Charles de, & Thuillier, Vincent, <i>Histoire de Polybe, nouvellement traduite du grec par dom Vincent Thuillier . . . Avec un commentaire ou un corps de science militaire enrichi de notes critiques et historiques. . . par M. de Folard</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Folengo, Teofilo, <i>Opus Merlini Cocai poetae Mantuani macaronicorum</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Fontana, Felice, <i>Ricerche fisiche sopra il veleno della vipera</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Fontenelle, Bernard le Bovier de	Cited by correspondent	1	

Forbonnais, François Véron Duverger de	Cited by Beccaria	1	
Fourqueux, Madame de (Marie-Louise Auget de Montyon), <i>Journal Encyclopédique' au sujet de quelques erreurs concernant M. Clairaut qui se trouvent dans un ouvrage de M. Savérien</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Fragment d'une lettres sur la police des grains</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Francke, Johann Michael, <i>Catalogus bibliothecae bunavianae</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Fréron, Louis-Marie Stanislas	Cited by correspondent	1	
Freytag, Friedrich Gotthilf, <i>Adparatus litterarius ubi libri partim antiqui partim rari recensentur</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Frisi, Paolo, <i>Dei fiumi e dei torrenti libri tre</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Frisi, Paolo, <i>Del modo di regolare i fiumi, e i torrenti</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Frisi, Paolo, <i>Dissertationum varium tomus primus (secundus)</i>	Books from the family home	1	Latin
Frisi, Paolo, <i>Saggio sull'architettura gotica</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
Galeazzi, Giuseppe, <i>Delle leggi civili reali</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Galilei, Galileo, <i>Le operazione del compasso geometrico, e militare</i>	Books from the family home	1	Italian
Gamerra, Giovanni de, <i>L'apprensivo commedia</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Gamerra, Giovanni de, <i>L'Armida</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Gamerra, Giovanni de, <i>Lo splendore della milizia</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Garsault, François A. de & Geoffroy, Etienne-François, <i>Description, vertus et usages de sept cens dix-neuf plantes, tant étrangères que de nos climats: et de cent trente-quatre animaux, en sept cents trente planches, gravées en taille-dome, sur les desseins d'après nature</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Gatti, Angelo, <i>Lettre à M. Roux, docteur régent de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Gatti, Angelo, <i>Nouvelles Réflexions sur la pratique de l'inoculation* (B, C)</i>	Combined	2	French
Gatti, Angelo, <i>Réflexions sur les préjugés qui s'opposent aux progrès et à la perfection de l'inoculation en France* (B, C)</i>	Combined	2	French
Gatti, Angelo, <i>Réponse à une des principales objections qu'on oppose aux partisans de l'inoculation de la petite vérole*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Gayot de Pitaval, François, <i>Continuation des causes celebres</i>	From bookseller	2	French
Gazon Dourxigné, Sébastien-Marie-Mathurin, <i>L'ami de la vérité</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Gee, Joshua, <i>Coup d'oeil rapide sur les progrès et la décadence du commerce & des forces de L'Angleterre ouvrage attribué à un Membre du Parlement</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Gennaro, Giuseppe Aurelio di, <i>Delle viziose maniere del difender le cause nel foro</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Genovesi, Antonio, <i>Delle lezioni di commercio o sia d'economia civile da leggersi nella Cattedra Interiana di Napoli</i>	Books sold to Reycends	2	Italian
Genovesi, Antonio, <i>Elementa metaphysicae mathematicum in morem adornata</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Gesner, Johann Matthias, <i>Novus linguae et eruditionis romanae thesaurus</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Giannone, Pietro, <i>Histoire civile du Royaume de Naples</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Gilibert, Jean-Emmanuel, <i>L'anarchie médicale, ou la médecine considérée comme nuisible à la société</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Gin, Pierre-Louis-Claude, <i>De l'éloquence du barreau</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Gioffredo, Mario, <i>Dell'architettura di Mario Gioffredo</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Giovio, Giambattista, <i>Poesie italiane e latine*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Giovio, Giambattista, <i>Saggio sopra la religione*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Gmelin, Johann Georg, <i>Voyage en Sibérie, contenant la description des mœurs et usages des peuples de ce pays. Traduction libre de l'original allemand par M. de Keralio</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French

Goldoni, Carlo	Cited by correspondent	1	
Goldsmith, Oliver, <i>Le citoyen du monde, ou Lettres d'un philosophe chinois à ses amis dans l'Orient</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Gorani, Giuseppe, <i>Il vero dispotismo</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Gorani, Giuseppe, <i>Imposte secondo l'ordine della natura</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Gorani, Giuseppe, <i>Riflessioni in risposta ad una lettera del signor Linguet al celebre marchese Beccaria</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Gosmond de Vernon, Augustin, <i>Les glorieuses campagnes de Louis XV le bien-aimé</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Gracián, Baltasar, <i>L'homme de cour</i> (M, S)	Combined	2	French
<i>Grammatica</i>	Books from the family home	1	
Gravina, Giovanni Vincenzo, <i>Esprit des loix romaines</i>	From bookseller	2	French
Gravina, Jean Vincent, <i>Esprit des loix romaines</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Gregory of Nazianzus, <i>D. Gregori Nazianzeni cognomento theologi selectarum epistolarum libri quatuor Graecolatini</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Guasco, Ottaviano de, <i>Lettres familières du président de Montesquieu, baron de La Brède, à divers amis d'Italie</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Gudin de La Brenellerie, Paul Philippe, <i>Lothaire et Valrade ou Le royaume mis en interdit. Tragédie</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Guymond de la Touche, Claude, <i>Iphigénie en Tauride</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Hale, Thomas, <i>Le gentilhomme cultivateur, ou Cops complet d'agriculture</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Haller, Albrecht von	Cited by correspondent	1	
Haller, Albrecht von, <i>Poésies de Mr. Haller trad. de l'allemand & Seconde partie, ou, traductions, qui peuvent servir de suite aux poésies de Mr. Haller</i>	Books sold to Reycends	2	French
Heinecke, Johann Gottlieb	Books from the family home	1	
Helvétius, Jean-Adrien, <i>De l'Esprit*</i> (B, C)	Combined	4	French
