



**FROM REFORMISM TO UTOPIA?
PABLO DE OLAVIDE'S SOCIO-
ECONOMIC PROJECT IN
EL EVANGELIO EN TRIUNFO (1797)**

CARLA ALMANZA-GÁLVEZ
University of Sheffield

During the progressive early years of the reign of Carlos III, when legislation and state-led initiatives sought to reform society and regenerate the economy, the Peruvian-born Pablo de Olavide (1725-1803) was not only a prolific theorist, but also a practical collaborator in governmental activity.¹ In 1767, Olavide was entrusted with the Sierra Morena settlement project, a socio-economic blueprint potentially applicable to the whole of Spain (Anes, *Informes xvii*). The plan was implemented not only in response to the problems of depopulation and inefficient agricultural practices, but also as a way of creating useful citizens whose role was essential for the successful realization of the project. Three decades later, Olavide would draw on the plan in the final six letters of his epistolary philosophical text *El Evangelio en triunfo, o historia de un filósofo desengañado*. In 1988, Gérard Dufour labeled this group of letters as a utopian tale separable from the preceding plot of *El Evangelio* —"cette utopie interpolée dans *El Evangelio en triunfo*" ("Utopie et Illustración" 76)—, entitling them "Cartas de Mariano a Antonio" in his edition of that year.

By comparing the two stages in Olavide's thinking, this article will analyze the overlap of reformism and utopianism as well as the ideological implications of the educational and socio-economic features of the society described in the "Cartas". In response to scholars who dismiss the utopian intention of these letters, the present article will discuss the degree to which the final sections of *El Evangelio en triunfo* conform to the parameters of the utopian model. It will also focus on the links between the agenda of Enlightenment reformism and Catholic thought, revealing the Creole administrator as a subtle and original proponent of theological argument in a reactionary clerical environment. In so doing, this article draws on José Antonio Maravall's differentiation between reformist and utopian thinking: the first characterized by isolated, piecemeal changes, the second by comprehensive reform (4).

¹ The major source for Olavide's life in this article is Marcelin Defourneaux's *Pablo de Olavide ou l'afrancesado (1725-1803)*.

The *Nuevas Poblaciones* and Olavide's Economic Thought

After graduating with a doctorate in theology and a degree in law by the age of 17, Olavide occupied various governmental positions in the Viceroyalty of Peru. However, it was the tragic earthquake that destroyed Lima in 1746, killing his parents and one of his sisters, that gave him the opportunity to demonstrate his skills as an administrator. He was commissioned to carry out the rebuilding of the city, but was later accused of using funds designated for the restoration of a church to build a theater, something not considered a priority in the reconstruction of urgent infrastructure. Although Olavide's action may have derived from his literary interests and his desire to provide the citizenry with a place where they could escape the traumatic experience of the earthquake (Diderot 384), he was accused of misuse of funds, which led him to present himself in Spain to face trial and possible imprisonment.² Nevertheless, his actions during the reconstruction of Lima revealed an ability to apply his intellectual skills to the transformation of physical reality. While some interpreted the earthquake as divine punishment and organized religious processions to placate God's wrath,³ Olavide tackled the tragic event from a practical and humanitarian perspective (Marchena 24).

Olavide continued to demonstrate his administrative expertise by carrying out new duties assigned to him in Spain, such as director of the Hospice of San Fernando in Madrid and representative of the city council, but his most important role was to be as *Intendente* in the socio-political experiment of the *Plan de Nuevas Poblaciones* of the Sierra Morena in Andalusia, a task delegated to Olavide by Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, *fiscal* of the Council of Castile and a key figure in Carlos III's government. Similar to his work to rebuild Lima after the earthquake, the project allowed Olavide to rethink the spatial organization of a community, but on a larger scale, taking into account sociological factors. Though his task was to repopulate the area and revive the agrarian economy, the project was regulated by the legislative code entitled *Instrucción y fuero de población*, which framed the political, social and economic life of the settlements from 1767 until 1835. In his study of the scheme, Julio Caro Baroja described Olavide as "el filósofo creador, el utopista generoso y un poco precipitado" (58). Indeed, the Conde de Peñaflorida —founder of the recently

² Enlightened intellectual circles throughout Europe were shocked at the later actions of the Inquisition against Olavide. Denis Diderot was especially fascinated by Olavide's case and, in his account of the Peruvian thinker's life, he asserts that Olavide was a victim of fanaticism (392).

³ In his study of the earthquake's aftermath, Charles Walker explains that Lima was seen by some as the target of God's wrath due to its apparent arrogance and ostentation (79).

established Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País— saw the *Nuevas Poblaciones* as "una nueva Arcadia" or "verdadero paraíso terrenal" and called Olavide "un nuevo Adán" (Anes, *El siglo de las luces* 259).

The complex socio-economic experiment was based on a plan suggested by Johann Kaspar von Thürriegel, a Bavarian colonel in the service of Carlos III, whose scheme was originally designed to be put into practice in deserted areas of South America and Puerto Rico. However, Olavide thought that Thürriegel's scheme would be better applied to the underpopulated and unproductive region of the Sierra Morena, and especially to the vast plains of Andalusia that were rife with bandits, a situation that hampered communication with Madrid. Olavide's detailed thinking on the subject fed into his *Informe sobre la ley agraria*, drawn up in 1768 (Aguilar Piñal 21).

The plan consisted of recruiting mainly German, Swiss and Flemish Catholic farmers and stockbreeders and transporting them to Spain as colonists. The new settlements comprised up to thirty adjacent houses, and each active settler would receive fifty acres of land. Monks and nuns were excluded because they were likely to accumulate wealth and assume land ownership in perpetuity, but priests, along with mayors, deputies and delegates, would oversee parishes composed of up to five settlements. The participation of foreigners was intended to rouse the lethargic spirit of Spain's farmers, resulting from agrarian failure considered to derive from inadequate agricultural legislation (Olavide, "Informe" 495-96). Nevertheless, the project aimed to include Spanish farmers in order to preserve the Spanish language and Catholic religion. What is more, marriages between Spaniards and foreigners were encouraged in order to stimulate population growth, though equally to incorporate the latter into the labor infrastructure of the country (*Real Cédula* 1-5, 10). The plan thus contemplated a calculated process of transculturation with economic objectives as the pillar for the sociological restructuring of rural community life in that part of Spain.

One peculiarity of the repopulation experiment was its eclectic and rootless nature;⁴ that is to say, the greater the social and cultural dissimilarity from the Spanish nation, the better the social composition of this ideal society.⁵ Despite the tendency to overvalue foreign experience, Olavide's

⁴ Juan Marchena underlines the fact that repopulation projects were important lines of action in the Enlightenment mentality: "Ocupar los espacios, poblar, desarrollar regiones apartadas, conformaron un capítulo importante del ideario de la generación" (67-68).

⁵ For the sake of creating a better social system, the concept of colonization acquires a different meaning in terms of processes of repopulation in already occupied territories. As Cipriano Juárez and Gregorio Canales argue, "En los casos de planificación agraria, . . . el concepto de colonización varía en el tiempo y

program strove to preserve a strong sense of Christian identity. Marcelin Defourneaux points out that the scheme not only entailed a physical and ideological renovation of the Sierra Morena, but might also serve as a model for the rest of Spain:

Il s'agit . . . de faire . . . une "expérience sociologique", de créer de toutes pièces une société idéale débarrassée des tares héritées du passé qui affectent, aux yeux des réformateurs, la société espagnole de leur temps, et qui pèsent sur la vie de monde rural . . . le recours à des éléments "déracinés" offrait, *a priori*, les conditions les meilleures pour la réalisation de l'expérience et la constitution d'une "société rurale modèle" qui pourrait ensuite être donnée en exemple à toutes les campagnes espagnoles. (180)

Nonetheless, the exemplary character that Defourneaux attributes to this pilot scheme was eclipsed in its early stages by the impoverished background of the recently arrived migrants, as Cayetano Alcázar demonstrates in his analysis of the *Nuevas Poblaciones*. Because they saw emigration to the Sierra Morena as a way to improve their living conditions, most of the foreigners who enlisted in the scheme were old, in bad health and ragged. Their pitiful state was not compatible with the high expectations of the government's plan: "Tales eran los tipos que venían a repoblar y regenerar las tierras incultas de España, los despojos humanos que servían de carne de contratación para realizar el ideal generoso de los gobernantes de Carlos III" (Alcázar 18). Campomanes, however, insisted on their acceptance into the colonies claiming that their physical condition did not imply an inability to be good workers. Yet time would prove him wrong, as many colonists turned out to be unskilled and unfit for the task expected of them. The situation would eventually improve as the unsuitable migrant workers were expelled from the colonies and progressively replaced by Spanish farmers,⁶ who saw this opportunity as a process of reconquest of their own territory and culture: "los españoles . . . iban ya predominando y reconquistando los territorios que abandonaban los intriganes, los borrachos, los vagos y las gentes de malas costumbres, y cultivando su propio suelo sin los clamores de lenguas extrañas ni resonancias más allá de las fronteras . . ." (Alcázar 57-58).

consecuente con él las formas del establecimiento de la población y sus lugares de hábitat" (333).

⁶ After Olavide's administration, Miguel de Ondeano took over the government of the new settlements in 1774, and was successively followed in the role by Tomás González Carvajal, Hermenegildo Llanderal and Pedro Polo de Alcocer, with whom the system of the *Nuevas Poblaciones* came to an end in 1835 (Alcázar 94-96).

Olavide's detailed plan for agricultural reform is set out in his *Informe sobre la ley agraria*, of which the Sierra Morena project forms a part. His solutions to the farming problems of Andalusia complement the plan for new populations contained in the *Instrucción y fuero de población*. In line with the *Instrucción*, Olavide outlines a program to regulate the actions of the foreign inhabitants taking into account the existing conditions of agriculture in Andalusia. Although he did not have practical knowledge of agricultural methods and the information he relied on came largely from books,⁷ the originality of his thought undermined the traditional standards of the ruling administration, as Estuardo Núñez notes:

El *Informe* rectifica criterios imperantes hasta entonces; señala corruptelas entronizadas, privilegios injustos y errores de política económica. Sostiene sus puntos de vista inspirados en estudios modernos de tratadistas ingleses, suizos y franceses, y en una drástica voluntad de lucha contra el inmovilismo de la tierra y la inercia anterior de propietarios y gobernantes. ("La reforma agraria" xcv)

In addition to his theoretical understanding, Olavide sees in the pragmatic imitation of effective past experience a reliable and convenient approach to be applied. He urges following the example of England, a country whose economic history he viewed as similar to that of Spain, but which was seen in eighteenth-century Europe as being at the leading edge of successful innovation. It was imperative for Spain to imitate the most important changes introduced in the English rural economy, in particular the equal status of agriculture and stockbreeding:

Ya es tiempo, pues, de que nos desengañemos; de que la experiencia nos abra los ojos; de que la razón nos persuada y de que nos despierte el ejemplo de las demás naciones. Si se quiere crecer en población y riqueza, hagamos lo que ellas hacen, imitemos las huellas de Inglaterra; protejamos, fomentemos la labranza; cambiemos de legislación; hagamos por los labradores todo lo que hemos hecho por los ganaderos . . . ("Informe sobre la ley agraria" 489)

⁷ As Gonzalo Anes observes, "Don Pablo de Olavide no tenía conocimientos prácticos de agricultura. Su información era libresca. Quería aplicar en España los métodos de que tenía noticia, usados en Inglaterra y en Francia. Sus experimentos comenzaron en las nuevas poblaciones . . ." (*Informes en el expediente de ley agraria* xxxii-xxxiii). In the same vein, Marchena remarks that the intellectual contact Olavide had with other cultural realities prompted his reformist spirit: "La necesidad de reformar todo lo que veía, porque la distancia entre ambos mundos le pareció abismal, nació sin duda de esta comparación entre lo visto y lo vivido a uno y otro lado de los Pirineos, aunque fuese una 'ilustración' comprada en las librerías, vista en el teatro o aprendida en las tertulias" (33-34).

The unsuitable distribution of land, the use of ineffective farming techniques and the consequent poor quality of cultivation are the main aspects criticized by Olavide. In its focus on social structures, Olavide's plan sought to reduce the differences between social groups; the detachment of farmers from their properties is a major issue discussed in his *Informe*. In his view, land should be redistributed in plots to tenant farmers or *colonos* who would settle on their properties. Such a system of land tenure could also be applied to land owned by the Church; since the clergy should be expected to devote its time purely to spiritual and missionary services, the cultivation of the land could be taken over by competent farmers.