Hennebert, Jean-Baptiste-François, <i>Du Plaisir, ou moyen de se rendre heureux</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	French
Hérissant, Louis-Théodore, <i>Nouvelles recherches sur la France</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Histoires et memoires de l'Academie des sciences</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Hobbes, Thomas	Cited by correspondent	2	
Hobbes, Thomas, <i>Elementa philosophica de cive</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Hobbes, Thomas, <i>Opera philosophica, quae latine scripsit, omnia, in tres partes distributa</i>	From bookseller	1	Latin
Holbach, Paul Henri Dietrich, <i>Système de la nature</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Hontheim, Johann Nikolaus von, <i>Du statu Ecclesiae</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Latin
Horace, <i>Ars poetica</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Horace, <i>Carmina</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Horace, <i>Epistulae</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Latin
Horace, <i>Sermones</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Latin
Hornot, Antoine, <i>Traité raisonné de la distillation; ou la distillation réduite en principes: avec un traité des odeurs</i>	Books sold to Reycends	2	French
Huber, Michel, <i>Choix de poesies allemandes</i> (C, P)	Combined	3	French
Hume, David, <i>Discours politiques</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Hume, David, <i>Œvres philosophique de Hume</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Hutcheson, Francis	Cited by correspondent	1	
Hyde, Thomas, <i>De ludis orientalibus libri duo</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	Latin
Hyde, Thomas, <i>Historia religionis veterum Persarum, ubi... Zoroastris vita, eiusque et aliorum vaticinia de Messia e Persarum</i>	From bookseller	1	Latin

<i>aliorumque monumentis eruuntur... atque magorum liber Sad-der e Persico traductus exhibitur</i>			
Imprimerie des Heritiers de Berling, <i>Le traducteur, ou Traduction de diverses feuilles choisies tirées des papiers périodiques anglois</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	French
<i>Instructions adressées par sa majesté l'Imperatrice de toutes les Russies, à la commission établie pour travailler à l'exécution du projet d'un nouveau code de loix traduit de l'allemand</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
<i>Instructions pour les voyageurs et les commerçans, contenant l'indication des villes commerçantes de l'Europe, le détail de leurs manufactures, la valeur des monnoies,... les routes, les distances et des avis pour voyager utilement</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Jacogna, Niccolò Maria, <i>Dialogo ragionato in cui si dimostra egualmente necessario il valor guerriero e la prudenza delle leggi per la gloria, ebuon esser delle repubbliche</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Jarrhetti, F., <i>L'orateur franc-maçon</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Joly de Fleury, Jean-Omer	Cited by correspondent	1	
Joly, Joseph-Romain, <i>Histoire de la prédication</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Joubert, Abbé, <i>Éloge de la roture. Dédié aux roturiers</i>	From bookseller	2	French
Jourdain, Anselme-Louis-Bernard Bréchillet, <i>Préceptes de santé, ou Introduction au Dictionnaire de santé... contenant les moyens de corriger les vices de son tempérament, et de le fortifier par le seul secours du régime et de l'exercise</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Jousse, Daniel, <i>Commentaire sur l'ordonnance criminelle du mois d'Aout 1670</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Julianus, Flavius Claudius, <i>Les césars de l'Empereur Julien</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Keyser, J., <i>Parallèle des différentes méthodes de traiter la maladie vénérienne</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb, <i>Il Messia, traduzione dale tedesco del Signr. Giacomo Zigno</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
<i>L'amico dell'uomo e della società</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
La Borde, Jean-Benjamin de	Cited by correspondent	1	
<i>La Campagne, roman traduit de l'anglois par M. de Puisieux</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
La Curne de Sainte Palaye, Jean-Baptiste de, <i>Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie considérée comme un établissement politique et militaire*</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
La Fontaine, Jean de, <i>Contes et nouvelles en vers, par M. de La Fontaine</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
La Fontaine, Jean de, <i>Fables choisies mises en vers, par J. de La Fontaine, avec une Vie de La Fontaine par M. de Montbenault</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
La Harpe, Jean-François de, <i>Des malheurs de la guerre et des avantages de la paix</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
La Lande, Joseph Jérôme Lefrançois de	Cited by correspondent	1	
<i>La legende joyeuse ou Les trois cent leçons de Lampsaque</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
La Porte, Joseph de, <i>Le voyageur françois, ou la connaissance de l'ancien et du nouveau monde</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
La Rochefoucauld, François de, <i>Réflexions ou sentences et maximes morales</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Lacombe de Prezel, Honoré, <i>Dictionnaire d'anecdotes, de traits singuliers et caractéristiques, historiettes etc</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Lacombe, François, <i>Dictionnaire du vieux langage françois/ Dictionnaire du vieux langage françois...Supplément</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Lambert, Claude-François, <i>Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay-Langei, mis en nouveau style</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Lambert, <i>Sur la législation criminelle et sur les peines capitales</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Lambertenghi, Antonio, <i>Orazione recitata per l'aprimiento della nuova cattedra di filosofia morale da Antonio Lambertenghi C. R. S., regio professore nella Università di Pavia</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Las Casas, Juan Antonio de, <i>Tratado de los delitos y de las penas</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Spanish

Laugier, Marc-Antoine, <i>Histoire de la République de Venise</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Le Beau du Bignon, Louis-Clair, <i>Histoire critique du gouvernement romain, où d'après les faits historiques on développe sa nature et ses révolutions, depuis l'origine jusqu'aux empereurs et aux papes</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Le Camus, Antoine, <i>Abdeker ou l'art de conserver la beauté</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Le Clerc, Nicolas-Gabriel, <i>Histoire naturelle de l'homme considéré dans l'état de maladie: ou la Médecine rappelée à sa première simplicité</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Le coche, traduit de l'anglais par Nicolas de La Grange</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Le feste d'Apollon, celebrata sul teatro di corte nell'agosto del 1769. Per le auguste seguite nozze tra il reale infante don Ferdinando e la r. arciduchessa infanta Maria Amalia</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Le Grand, M., <i>Controverse sur la religion chrétienne et celle des Mabométans, entre trois Docteurs Muselmans et un religieux de la nation Maronite; ouvrage traduit de l'Arabe par M. le Grand</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