The program implies an institutionalization of private property ownership that some modern scholars claim disqualifies Olavide's Sierra Morena project from being viewed as utopian; however, the promotion of individualism in this case is justified by the sense of involvement that owning a possession engenders.⁸ Furthermore, as Gaspar de Jovellanos would conclude some thirty years later in the *Informe en el expediente de ley agraria* (1795), private property should be seen as a legitimate feature of society: "en el estado natural, los hombres tienen una idea muy imperfecta de la propiedad . . . pero reunidos en sociedades, para asegurar sus derechos naturales, cuidaron de arreglar y fijar el de propiedad, que miraron como el principal de ellos, y como el más identificado con su existencia" (65).⁹ Thus, the notion of land ownership emerges as a norm in which the concept of property as a product of nature legitimizes the natural distinction between social classes. This principle was shared by the French physiocrat and economist Victor de Riquetti, Marquis de Mirabeau, in *L'ami des hommes ou traité de la population* (1756), a text believed to have influenced Olavide's economic thought (Vardi 128-30). Therefore, Olavide's socio-economic

⁸ From a philosophical perspective, Kant's theory of private property, postulated in *The Metaphysics of Morals* (1797), states that everyone has the innate right to acquire and own things as private property: "a right to a thing is a right to the private use of a thing of which I am in (original or instituted) possession in common with all others" (49).

⁹ In his *Elogio de Carlos III* (1788), Jovellanos applauds the creation of the new settlements as a key achievement of the Bourbon reforms: "La enumeración de aquellas providencias y establecimientos con que este benéfico soberano [Carlos III] ganó nuestro amor y gratitud ha sido ya objeto de otros más elocuentes discursos . . . La erección de nuevas colonias agrícolas, el repartimiento de las tierras comunales, la reducción de los privilegios de la ganadería, la abolición de la tasa y la libre circulación de los granos con que mejoró la agricultura . . ." (*Obras completas* 673). The identification of the "new agrarian colonies" with Olavide's Sierra Morena project is annotated by John Polt in his critical edition of the *Elogio* (Jovellanos, *Poesía. Teatro. Prosa literaria* 294).

experiment implies the redemptive status of agriculture, according to which rural society obeys nature's laws and acts as an antagonistic force against a corrupt urban metropolis. The idealistic character of such thinking will now be examined.

***El Evangelio en triunfo* in Context**

Olavide's *El Evangelio en triunfo, o historia de un filósofo desengañado* was first published in Valencia in 1797-98, being repeatedly reprinted in subsequent decades and becoming a Spanish bestseller in Europe and America. Although published anonymously, Olavide was known to be the author by many of his contemporaries. The work was completed at the end of a seventeen-year exile in France, after his escape from confinement by the Spanish Inquisition on being convicted of heresy in 1778, a charge he vehemently denied.¹⁰ Because of his status as a foreigner in France and suspected of collaboration with the French political elite, Olavide was incarcerated for a few months in 1794. The new imprisonment caused him to witness first-hand the extreme violence during the period of the French Revolution known as the Reign of Terror. As the prologue to *El Evangelio en triunfo* states, "Yo me hallaba en París el año de 1789, y vi nacer la espantosa revolución que en poco tiempo ha devorado uno de los más hermosos y opulentos reinos de la Europa" (i).

The sense of disillusion Olavide experienced when the Revolution took a violent, anti-Catholic and irrational turn led him to write *El Evangelio* as a confirmation of his Catholicism in preparation for a possible return to Spain. Scholars such as Jean Sarrailh and Alfred Morel-Fatio see the text as the recantation of a disillusioned Olavide (Morel-Fatio 161, Sarrailh 622), reflected in the disenchanted protagonist of his fiction. The story indeed reveals autobiographical elements that turn Olavide into the hero of his own narrative. However, as Miguel Benítez argues, rather than a mere defense of Christianity, *El Evangelio* can be read as an invocation of the true spirit of Catholicism, offering a narrative that blends Catholic discourse and Enlightenment humanist thought (224).¹¹ Olavide's disapproval of the distorted ideals of the French Revolution is expressed in the final four

¹⁰ José Luis Gómez Urdáñez and Diego Téllez Alarcia give an account of Olavide's encounter with the Inquisition, which also pays attention to his early career and later utopian text (24-30).

¹¹ Andrea Smidt indicates that the concept of a Catholic Enlightenment can be treated as a distinguishable phenomenon by which a less hierarchical structure of the Church is pursued. This would imply a return to the spirit of early Christianity and an attempt to make the Christian faith more reasonable and useful to society (409). However, Smidt draws attention to the fact that Spanish Jansenism and regalist reform of the Church overshadowed the matters of religious reform because they did not correspond with the aims of the state (437-39).

letters of *El Evangelio*, which were originally removed from the text by the Spanish censors (Núñez, *El nuevo Olavide* 35-36).

Olavide portrays religion as an essential pillar of society; hence the fact that the settlements were called *feligresías* ('parishes') instead of 'towns' or 'villages'. The prologue to *El Evangelio* explains that the memoirs of the *filósofo desengañado* are meant to show how religion, not rebellion as in the French Revolution, is the best weapon against ignorance and irrationality:

Estas memorias deben advertir a los pueblos del peligro a que se exponen si dan oídos a esas sirenas seductoras; deben despertar a los soberanos, haciéndoles ver que no puede ser estable ni tranquila la duración de sus imperios si no preservan a sus pueblos de este fatal contagio, y que el mejor preservativo es extender en ellos la instrucción y el estudio sólido y convincente de la verdad de la religión. (xiv)

A rational and humanistic Christianity is a basic feature of Olavide's utopianism and derives in large measure from *Les délices de la religion, ou le pouvoir de l'Évangile pour nous rendre heureux* (1788) by Antoine-Adrien Lamourette, an author opposed to traditional theology and committed to reconciling Enlightenment thought with a tolerant Catholicism. *El Evangelio* is in part a translation of Lamourette's work, and Olavide acknowledges the French text.¹²

Lamourette's influence is also reflected in both the plot and dialogic structure of the text, except that the storyline of *Les délices de la religion* is not structured in letters, but as a dialogue among the characters. Using the literary strategy of a found manuscript—and thanking Providence for providing him with such a discovery—the fictional author created by Olavide claims to have found in his cell letters exchanged between a *filósofo* and some of his friends. The author acts as the editor of the letters that narrate the life of the philosopher, which happens to be a model of how religion creates better individuals and citizens. His adulthood was marked by irrational behaviour as a consequence of his defective religious education; only his embrace of Christianity turned him into an honorable and useful man. Thus, *El Evangelio* becomes the story of the spiritual evolution of the philosopher who, with the help of a wise priest, abandons his dissolute lifestyle to devote himself to the practice of the Gospel and to enjoying the cultivation of his land.