Le Guay de Prémontval, André Pierre, <i>Vues philosophiques; ou protestations et déclarations sur les principaux objets des connoissances humaines</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Le Guay de Prémontval, André-Pierre <i>L'esprit de Fontenelle</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Le Noble, Eustache, Baron de Saint-Georges et de Tannelière, <i>L'esprit de Gerson, ou instructions catholiques, touchant le Saint Siège</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Le Page Madame du Boccage, Anne-Marie, <i>La Colombiade tradotto dal Francese</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Leboucq, Guy, <i>Exercice en forme de plaidoyer sur cette question: de ces quatre biens, les talens, les richesses, la santé, un ami, quel est le plus désirable?</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Lecchi, Antonio, <i>Memorie idrostatico-storiche delle operazioni eseguite nell'inalluvazione del Reno di Bologna, e degli altri minori torrenti per la linea di Primaro al mare dall'anno 1765 fino al 1772</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm	Cited by correspondent	1	
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, <i>Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme, & l'origine du mal</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, <i>Œuvres philosophique, latines et françaises, de feu M. de Leibniz... publiées par M. Rudolf Eric Raspe, avec une préface de M. Kaestner</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Lemercier de la Rivière, Pierre-Paul, <i>L'intérêt general de l'État ou la liberté du commerce des blés</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Lemercier de la Rivière, Pierre-Paul, <i>L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques (C, P)</i>	Combined	4	French
Leprince de Beaumont, Marie, <i>Clarice, histoire véritable</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Lesage, Alain René, <i>Crispin, rival de son maître</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Levesque de Burigny, Jean, <i>Examen critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Linguet, Simon-Nicolas-Henri, <i>Canaux navigables, ou Développement des avantages qui résulteraient de l'exécution de plusieurs projets en ce genre pour la Picardie, l'Artois, la Bourgogne, la Champagne, la Bretagne, & toute la France en general</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Linguet, Simon-Nicolas-Henri, <i>Théorie des loix civiles, ou Principes fondamentaux de la société*</i>	Cited by correspondent	3	French
Linnaeus, Carl	Cited by correspondent	1	
Locatelli de Lanzi, Francesco, <i>Lettres moscovites</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Locke, John	Cited by correspondent	1	
Locke, John, <i>An Essay Concerning Human Understanding</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	English
Locke, John, <i>De intellectu humano</i>	Books from the family home	1	Latin
<i>Lois de Platon par le traducteur [Jean-Nicolas Gron] de La République</i>	From bookseller	2	French

Loiseau de Mauléon, Alexandre-Jérôme, <i>Défense apologétique du comte de Portes. . . adressée à Leurs Excellences du Conseil souverain de la République de Berne</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Longchamps, Pierre Charpentier de, <i>Tableau historique des gens de lettres</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Lorris, Guillaume de & Meung, Jean de, <i>Il Roman de la Rose</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Lucian, <i>Luciani Samosatensis Opera, quae quidem extant, omnia</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Lucretius, <i>De rerum natura sapiente</i> (C, M)	Combined	2	Latin
Lucretius, <i>Della natura delle cose</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Lussan, Marguerite de	Cited by correspondent	1	
Lyttelton, George, <i>Dialogue des morts</i> (C, P)	Combined	2	French
Maccioni, Migliorotto, <i>Difesa del dominio de conti Della Gherardesca sopra la signoria di Donoratico, Bolgheri, Castagneto & raccomandata alla protezione della real Corona di Toscana</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Maccioni, Migliorotto, <i>Osservazioni sopra la replica data dal Fisico alla difesa fatta a favore dei conti della Gherardesca</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Machiavelli, Niccolò	Cited by correspondent	3	
Machiavelli, Niccolò, <i>Tutte le Opere</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Macpherson, James, <i>Poesie di Ossian...tradotte in prosa inglese... dall'ab. Melchior Cesarotti</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Macpherson, James, <i>Temora, an ancient epic poem</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	English
Macquer, Phillipe, <i>Dictionnaire portatif des arts et métiers</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Malebranche, Nicolas de	Cited by correspondent	1	
Mallet, Paul-Henri, <i>Dissertation sur l'origine du langage</i> (C, P)	Combined	2	French
Mallet, Paul-Henri, <i>Histoire de Hesse</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Mallet, Paul-Henri, <i>Histoire de la Maison de Brunswick</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Mallet, Paul-Henri, <i>Histoire du Dannemarc</i> (C, P)	Combined	2	French
Manfredi, Eustachio, <i>Rime</i>	Books from the family home	1	Italian
Mannory, Louis, <i>Playdoyers et Mémoires, contenant des questions intéressantes, tant en matières civiles, canoniques et criminelles que de police et de commerce</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Mantagnacco, Antonio, <i>Ragionamento intorno a' beni temporali posseduti dalle chiese, dagli ecclesiastici, e da quelli tutti, che si dicono Mani morte</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Marchand, Jean-Henri, <i>Hilaire, par un métaphysicien</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Marchand, Jean-Henri, <i>Les délassemens champêtres, ou Mélanges d'un philosophe sérieux à Paris et badin à la campagne</i>	Cited by correspondent	3	French
Marmontel, Jean-François	Cited by correspondent	1	
Marmontel, Jean-François, <i>Bélisaire</i> (C, P)	Combined	4	French
Marracci, Ludovico, <i>Akorani textus universus</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, <i>Description du Danube, contenant des observations géographiques, astronomiques, physiques</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Martello, Pietro, <i>Vita di Benvenuto Cellini... da lui medesimo scritta</i>	From bookseller	1	Italian