Religion and agriculture are presented as the foundational elements of the philosopher's conversion to Christianity, which is developed in the first

¹² "La obrita del abate Lamourette que yo tenía a la mano, al mismo paso que me daba algunas ideas para ejecutar mi pensamiento, encendía más mis deseos . . ." (vii-viii). Olavide calls Lamourette's book an *obrita* because of its tiny pages; though 372 pages long, it was printed in 12° format.

three volumes of Olavide's work. The final six letters of the fourth volume contain the description of the utopian town devised by the philosopher as a practical application of Christian and civic virtues. In the letters, Mariano, a close friend and collaborator of the philosopher, informs his friend Antonio of the progress of the plan designed by the philosopher to reform the town. Mariano and Antonio had arrived together in the nameless village of the philosopher, but Antonio abandoned it to spend five years in the New World. Mariano then recounts the improvements made to the village during Antonio's absence: "Las novedades y mejoras que mi amigo ha hecho y hace todos los días en este lugar son tan rápidas como prodigiosas . . . la mutación de la escena es completa: lo que dejaste ruina, asco y miseria, lo hubieras visto convertido en hermosura, limpieza, abundancia y felicidad" (Dufour, *Cartas de Mariano a Antonio* 40).¹³ To some extent, the place becomes the symbolic representation of a Spain that, like the philosopher, is intrinsically good and productive, but has been corrupted by the harmful ideology of the times.

The utopian character of *El Evangelio* lies in the assumption that the transfiguration of the philosopher into a leader is the first step towards guaranteeing the happiness of his community, which depends on the impact of his actions and decisions.¹⁴ The dynamics of this interrelation triggers a parallel between the spiritual conversion of the philosopher and the radical transformation of his village; both the town and the philosopher have been saved from their shortcomings by unconditionally accepting the precepts of the Gospel. As a result, the philosopher becomes the personification of the ideal ruler destined to favorably influence those under his protection. Olavide's concept of an ideal ruler ultimately refers to the leader as an incarnation of God, the governor par excellence, and this also applies to absolute monarchs. The philosopher of *El Evangelio* thinks of himself as the universal father of all of the people living in his domains, entrusted with a divine mission based on his inherited privileged social and economic status. He is basically an intermediary for God's plan: "Yo debía pues considerarme como el padre de todos esos pueblos, como un tutor nombrado por el cielo para cuidar de su felicidad . . . mis obligaciones eran naturales e inherentes a la dignidad y ventajas de mi nacimiento" (45). Although austerity is frequently the key to maintaining a successful social

¹³ From now on, all the quotations will correspond to Gérard Dufour's edition of the "Cartas de Mariano a Antonio".

¹⁴ The ideal of a philosophically trained ruler comes from Book V of Plato's *The Republic*. In Kallipolis, Plato's utopian city-state, philosopher-kings are the only people entitled to become rulers. Everyone else is predestined to be a follower rather than a leader (158).

order in political-religious utopias, the philosopher uses wealth to help the less fortunate.

It is important to recall that the basic notion of utopia derives from the etymological meaning of the neologism coined by Thomas More in his canonical work of 1516, which defines 'utopia' as a 'good place' or 'no place'. However, as Gregory Claeys points out, "the field of utopian studies has come to reflect discussions about the progressive or regressive aspects of historical development in microcosm" (xi). That is to say, utopian writing entails an ideal of social progress that goes beyond the goodness or idealization of a perfect utopian society. Not only is the concept of progress, in the sense of a socio-economic reform agenda, present in Olavide's work, but also other utopia-related discourses such as that of colonialism in terms of the desire to discover unknown territories.¹⁵ Although the colonizing purpose of foreign farmers in Olavide's plan does not imply the actual act of exploration and colonial domination, it aims to establish an improved social order in an already occupied territory, one in which the philosopher plays a patriarchal role. The topic of colonialism, in turn, brings up the question of national identity, which in certain utopian contexts turns into a xenophobic hostility towards foreign realities. In the case of Olavide's program, there is an evident interest in protecting Spanish identity from being undermined by the culture of immigrant colonists. Apart from these characteristics, it should be noted that Olavide's project is an example of what Ernst Bloch calls "concrete utopia" (7) or Stelio Cro an "empirical utopia" (28) for the Spanish tradition. Both terms refer to the implementation of utopia as opposed to the abstract representation of utopian worlds. The following sections of this article will deal with the formulation of the experimental utopia in the Sierra Morena.

The Agrarian Utopia

The philosopher's socio-economic and spiritual plan can be seen as the utopian equivalent of the Sierra Morena colonization project.¹⁶ However, such a re-elaboration requires a positive validation of the traditionally anti-utopian feature of private property. A key component of Olavide's repopulation plan is the division of land into autonomous parcels or *suertes*

¹⁵ Katarzyna Kwapisz-Williams warns that the relationship between the concepts of utopia and colonialism appears to be falsely problematic because "Colonialism, though based on far-fetched fantasies of distant lands, brings associations with aggressive politics, destruction and guilt rather than ideal political systems, social order and brotherhood, which is why it is easy to forget about the utopian ideals that often constituted its foundations" (41).

¹⁶ José Luis Abellán has drawn attention to the links between Olavide's activities overseeing the settlement at Sierra Morena and the enlightened Catholicism of the utopian narrative in *El Evangelio en triunfo* (603-06, 615-20).

on which the farmers settle. This feature of self-interest led Luis Perdices Blas to deny the label "utopian" to Olavide's project and its corresponding fictionalization in the philosopher's plan. According to Perdices, the Peruvian thinker does not foresee the creation of an agrarian colony as an egalitarian republic because he does not attempt to modify the reality of the existing social structures. As a result, the concept of a utopian communal society is not applicable to Olavide's narrative: "Olavide defiende la sociedad estamental. Nunca diseñó un patrón de vida colectivo, sino que la base de sus reformas es el fomento del interés propio de los individuos" (184). It is true that in his *Informe sobre la ley agraria* Olavide had proclaimed the political necessity of a monarchy to preserve wealth inequality, but he also specified that there should be several moderate fortunes instead of vast wealth enjoyed only by a minority (520).