Martinez, Vincenzo, (unidentified English translation) <i>Discorso preliminare sopra la pubblica economia</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Mazza Carcano, Carlo, <i>Su alcuni ferri da innesto e altre osservazioni agronomiche</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
<i>Mémoires du Nord</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Memorie della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Belle Lettere ed Arti di Mantova</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Méry de la Canorgue, Joseph, <i>L'ami de ceux qui n'en on point, ou Système pour le régime des pauvres</i>	Cited by correspondent	3	French
Messina, Giovanni, <i>Ossequio verso Dei delitti e delle pene</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian

Metastasio, Pietro, <i>Alcide al bivio</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Metastasio, Pietro, <i>Didone abbandonata</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Millot, Claude-François-Xavier, <i>Histoire Philosophique de l'homme</i>	From bookseller	2	French
Milton, John, <i>Paradiso perduto</i>	Books from the family home	1	Italian
Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin), <i>Le médecin malgré lui</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Monita secreta Societatis Jesu</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Monnet, Abbé, <i>Lettre d'une mère à son fils pour lui prouver la vérité de la religion chrétienne</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Montaigne, Michel de	Cited by correspondent	1	
Montaigne, Michel de, <i>Essais</i> (C, M)	Combined	1	French
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat (B, C)	Combined	5	
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, <i>L'Esprit des loix</i>	Cited by correspondent	3	French
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, <i>Lettres familières de Montesquieu</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, <i>Lettres persanes</i> (B, C)	Combined	3	French
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, <i>Œuvres de Montesquieu avec des remarques philosophiques et politiques d'un anonyme</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, <i>Style in Encyclopédie</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Montucla, Jean-Étienne, <i>Histoire des mathématiques</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Morellet, André, <i>Petit écrit sur une matière intéressante</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Morellet, André, <i>Réflexions sur les avantages de la libre fabrication et de l'usage des toiles peintes en France, pour servir de réponse aux divers mémoires des fabricants de Paris, Lyon, Tours, Rouen etc. sur cette matière</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Morellet, André, <i>Le manuel des Inquisiteurs, à l'usage des Inquisitions d'Espagne et du Portugal, ou Abrégé de l'ouvrage intitulé: Directorium Inquisitorum, composé vers 1358 par Nicolas Eymeric... On y a joint une courte histoire de l'établissement de l'Inquisition dans le Royaume de Portugal, tirée du latin de Louis a Paramo</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Morellet, André, <i>Mémoire sur la situation actuelle de la compagnie des Indes. Seconde édition augmentée d'une histoire de la compagnie</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Morellet, André, <i>Mémoires des fabricants de Lorraine et de Bar, présenté a Mgr. l'Intendant de la province, concernant le projet d'un nouveau tarif, et servant de réponse à un ouvrage intitulé 'Lettres d'un citoyen à un magistrat'</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Morellet, André, <i>Prospectus d'un nouveau Dictionnaire de commerce</i> (C, S)	Combined	3	French
Morellet, André, <i>Réflexions sur les avantages de la liberté d'écrire et d'imprimer sur les matières de l'administration</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Morelley, Étienne-Gabriel, <i>Code de la nature, ou le véritable esprit de ses bis, de tout temps négligé ou méconnu</i> (P, S)	Combined	2	French
Moréri, Louis, <i>Le gran dictionnaire historique</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Morigia, Paolo, <i>Historia dell'antichità di Milano, divisa in quattro libri... dal principio della sua fondazione sino l'anno presente MDXCI</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Moscato, Pietro, <i>Delle corporee differenze essenziali che passano fra la struttura de' bruti e l'umana</i> (C, S)	Combined	3	Italian
Moscato, Pietro, <i>Indice de' discorsi anatomici che si tengono pubblicamente nel teatro della Regia Università di Pavia, fatto per uso de' giovani studenti di medicina e chirurgia. Parte prima, che contiene la descrizione de' visceri</i> (C, S)	Combined	2	Italian
Müller, Otto Frederik, <i>Flora Danica</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French

Muret, Jean Louis, <i>Memoire sur l'état de la population dans le pays de Vaud qui a obtenu le prix proposé par la Société oeconomique de Berne</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Muyart de Vouglans, Pierre-François, <i>Lettre concernant la réfutation de quelques principes hazardés dans le Traité des délits et des peines</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Naigeon, Jacques-André, <i>Le militaire philosophe, ou difficultés sur la religion</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Natale, Giovanni Tommaso, <i>Riflessioni politiche intorno all'efficacia e necessità delle pene</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Natale, Giovanni Tommaso, <i>Riflessioni politiche intorno all'efficacia e necessità delle pene dalle leggi minacciate*</i> (B, C)	Combined	3	Italian
Neri, Giovanni Andrea, <i>Tavola del prezzo delle monete fissando il gliagliato a lire 15; e la proporzione dell'oro all'argento di 1 a 1/2</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Neri, Pompeo, <i>Relazione dello stato in cui si trova l'opera del censimento universale del ducato di milano nel mese di maggio dell'anno 1750</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
Newton, Isaac	Cited by correspondent	1	
Newton, Isaac, <i>La methode des fluxions, et des suites infinies</i>	Books from the family home	1	French
Newton, Isaac, <i>Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica</i>	Books from the family home	1	Latin
<i>Observations sur une dénonciation de la 'Gazette littéraire' faite à Mgr. l'Archevêque de Paris</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Officio greco</i>	Books from the family home	1	
Omoboni, Giuseppe, <i>Delle luttuose vicende dell'anno 1755. Racconto istorico, e filosofico</i>	Books from the family home	1	Italian
Orsini, Cesare, <i>Capriccia macaronica</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Palissot de Montenois, Charles, <i>La Dunciade</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Pallavicini, Gian Luca, <i>Osservazioni sopra il prezzo legale delle monete, e le difficoltà di prefinarlo e di sostenerlo</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Paradisi, Agostino, <i>La felicità del sapiente*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Paradisi, Agostino, <i>Saggio Metafisico sopra l'entusiasmo nelle belle arti</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	Italian