Perdices also regrets the fact that, having read Thomas More's *Utopia*—a book known to be in Olavide's private library—, Olavide did not follow the canonical utopian guidelines to create his model society. Nevertheless, Perdices fails to identify the particular treatment of utopianism in *El Evangelio*, which consists of the depiction of the philosopher's village as an imaginary location where rural life makes all the inhabitants happy. In this respect, Dufour rightly observes that Antonio is a passive visitor or traveller who requests information from Mariano—virtually a native of the imaginary community—about the progress of the place where he used to live, which has now been radically transformed. Mariano, for his part, plays the role of the learned guide who lives in the utopian country. Although not an island, but merely an isolated place, Dufour identifies the geographical circumstances of the philosopher's country with Spain: "Olavide arrive donc à faire une sorte d'île perdue dans l'océan de ces terres du Philosophe désabusé, terres qui par ailleurs rappellent étrangement l'intérieur de la Péninsule Ibérique . . ." ("Utopie et Ilustración" 75). Another curious feature in Olavide's utopia is the reformism underlying the immigration process to repopulate the philosopher's country. The paradox resides in a utopian space resulting from a process of voluntary displacement. In other words, the utopian country in *El Evangelio* is not a preexisting perfect world, but the result of calculated strategic planning. As Ana Rueda affirms, "esta utopía no es utópica, es decir, se instala en tierras que posee el Filósofo, y tampoco es a-histórica, puesto que presenciamos cómo se levanta" (300). Despite the conceptual validity of this argument, it is possible to maintain that both the internal transformation of the philosopher and the external reproduction of that change by means of reforming actions in his community are the starting point for the development of a critical-utopian account that questions the existing socio-economic order.

Besides the study of religion, the training in agricultural techniques is conceived of as the most dignifying activity for the members of a society. What makes agriculture a formative experience is the possibility of learning

by imitating the actions of knowledgeable landowners such as the philosopher. Echoing the mission of eighteenth-century Spanish Economic Societies, the philosopher persuades his neighbors to abandon their traditional farming methods by showing them how to cultivate their lands in a rational and more effective way.¹⁷ This perspective derives from the economic thought of the Spanish economist of Irish origin Bernardo Ward, who, in the reign of Fernando VI, traveled across Europe and Spain collecting information to facilitate reform in the Spanish empire (Sarrailh 258). Olavide was influenced by the economic ideas for improvement of the period, but some of the alleged contradictions in his reformist proposals, attributed to his shallow theoretical analysis, are shared with other Spanish enlightened thinkers, with the notable exception of Jovellanos (Perdices 493).

In the description of the agricultural model in *El Evangelio*, it is remarkable to note the explicit reference to Spain as a case that contrasts with the economic reality of the philosopher's town; hence the advisability of emulating a foreign system that allows making the most of the abundance and fertility of Spain:

aunque Dios ha dotado a nuestra España de las más excelentes tierras de Europa, y tan fecundas que se podría aumentar diez veces más el número de sus habitantes, se halla tantas veces angustiada y con los justos temores de no poder sustentar los pocos que tiene . . . esta miseria nace de la poca atención que se da a la agricultura; y aunque se pudieran alegar otros defectos de ella, como son la mala distribución de las poblaciones, el mal ordenado repartimiento de las tierras y otros que es fácil numerar, es menester reconocer que todos estos males . . . se reúnen todos a producir este cultivo ligero, atropellado y superficial, que es la causa más inmediata y próxima de todos los daños. (78-79)

This passage contains the main arguments supporting the implementation of a socio-economic scheme based on an appropriate rural land administration. In that sense, the most urgent problem to be tackled is the depopulation of the countryside, the situation addressed in Olavide's *Plan de Nuevas Poblaciones*.

In *El Evangelio*, the philosopher justifies the need to increase the rural population by claiming that if a farmer were in sole charge of his land, the cultivation would be badly carried out and the final product unsatisfactory: "Yo por mí solo no pudiera cultivar tanta tierra . . . no la cultivaría bien . . . En la agricultura no adelanta el que hace más, sino el que hace bien . . ." (85). More importantly, the philosopher's plan stipulates that the grant of

¹⁷ In fact, the objectives of the Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País reproduce those of utopian societies in seeking to stimulate the political, economic and cultural development of an enlightened Spain (Enciso 9).

land means more than a simple lease agreement: tenant farmers are entitled to have full authority over their plots as long as they respect the conditions imposed by the owner and his property rights. Even their descendants have the right to enjoy the benefits. In the philosopher's view, the success of the experiment depends on appropriate laws and conditions:

no basta simplemente darles las tierras; es indispensable dárselas con ciertas leyes, calidades y condiciones, y del acierto de éstas depende el logro de la operación. Así mi intención es darles la suerte no en arriendo, ni en ninguna otra especie de contrato precario y temporal: cederé la tierra plena y absolutamente, transfiriéndoles el dominio útil, esto es, el goce y usufructo de la tierra, sin reservarme otra cosa que el dominio directo o la propiedad de ella, y la parte de frutos que deben obligarse a pagarme. (87)

It is important to note that, although the notion of *colono* is certainly enunciated in *El Evangelio*, the idea of the process of colonization by foreign farmers is not mentioned in the description of the philosopher's project. The omission of such an essential aspect of the official reform plan for the *Nuevas Poblaciones* may be a result of the patriotic posture adopted by Olavide in his fictional recreation or of his belief that the importing of foreigners did not work. This attitude, bordering on nationalism, is reflected in the educational plan described in the "Cartas de Mariano a Antonio", which provides the foundation for *El Evangelio's* agricultural utopia.

The Educational Utopia

In order to set up his socio-economic program and achieve public well-being, the philosopher creates an educational system in which religion and the study of nature have a vital role. The philosopher asks Mariano to take charge of the education of his children, Félix and Paulino, because he has to temporarily take care of the properties he owns elsewhere. The main reason Mariano qualifies as the perfect tutor for the philosopher's sons is that he has had a sound religious training and rejects the frivolous customs of city life. Because urban life is a source of vain pleasures, vices and corruption, the philosopher wants Félix and Paulino to be educated in the pristine, natural environment of the countryside, where simplicity and innocence are the basis of happiness: "Quisiera inspirar a los dos el gusto y el amor de las ocupaciones rústicas, de los inocentes trabajos del campo, así para dar pábulo a la inquieta actividad de la juventud, como para distraerlos de toda afición o gusto pernicioso" (49). To restate what has been pointed out previously, the utopian program delineated in *El Evangelio* is a rural, egalitarian society based on a rational knowledge and practice of Christianity.

The constitutive elements of the educational plan proposed by the philosopher are in many respects similar to the ones used by Olavide in his reform plan for the University of Seville in 1768. That study program was

addressed to the prosperous sectors of society, while children from the working class would receive compulsory education in the same way as the children of the farmers in the Sierra Morena. The objective of the philosopher's educational scheme is the development of a model man, capable of making others happy and of paying tribute to God for the benefits given and for the opportunity to do good to society by means of his privileged social position. This type of education is intended to get children used to living on the land and to showing them how to achieve and maintain prosperity (Perdices 482). However, *El Evangelio's* plan includes an educational aspect that was not contemplated in Olavide's original reform proposals: a system of home education (*educación doméstica*) in which instruction is delivered by tutors or parents in the home. The designation of Mariano as tutor to Félix and Paulino is in line with Olavide's home education system, which offered a solution to the shortcomings of the existing model and to the absence of public educational institutions.

The preference for a moderate, religious lifestyle endorsed in *El Evangelio* is further underlined by the conviction that agriculture is the basis of national and personal growth, a viewpoint common to many eighteenth-century Spanish economists who adopted physiocratic theory.¹⁸ Nonetheless, although Olavide's ideas were initially influenced by Mirabeau's work, his attitude does not necessarily reflect an acceptance of physiocracy. Unlike physiocrats, Olavide believed that agriculture was a major sector of the economy, but not the only one to generate wealth. His perception of the agricultural system differed from the physiocrats: "Los fisiócratas defienden las grandes explotaciones arrendadas a *fermiers* porque permiten que el *produit net* aumente . . . Olavide, en cambio, propone una agricultura basada en pequeñas explotaciones cultivadas por labradores que tienen al menos el dominio útil de la tierra" (Perdices 252).¹⁹ As previously stated, Olavide's thought was largely grounded in private ownership.

Since the study of religion is the central component of *El Evangelio's* educational model, the secular sciences must be subordinated to Catholic doctrine. In this respect, the importance of having a catechism or handbook on Christianity is a crucial concern in the socio-spiritual project developed by the philosopher and corroborated by the priest. The latter strongly condemns the fact that a book containing the basic principles of the

¹⁸ The mere adoption of French physiocracy apparently cast doubt on the intellectual originality of Spanish economists (Lluch and Argemí 45).

¹⁹ In terms of the interdependent relationship between the concepts of population and subsistence, Olavide adopted an intermediate position between the theories of agrarianism and mercantilism. His vision would correspond to a group of theorists who subscribe to elements of both (Martín 201).

Christian faith does not yet exist.²⁰ Such a book should be the cornerstone of any social order: "lo que más nos falta, y lo que en mi juicio debe preceder a todo, es un libro clásico y elemental que nos exponga la historia de nuestra santa religión . . . Este libro debía ser conciso, metódico, y escrito con estilo tan corriente y claro que todo el mundo le pudiera entender" (182). In trying to underline the beneficial effects of organized religious practice in society, the philosopher points to the civil happiness and political stability following the cultivation of a communal religious consciousness. Religion prevents the interference of sophistry, and seditious thinking can lead to extreme and undesirable events like the French Revolution:

¿Quién puede dudar . . . que si . . . se propagara en la nación el estudio y la práctica de una religión santa, y que no predica más que virtudes que no tienen otro objeto que la felicidad de los hombres, no sólo esto sería el mejor preservativo para no dejarnos inficionar de esa filosofía devastadora, no sólo aseguraría esto la consistencia de la religión, la estabilidad del trono y la pública tranquilidad, sino sería el motivo más eficaz de mejorar las costumbres y hacernos tan felices como la condición humana puede alcanzar a serlo? (188)

Similar arguments about the necessary preservation of religion are presented in the author's prologue, which makes an explicit reference to the corruption of French culture: "Si el pueblo francés hubiera estado más instruido de la verdad de su religión, la falsa filosofía no hubiera hecho tantos progresos" (vi).

The philosopher claims that religion and modern secular knowledge are not incompatible, but complementary areas that promote progress and civilization: "no pienso que para ser cristiano, pueda conducir ser ignorante y bárbaro. Pero digo que la ciencia de la salud eterna debe ocupar la primera atención; que no se deben aprender las otras, sino cuando el espíritu, ya formado por la primera, está dispuesto a hacer buen uso de ellas . . ." (55). The educational method of *El Evangelio* advocates the teaching of arts and sciences that help students develop the ability to reflect critically upon their own learning because the ultimate goal is to make them understand, when they reach the age of reasoning, why they should live according to the precepts of the Catholic faith: "No sólo les enseñaremos lo que deben creer y practicar, sino el porqué lo deben practicar y creer" (52). Up to the age of 17, students are trained in grammar, Latin, geometry and algebra. On this point, the philosopher's plan diverges from that of the *Nuevas Poblaciones* because the *Instrucción y fuero de población* does not consider the study of

²⁰ The truths and virtues of the Gospel are elaborated in Olavide's subsequent *Poemas cristianos, en que se exponen con sencillez las verdades más importantes de la religión* (1799).

grammar or any other science as part of the education of the farmers' children: they are meant to learn mechanical arts because these contribute to the progress of the state (*Real Cédula* 10). They are allowed to learn foreign languages and other disciplines, but only after having acquired an excellent command of the Spanish language and succeeded in becoming good men, Christians and Spaniards: "es menester haber aprendido a ser hombre, cristiano y buen español antes de aprender a ser historiador, poeta o extranjero" (57). In this regard, *El Evangelio* coincides with the *Instrucción*, which prescribes the learning of Christian doctrine and of the Spanish language at the same time (*Real Cédula* 10). The idea of learning how to be a good Spaniard may be the reason behind Olavide's decision to omit the process of immigration as a functional mechanism for the recreation of the philosopher's town. The introduction of a foreign element is here perceived as a threat to Spanish identity, which was not considered as such in the Sierra Morena project.

Among the exact sciences, the study of mathematics is especially important because it helps children improve their powers of concentration and abstract reasoning; consequently, they develop the ability to instinctively access the truth of things.²¹ In order to motivate the analysis and questioning of preexisting truths, the study of sciences that stimulate critical thinking is preferred to those that encourage rote learning. However, the study of history—the representative discipline of the faculty of memory—must not be regarded as a subjective source of knowledge as long as students have obtained the cognitive tools to distinguish fact from fiction. The acquisition of this intellectual ability is particularly crucial for the study of sacred history. What is emphasized in the study of natural history is a better understanding of the greatness of nature. The contemplation of the natural world is a vehicle not only to refine the study of God's creation, but also to initiate the learning of agriculture-related aspects, a feature which connects the educational and agrarian dimensions of Olavide's utopia: "El campo debe ser nuestra escuela, y divirtiéndonos aprenderemos el nombre, la realidad y las propiedades de cuantos objetos se nos presentan a los ojos" (60).²² The study of natural history becomes an ally of theology, and will be supported by the study of physics, geography and astronomy. Moreover, this panegyric on nature reasserts the superiority of virtuous rural occupations and pleasures over futile urban ones.

²¹ Elena Ausejo provides an informed overview of the Spanish promotion of mathematics during the reign of Carlos III (698-710).

²² The observation of the natural world can also refer to the metaphorical concept of learning from the Book of Nature, a common feature of Enlightenment thought.