Paradisi, Agostino, <i>Versi sciolti*</i> (C, S)	Combined	2	Italian
Parfait, François & Claude, <i>Histoire du théâtre françois depuis son origine jusqu'à présent</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Parini, Giuseppe	Cited by correspondent	1	
Parini, Giuseppe, <i>Il mattino</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Parini, Giuseppe, <i>Il mezzogiorno</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
<i>Parte moderna o sia continuazione dell'istoria universale ricavata dagli scrittori originali e cominciata da' più lontani, e proseguita sino a' nostri più vicini tempi dall'istessa società di letterati inglesi che compilarono la parte I, o sia l'antica, recata nell'idioma italiano dal signor barone d. Patrizio Roselli con giunte di note e di avvertimenti in alcuni luoghi</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Pascal, Blaise, <i>Pensées</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Pascali, Romualdo Silvio, <i>Supplimento alla legislazione*</i> (C, S)	Combined	2	Italian
Passeri, Giovanni Battista, <i>Della seccatura discorsi cinque</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Patrizi, Stefano, <i>Stephani Patritii regii consilarii in Supremo Regni Neapolitani Consilio Consultationes sacri et regii juris*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
<i>Pensées anglaises sur divers sujet de religion et de morale</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Pérou, Gabriel-Louis-Calabre, <i>L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons trahi et le Secret des Mopses Révélé</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Pescatore, Francesco Antonio, <i>Saggio intorno diverse opinioni di alcuni moderni politici sopra i delitti e le pene</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Petty, Jean-Raymond de, <i>Encyclopédie élémentaire, ou Introduction à l'étude des lettres, des sciences et des arts</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French

Philo of Byzantium, <i>De septem orbis spectaculis</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
<i>Pianta di Roma</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Pighi, Antonio, (storia orale) <i>Storia di Bartolomeo Leone detto Rubele</i> (B, C)	Combined	3	Italian
Pilati, Carlantonio, <i>Di una riforma d'Italia, ossia dei mezzi di riformare i più cattivi costumi e le più perniciose leggi d'Italia</i> (C, P)	Combined	4	Italian
Pilati, Carlantonio, <i>La istoria dell'Impero germanico, e dell'Italia dai tempi dei Carolingi fino alla pace di Vestfalia</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Pilati, Carlantonio, <i>Projet d'une réforme à faire en Italie, ou Moyens de corriger les abus les plus dangereux et de réformer les loix les plus pernicieuses, établies en Italie</i> (C, S)	Combined	2	French
Pilati, Carlantonio, <i>Riflessioni di un Italiano sopra la Chiesa in generale, sopra il clero sì regolare che secolare, sopra i vescovi ed i pontefici romani e sopra i diritti ecclesiastici de' potentici*</i> (B, C)	Combined	2	Italian
Platel, L'abbé C. P., <i>Mémoires historiques sur les affaires de Jésuites avec le Saint Siège</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Plato, <i>Divini Platonis Opera omnia Marsilio Ficino interprete</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Plato, <i>La République, ou Dialogue sur la justice</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Pliny, <i>Naturalis Historia</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Plotinus, <i>De rebus philosophicis libri LIII, in Enneades sex distributi a Marsilio Ficino florentino e graeca lingua in latinam versi et ab eodem doctissimis commentariis illustrati</i>	From bookseller	1	Latin
Pluche, Noël-Antoine, <i>Le spectacle de la nature, ou Entretiens sur les particularités de l'histoire naturelle</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Pluquet, François-André-Adrien, <i>De la sociabilité</i> (C, P)	Combined	3	French
Plutarch (ed. Jacques Amyot), <i>Les vies des hommes illustres, grecs et romains, comparées L'une avec l'autre, par Plutarque</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	French
Pockocke, Richard, <i>Voyages en l'Orient, dans l'Egypte, l'Arabie, la Palestine, la Syrie etc., traduits de l'Anglois sur la deuxième édition par M. Eydous. Nouvelle édition soigneusement corrigée et augmentée de quelques notes</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Pombal, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo conte di Oeiras marchese di, <i>Deduccao chronologica e analytica e Deduzione cronologica e analitica*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Portuguese
Pomponazzi, Pietro, <i>De naturalium effectuum causis sine de incantationibus liber</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	Latin
Pope, Alexander, <i>Essai sur l'homme, poëme philosophique par Alexander Pope en cinq langues, savoir; anglois, latin, italien, françois, et allemand</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Pope, Alexander, <i>Oeuvres diverses de M. Alexandre Pope</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Poullain de Saint-Foix, Germain-François, <i>Histoire de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit, par M. Saint-Foix, historiographe des Ordres du Roi</i>	From bookseller	2	French
Prévost, Deleyre, Meusnier de Querlon, Rousselot de Surgy, <i>Histoire générale des voyages</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Prideaux, Humphrey, <i>Histoire des Juifs et des peuples voisins depuis la décadence des royaumes d' Israel et de ludas jusq' à la mort de Jésus Christ, trad. dall'inglese di J.-D. Brutel de la Rivière e M. Du Sou</i>	From bookseller	1	French
<i>Problemata physiologica quae, ut preliminarium ad statuendum verum ab Hippocrate indicatum medicinae systema, scientiarum Academicis, et medicorum Collegiis solvenda, atque inde communi consensu ad prepositum finem redigenda proponuntur*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Prost de Royer, Antoine-François, <i>De l'administration municipale; ou Lettre d'un citoyen de Lyon sur la nouvelle administration de cette ville</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Quesnay, François,*	Cited by correspondent	1	
Quintilian, <i>Declamationes</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
<i>Raccolta degli ordini e dei regolamenti delle strade della Lombardia austriaca stabiliti in seguito ai reali dispacci de' 13 febbraio 1777 e</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian

<i>de' 30 marzo 1778</i>			
Racine, Jean	Cited by correspondent	1	
Rameau, Jean-Phillipe	Cited by correspondent	1	
Réal de Curban, Gaspard de, <i>La science du gouvernement, ouvrage de morale, de droit et de politique</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Recueil de diverses pièces sur la philosophie, la religion naturelle, l'histoire, les mathématiques, &c. par messieurs Leibniz, Clarke, Newton & autres auteurs celebres</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