Another characteristic of the educational program that is relevant to the art of agriculture is the practice of gardening. Mariano recommends that Félix and Paulino should become gardeners at the age of 17 in order to gain experience for cultivating their future territories. On this point, Defourneaux highlights the subtle connection between Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile* (1762) and Olavide's *El Evangelio en triunfo*. Both texts are founded on the relationship between nature and education, and foster training in manual labor: while the philosopher's sons are advised to work as gardeners, Émile is supposed to become a carpenter (Defourneaux 466). As Dufour notes, another similarity between the works of Olavide and Rousseau is the importance given to the teaching of drawing because it is the language of art and enables landowners to deal with designers concerning the manufacture of tools or the repair of buildings (*Cartas de Mariano a Antonio* 17). Since it is an objective reflection of reality, drawing is an effective way to protect truth from misinterpretation or falsehood, which is a fundamental maxim of Olavide's plan: "El que sabe dibujar sabe ver, porque se fija en el espíritu la idea de los objetos y de sus proporciones con exactitud, se los retrata con fidelidad y tales como son . . ." (62). The perception of reality as a mirror of nature is implied in the principles by which an agrarian society shapes the innate character of its inhabitants. Nonetheless, this social behavior needs to be modeled on and adjusted to civilized standards, which is why the philosopher encourages the creation of an institution devoted to this specific task.

The Civic Utopia

The educational and economic scope of Olavide's utopian program is complemented by the presence of an organization involved in the consolidation of a functional agrarian society: a Committee for the Public Good or *Junta del Bien Público*, a patriotic group dedicated to eradicating poverty and encouraging good behavior. The committee was established "para desterrar la ociosidad y la mendicidad, para excitar la industria, promover las artes y reformar las costumbres" (105). Its members are organized into sub-committees with specific functions. Women are called upon to form a commission responsible for assisting the poor and the sick. In this respect, the *Junta* emphasizes that the poor and unemployed must be occupied in useful activities. The following passage sums up the objectives of the *Junta*, underlining the advantages of the philosopher's plan:

no hay lugar, no hay pueblo, que no deba sentir al instante la influencia de una operación tan caritativa y bien ordenada; y . . . una sociedad de esta especie, si encuentra, como es regular, inspectores cristianos y celosos, ha de reformar las costumbres y dar entrada a todas las virtudes. El socorro de los pobres . . . será lo de menos, porque con él se debe esperar el estudio de la religión, la buena crianza de los muchachos, la honestidad pública, la decencia exterior, la urbanidad, la paz de las familias, la

extinción de los pleitos y discordias, el destierro de los vicios vergonzosos, y en fin la extensión de las artes, el amor y aplicación al trabajo, la prosperidad de los estados, y todos los bienes particulares de que resulta la felicidad pública. (137)

The *Junta* was created to assist needy and underprivileged individuals, and as an alternative to the simple action of giving alms to the poor, that is to say, as a job creation tool. The introduction of this institutional body is in accord with Olavide's earlier participation in the direction of the Hospice of San Fernando in Madrid, a position he was appointed to in 1766 (Defourneaux 90). In her analysis of *El Evangelio*, Noël Valis defines the philosopher's program as a "philanthropic project" in which "Olavide intended a thorough reform of society, from agricultural improvements to good manners, schoolrooms to spiritual reawakening" (74). It is worth mentioning that the *Instrucción y Juero de población* similarly included the running of hospices as a solution to the idleness and incapacity of the poor (*Real Cédula* 5).

Comparing the dynamics of the *Junta* with that of the utopian agricultural project, there is an analogous conception of success based on the degree of engagement of the citizens: the experiment will be successful if the participants become active agents. Making a commitment to something perceived as a possession is instinctive behavior that must be used in favor of society. In the same way that farmers exert control over their lands because they see themselves as property owners, the members of the *Junta* must experience the project as their own and deservedly expect benefits in return. Mariano informs Antonio that, after observing the conditions in which the settlers and their families live, many other residents want to follow their example and enjoy the same benefits. According to Mariano, this state of happiness and self-fulfilment prevents the population from migrating to other countries, where it is unlikely that they will achieve a better existence. A perfect nation must ensure that its citizens do not feel like foreigners in their own country:

Estos individuos, que antes eran tan infelices, y vivían tan tristes, comparando su antiguo estado con el que tienen hoy, conocen su felicidad actual y gozan de ella. Todos han tomado amor a su país, todos sienten las ventajas que logran, y han perdido este espíritu errante y vagabundo con que se abandona sin pena el país natal en que no se está bien, para buscar otro en que no se está mejor: espíritu de miseria que quita toda especie de aplicación, que hace al hombre extranjero en su país y que no le presenta una patria en ninguna parte. (147)

Conclusion

The construction of a rural social system grounded in a rational Catholicism and in which all the inhabitants practice their spiritual and civic virtues is the utopian project depicted in the final sections of *El Evangelio en*

trunfo, o historia de un filósofo desengañado. The utopian enterprise of the disenchanted philosopher —Olavide's alter ego to a certain extent— restates and transmits many basic features of Olavide's Sierra Morena reform plan in a critical and practical manner. Both the fictional creation and the Sierra Morena implementation reveal Olavide's dual condition as reformer and utopian thinker. Even though the earlier plan had an essentially utopian impulse, both ideological discourses are discernible as separate concepts: while reformism can be utopian in a general sense, utopia as a genre disguises its reformist or subversive spirit by presenting the new social order proposed in terms of a parallel or alternative reality. Destined to failure due to clerical opposition and the contemptuous attitude of Olavide's successors, the Sierra Morena project aspired to a reordering of rural society by applying the leading socio-economic theories of the time, and especially Olavide's extensive experience as an administrator.

In *El Evangelio en triunfo*, the religious conversion of the philosopher works as a device that simultaneously triggers his disillusionment with the existing world and his creative capability to develop an enlightened socio-political system based on the formation of good Christian citizens and good Spaniards. The philosopher epitomizes the image of the perfect Christian who has overcome a series of setbacks to become the reformer and leader of an ideal community thanks to his religious re-education. Thus, the narrative structure of the "Cartas de Mariano a Antonio" can be interpreted as a symbolic correspondence between the personal reinvention of the philosopher and the redesign of the society he belongs to. He is the instrument through which his society has been saved, and his sudden death suggests that his life was meant to end once his reform plan began to bear fruit. The dual composition of *El Evangelio's* reformist model, in which the progress of the agricultural system depends on the correct implementation of the educational program, ultimately entails a utopianism rooted in the conviction that human nature and the natural world have inherently positive attributes that can be wisely cultivated in order to mold skillful citizens and workers who are able to live happily as a consequence of the fruits of the land they cultivate.²³

WORKS CITED

- Abellán, José Luis. *Historia crítica del pensamiento español*. Vol. 3: *Del Barroco a la Ilustración (siglos XVII y XVIII)*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1981.
- Aguilar Piñal, Francisco. *Plan de estudios para la Universidad de Sevilla por Pablo de Olavide*. Barcelona: Ediciones de Cultura Popular, 1969.

²³ The author would like to thank Rhian Davies, Geraldine Lawless and Philip Deacon for their helpful advice and comments on this article.

- Alcázar Molina, Cayetano. *Las colonias alemanas de Sierra Morena*. Madrid, 1930.
- Anes, Gonzalo. *El siglo de las luces*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994.
- _____. *Informes en el expediente de ley agraria: Andalucía y La Mancha, 1768*. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario, Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1990.
- Ausejo, Elena. "Las matemáticas en la Ilustración hispana: estado de la cuestión." *Ilustración, ilustraciones*. Vol. 2. Ed. Jesús Astigarraga, María Victoria López-Cordón, and José María Urkia. Donostia-San Sebastián: Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País; Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009. 693-713.
- Benítez, Miguel. "El sueño de la razón produce monstruos': *El Evangelio en triunfo*, de Pablo de Olavide." *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre "Carlos III y la Ilustración"*. Vol. 3: *Educación y pensamiento*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1989. 199-225.
- Bloch, Ernst. *The Principle of Hope*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.
- Caro Baroja, Julio. "Las 'nuevas poblaciones' de Sierra Morena y Andalucía: un experimento sociológico en tiempos de Carlos III." *Clavileño: Revista de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanismo* 18 (1952): 52-64.
- Claeys, Gregory, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010.
- Cro, Stelio. *The American Foundations of the Hispanic Utopia, 1492-1793*. Vol. 1: *The Literary Utopia*. Sinapia, *A Classical Utopia of Spain and the* Discurso de la educación. Tallahassee, FL: DeSoto Press, 1994.
- Defourneaux, Marcelin. *Pablo de Olavide ou l'afrancesado (1725-1803)*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959.
- Diderot, Denis. "Don Pablo Olavidès: Précis historique, rédigé sur de mémoires fournis par un espagnol." *Œuvres de Denis Diderot: Mélanges de littérature et de philosophie*. Vol. 3. Ed. Jacques André Naigeon. Paris: J. L. J. Brière, 1821. 384-93.
- Dufour, Gérard. *Cartas de Mariano a Antonio: el programa ilustrado de "El evangelio en triunfo"*. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1988.

- . "Utopie et Ilustración: *El Evangelio en triunfo* de Pablo de Olavide." *Las utopías en el mundo hispánico: Actas del coloquio celebrado en la Casa de Velázquez*. Ed. Jean-Pierre Étienvre. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, Universidad Complutense, 1990. 73-78.
- Enciso Recio, Luis Miguel. *Las Sociedades Económicas en el Siglo de las Luces*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2010.
- Gómez Urdáñez, José Luis and Diego Téllez Alarcia. "Pablo de Olavide y Jáuregui, un católico ilustrado." *Brocar: Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica* 28 (2004): 7-30.
- Jovellanos, Gaspar Melchor de. *Informe en el expediente de ley agraria*. Madrid: Sancha, 1795.
- . *Obras completas*. Vol. 10: *Escritos económicos*. Ed. Vicent Llombart i Rosa and Joaquín Ocampo Suárez-Valdés. Oviedo: Ayuntamiento de Gijón, Instituto Feijoo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, KRK Ediciones, 2008.
- . *Poesía. Teatro. Prosa literaria*. Ed. John H. R. Polt. Madrid: Taurus, 1993.
- Juárez Sánchez-Rubio, Cipriano and Gregorio Canales Martínez. "Colonización agraria y modelos de hábitat (siglos XVIII-XX)." *Agricultura y Sociedad* 49 (1988): 333-52.
- Kant, Immanuel. *The Metaphysics of Morals*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996.
- Kwapisz-Williams, Katarzyna. "Utopia of the Southern Land in Colonial Literary Imagination." *A Quarterly Magazine of Australia, New Zealand and Oceania Research Association* 3 (2010): 41-58.
- Lluch, Ernest and Lluís Argemí i D'Abadal. *Agronomía y fisiocracia en España (1750-1820)*. Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1985.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *Utopía y reformismo en la España de los Austrias*. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1982.
- Marchena Fernández, Juan. *Pablo de Olavide: el espacio de la Ilustración y la reforma universitaria. Vida y obra de un ilustrado americano y español*. Seville: Junta de Andalucía, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2000.
- Martín Rodríguez, Manuel. *Pensamiento económico español sobre la población: de Soto a Matanegui*. Madrid: Pirámide, 1984.

- Morel-Fatio, Alfred. *Études sur l'Espagne*. Vol. 4. Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925.
- Núñez, Estuardo. *El nuevo Olavide: una semblanza a través de sus textos ignorados*. Lima, 1970.
- _____. "La reforma agraria." *Pablo de Olavide: obras selectas*. Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1987. xciv-xcvii.
- Olavide, Pablo de. "Informe sobre la ley agraria." *Pablo de Olavide: obras selectas*. Ed. Estuardo Núñez. Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1987. 483-531.
- _____. "Prólogo del autor." *El Evangelio en triunfo, o historia de un filósofo desengañado*. Vol. 1. Perpignan: J. Alzine, 1823. i-xvii.
- Perdices Blas, Luis. *Pablo de Olavide (1725-1803), el ilustrado*. Madrid: Complutense, 1992.
- Plato. *The Republic*. State College, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1998.
- Real Cédula de su Majestad y Señores del Consejo, que contiene la Instrucción y Fuero de Población, que se debe observar en las que se formen de nuevo en la Sierra Morena con naturales y extranjeros católicos*. Madrid: Antonio Sanz, 1767.
- Rueda, Ana. *Cartas sin lacrar: la novela epistolar y la España ilustrada, 1789-1840*. Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2001.
- Sarrailh, Jean. *L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIème siècle*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954.
- Smidt, Andrea J. "Luces por la fe: The Cause of Catholic Enlightenment in 18th-Century Spain." *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*. Ed. Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy. Leiden: Brill, 2010. 403-52.
- Valis, Noël. *Sacred Realism: Religion and the Imagination in Modern Spanish Narrative*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2010.
- Vardi, Liana. *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2012.
- Walker, Charles F. *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and Its Long Aftermath*. Durham: Duke UP, 2008.