<i>Remontrance de Neuchatel</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Renazzi, Filippo Maria, <i>Philippi Mariae Renazzi J.C. et antecessoris Romani Elementa juris criminalis</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Riccati, Jacopo, <i>Opera*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Riccati, Vincenzo, <i>De seriebus recipientibus summam generalem algebraicam aut exponentialiam commentarius</i>	Books from the family home	1	Latin
Richard, Jérôme, <i>Description historique et critique de l'Italie</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Richardson, Samuel, <i>Pamela or virtue rewarded, In a series of familiar letters from a beautiful young damsel to her parents... in four volumes</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	English
Richelet, Pierre, <i>Dictionnaire de la langue française ancienne et moderne</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Robbio, Benvenuto, Conte di San Raffaele, <i>Storia dei due secoli famosi in Italia parte prima</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Robertson, <i>Voyage de Robertson aux terres australes traduit sur le manuscrit anglais*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Robinet, Jean-Baptiste-René, <i>De la nature</i> (C, P)	Combined	4	French
Rodriguez de Campomanes, Pedro	Cited by correspondent	1	
Rolli, Paolo, <i>Rime</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Rosa, Michele, <i>Oratio de instauranda medicinae simplicitate ad tyrones habita in audit. magno gymn. quum trad. medic. munus publ. auspicaretur postrid. kal. jun. ann. 1767</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Rosselmini, Niccolò, <i>Dell'obbedienza del cavallo</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Rosselmini, Niccolò, <i>Lettera critica, ed istruttiva di Rosselmini sopra il vero metodo di addestrare il cavallo</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Rossignol, Jean-Joseph, <i>Vue sur les sensations</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques	Cited by correspondent	2	
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, <i>Contrat social</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, <i>Dell'ineguaglianza</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, <i>Dictionnaire de musique</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	French
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, <i>Discours</i> (C, P)	Combined	2	French
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, <i>Émile, ou de l'éducation</i>	Cited by correspondent	4	French
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, <i>Julie</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, <i>Lettres écrites de la montagne</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, <i>Nouvelle Héloïse</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, <i>Œuvres de Rousseau</i> (C, P)	Combined	3	French
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, <i>Précis pour M. J. J. Rousseau, en réponse à l'exposé succinct de M. Hume, suivi d'une lettre de M. de D*** à l'auteur de la Justification de M. Rousseau</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Sabatier de Castres, Antoine, <i>Ecole des pères e des mères</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Sacchi, Giovenale, <i>Della divisione del tempo nella musica nel ballo e nella poesia dissertazioni</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
San Severino, Giulio Roberto di, <i>Les vies des hommes et des femmes illustres d'Italie, depuis le rétablissement des sciences et beaux-arts, par une société de gens de lettres</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Sangiorgio, Gian Ambrogio, <i>Dissertazione epistolare sopra la</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian

<i>covetta ed il pane di munizione in Dissertazioni sopra una gramigna che nelle Lombardia infesta la segale</i>			
Sangiorgio, Gian Ambrogio, <i>Istruzione sopra l'uso e il valore di alcuni medicamenti contenuti in una spezieria portatile</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Sarpi, Paolo	Cited by correspondent	1	
Sarpi, Paolo, <i>Opere</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Savérien, Alexandre, <i>Histoire des progrès de l'esprit humain dans les sciences exactes et dans les artes qui en dependent... avec un abrégé des auteurs les plus célèbres dans ces sciences (C, P)</i>	Combined	2	French
Savioli, Lodovico, <i>Amori</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Savioli, Ludovico, <i>Gli amori</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Schmid von Avenstein, Georg Ludwig, <i>Essais sur divers sujets intéressans de politique et de morale</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Scopoli, Giovanni Antonio	Cited by correspondent	1	
Seigneux de Correvon, Gabriel, <i>Essai sur l'usage, l'abus et les inconvéniens de la torture dans la procédure criminelle</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Seigneux de Correvon, Gabriel, <i>Lettres sur la découverte de l'ancienne ville d'Herculane et de ses principales antiquités</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Sellier, Philippe, <i>Grammaire française à l'usage des enfans de d'un et de l'autre sexe</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Seneca, L. <i>Annaei Senecae Opera omnia</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Seneca, <i>Selecta Senecae philosophi opera</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Sergio, Vincenzo Emmanuele, <i>Piano del codice diplomatico del commercio di Sicilia</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Serres de la Tour, Alphonse de, <i>Du plaisir</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Servan, Joseph-Michel-Antoine, <i>Discours sur l'administration de la justice criminelle*</i> (C, P, S)	Combined	5	French
Shakespeare, William, <i>Jules-César, tragedie de Shakespear (sic) traduite de l'Anglois par M. de voltaire et L'Héraclous espagnol, ou la Comédie fameuse par Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Siculus, Diodorus, <i>Diodori Siculi De Philippi Regis Macedoniae aliorumque quorundam illustrium ducum, de Alexandri filii rebus gestis, libri duo*</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	Latin
Siculus, Diodorus, <i>Histoire universelle de Diodore de Sicile, traduite en François par l'abbé Terrasson</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Sidney, Algernon, <i>Discours sur le gouvernement par Algernon Sidney. Traduit de l'Anglois par P.A. Samson</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Silla, Antonio, <i>Il diritto di punire, o sia risposta al trattato dei delitti e delle pene*</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
Silva, José de Seabra da, <i>Deduzione cronologica, e analitica parte prima in cui, per la successiva serie di tutti i Governi della Monarchia Portoghese, decorsi dal re D. Giovanni III fino al presente, si manifestano le orrende stragi, che la Compagnia detta di Gesù fece nel Portogallo</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Simon, Richard, <i>Histoire critique du Vieux Testament et l'histoire critique du Nouveau Testament</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Simpson, Thomas, <i>Élémens de géométrie</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Smith, Adam, <i>Métaphysique de l'âme ou Théorie des sentimens moraux, traduite de l'Anglois</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Sonnenfels, Joseph von, <i>Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	German
Spallanzani, Lazzaro, <i>Contemplazione della natura del signor Carlo Bonnet ... tradotta in italiano e corredata di note e curiose osservazioni dall'abate Spallanzani*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Spallanzani, Lazzaro, <i>Dissertazioni due</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Spalletti, Giuseppe, <i>Saggio sopra la bellezza</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Spanheim, Ezechiel, <i>Les Césars, de l'empereur Julien, traduit du grec, avec des remarques</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Speroni, Sperone, <i>Dialogi di m. S. Speroni</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian

Spinoza, Baruch, <i>Opera posthuma quorum series post praefationem exhibetur</i> (C, R)	Combined	2	Latin
Spinoza, Baruch, <i>Tractatus Theologico-Politicus</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	Latin
Spinoza, Baruch/ Court, Pieter de la (attrib.), <i>Lucii Antistii Constantis De jure ecclesiasticorum, liber singularis</i> (P, S)	Combined	2	Latin
Sterne, Laurence, <i>The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy</i>	Unfulfilled requests to booksellers	1	English
Suardis, Paulus de, <i>Statuta criminalia, civilia, extraordinaria, victualium, datiorum, mercatorum, mercatorum lanae</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Sue, Pierre, <i>Dictionnaire portatif de chirurgie, ou Tome III du Dictionnaire de santé contenant toutes les connoissances, tant théoriques que pratiques, de la chirurgie</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Sulzer, Johann Georg, <i>Nouvelle théorie des plaisirs . . . avec des réflexions sur l'origine des plaisirs par M. Kaestner</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
<i>Summa philosophiae</i>	Books from the family home	1	Latin
<i>Tableau de l'Europe</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Tableau philosophique de l'histoire du genre humain depuis l'origine du monde jusqu'à Constantin, traduit de l'anglais</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Talbot, Henry, <i>Lettres du chevalier Robert Talbot</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
<i>Tavola cronologica</i>	Books from the family home	1	
Tessin, Carl Gustaf, <i>Lettere scritte al Principe Reale di Svezia dal conte di Tessin. . . tradotte dallo svezzese*</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	Italian
Theophrastus, <i>Recherches sur les plantes</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Thiroux d'Arconville, Marie-Geneviève-Charlotte, <i>L'amitié</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Thomas, Antoine-Léonard, <i>Œuvres diverses</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Thourneyser, Stephanus, <i>Lettre d'un philosophe sur l'athéisme, dans laquelle on prouve que l'athéisme et le dérèglement des mœurs ne peuvent s'établir dans le système de la nécessité</i>	From bookseller	2	French
Toaldo, Giuseppe, <i>Tavole trigonometriche, con una introduzione che contiene un compendio di trigonometria piana e sferica applicata alla pratica*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Tosi, Alfonso, <i>Vaghi e dilettevoli giardini di cingaresche</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Toussaint, François-Vincent, <i>Les mœurs</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
<i>Traité général des elemens du chant</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Trinci, Cosimo, <i>L'agricoltore sperimentato, che insegna la maniera più sicura di conoscere, piantare, allevare e condurre sino dalli più teneri anni età per età alla lor perfezione alcune piante più utili e necessarie al vivere umano, con altre considerazioni intorno al tempo e maniera di arare e seminar le terre, e di stagionare e conservare l'ulive e l'olio*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Turchi, Giovanni, <i>Berlin Academy of sciences "Si l'on peut détruire les penchants qui viennent de la nature, ou en faire naître qu'elle n'aît pas produit?"</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Turgot, Anne-Robert-Jacques	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Vanbrugh, John, <i>The relapse, or Virtue in danger, being the sequel of The fool in fashion, a comedy acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	English
Vasari, Giorgio, <i>Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti scritte da Giorgio Vasari pittore e architetto aretino</i>	From bookseller	1	Italian
Vasco, Dalmazzo Francesco, <i>Delle leggi civili reali</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Vasco, Giambattista, (unknown) dissertation on the death penalty*	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Vasco, Giambattista, <i>Della moneta saggio politico</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Vasco, Giambattista, <i>Della naturale umana bipede posizione. Lettera critica scritta dall'autore de' Contadini al signor dottor Pietro</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian

<i>Moscato</i>			
Vasco, Giambattista, <i>La felicità pubblica considerata nei coltivatori di terre proprie</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Vasco, Giambattista, <i>Lapsus calami</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Vattel, Emerich de, <i>Le droit des gens, ou principes de la loi naturelle, appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Vauvenargues, Luc de Clapiers, <i>Opera</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Velly, Paul-François & Villaret, Claude, <i>Histoire de France</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Venini, Francesco	Cited by Beccaria	1	
Venini, Francesco, (manuscript) <i>Principii delle cognizioni umane ad uso dei fanciulli*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Venini, Francesco, <i>Elementi di matematica ad uso delle Regie Scuole</i> (C, S)	Combined	3	Italian
Venini, Francesco, <i>Principi delle cognizioni umane ad uso dei fanciulli</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Venturini, Salvatore, <i>De tormentis</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Vernazza, Giuseppe	Cited by correspondent	1	
Vernet, Jacob, <i>Mémoire présenté à M. le premier syndic par Jacob Vernet... sur un libelle qui le concerne</i>	From bookseller	2	Italian
Verri, Alessandro & Pietro, <i>Risposta ad uno scritto che s'intitola Note ed osservazioni sul libro Dei delitti e delle pene</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Verri, Alessandro, <i>Comentariolo di un galantuomo di mal umore che ha ragione, sulla definizione: l'uomo è un animale ragionevole, in cui si vedrà di che si tratta</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Italian
Verri, Alessandro, <i>Riflessioni in punto di ragione sopra il libro intitolato: Del disordine e de' rimedi delle monete nello Stato di Milano*</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	Italian
Verri, Alessandro, <i>Saggio sulla storia d'Italia dalla fondazione di Roma sino alla metà del nostro secolo*</i>	Cited by correspondent	5	Italian
Verri, Pietro, <i>Discorso sull'indole del piacere e del dolore</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	Italian
Verri, Pietro, <i>Le meditazioni sulla felicità</i> (B, C)	Combined	12	Italian
Verri, Pietro, <i>Meditazioni sulla economia politica</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Verri, Pietro, <i>Sull'innesto del vaiuolo</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	Italian
Viacinna, Carlo, <i>Del fulmine e della sicura maniera d'evitarne gli effetti</i>	Cited by correspondent	3	Italian
Vico, Giambattista, <i>De uno universi juris principio, et fine uno</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	Latin
Vida, Marco Girolamo, <i>M. Hier. Vidae Cremonen. Albae Episc. Dialogi de rei publicar dignitate</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Vitale, Carlo <i>Lex virium in materiam dominatrix illustrata et ad physicas institutiones</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Latin
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet)	Cited by correspondent	4	
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Candide, ou l'optimisme</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Charlot, ou la comtesse de Givry*</i> (C, P)	Combined	2	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Collection complete des oeuvres de M. de Voltaire</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Commentaire sur le livre des délits et des peines</i> (C, P)	Combined	10	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Dictionnaire philosophique portatif</i> (C, S)	Combined	4	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Dieu et les Hommes. Oeuvre theologique; mais raisonnable</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Essai historique et critique sur les dissensions des Eglises de Pologne*</i> (C, P, S)	Combined	3	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Essai sur l'histoire générale et sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à nos jours</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Histoire du Parlement de Paris par M. l'Abbé Big</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Homélie prononcées à Londres en 1765 dans une assemblée particulière</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>L'homme aux quarante écus</i> (P, S)	Combined	2	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>L'A, B, C, dialogue curieux</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>L'évangile de la raison, ouvrage posthume de M. D. M</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>L'ingénue, historie véritable tirée des manuscrits du père Quesnel</i>	From bookseller	2	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>La défense de mon oncle contre ses infames persecuteurs</i> (C, S)	Combined	2	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>La guerre civile de Genève ou Les amours de Robert Covelle, poème héroïque, avec des notes instructives</i> (C, P, S)	Combined	3	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>La ligue ou Henri le Grand</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>La Princesse de Babilone</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>La prophétie de la Sorbonne, de l'an 1530, tirée des manuscrits de M. Baluze</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>La Pucelle d'Orléans</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>La singularités de la nature par un académicien de Londres, de Boulogne, de Petersbourg, de Berlin, &c</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers e delle Pensées détachées de M. l'abbé de St. Pierre</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Les Colimaçons du révérend père L'Escarbotier*</i> (B, C)	Combined	2	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Les droits des hommes, et les usurpations des autres</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Les honnêtetés littéraires</i> (C, P)	Combined	3	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Les loix de Minos</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Les questions de Zapata</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Les Scythes</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Lettres de M. de Voltaire à ses amis du Parnasse, avec des notes historiques et critiques</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Lettres è Son Altesse Monseigneur le Prince de *** [Brunswick] sur Rabelais et sur d'autres auteurs accusés d'avoir mal parlé de la religion chrétienne</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Lettres secretes de M. de Voltaire, publiées par M.L.B, or, Lettres de M. de Voltaire à ses amis du Parnasse</i> (P, S)	Combined	3	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Nouveaux mélanges philosophiques, historiques, critiques, &c</i> (P, S)	Combined	2	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Octave et le jeune Pompée, ou le Triumvirat, avec des remarques sur les proscriptions</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Œuvres</i> (C, P)	Combined	2	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Profession de foi des théistes par le comte Da.... traduit de l'allemand</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs. Nouvelle édition soigneusement revue corrigée et augmentée</i>	Cited by correspondent	2	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Questions sur les miracles en forme de lettres à M. le professeur Cl...*</i> (B, C)	Combined	2	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Recueil nécessaire</i> (C, P, S)	Combined	3	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Relation de la mort du chevalier de la Barre</i>	From bookseller	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Reponse de monsieur de Voltaire à monsieur l'abbé d'Olivet</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Tancredi</i>	Cited by Beccaria	1	French
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), <i>Théâtre de Pierre Corneille</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Walpole, Robert, <i>Testament politique du chevalier Walpole, comte d'Orford et ministre d'Angleterre</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	French
Wildman, Daniel, <i>Guida sicura pel governo delle api in tutto il corso dell'anno</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Wildman, Thomas, <i>Trattato sopra la cura delle api contenente l'istoria naturale di quest'insetti co' varj metodi sì antichi, come moderni di governarli; e l'istoria naturale delle vespe, e de' calabroni, co' mezzi di distruggerli, ornato di rami</i>	Books sold to Reycends	1	Italian
Wilkins, John, <i>An Essay towards a real character, and a philosophical language*</i>	Cited by correspondent	1	English
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, <i>Histoire de l'art chez les Anciens, par M. J Winckelmann</i>	Cited by correspondent	3	French