UTOPIAN NARRATIVE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN:

GENERIC FRAMEWORKS AND SOCIAL REFORMISM

by

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## Acknowledgements

# Abstract

The present thesis focuses on the most important Spanish utopian writings of the 'long' eighteenth century, setting them in historical context within the tradition formally inaugurated by Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). The works studied comprise the undated, anonymous *Descripción de la Sinapia, península en la tierra austral,* Gutierre Vaca de Guzmán's *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas,* the anonymous 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes' in the periodical *El Censor*, Andrés Merino's *Monarquía columbina* and Pablo de Olavide's 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' in *El Evangelio en triunfo*. The five texts have hitherto received varying degrees of academic attention, but less analysis than merited of their place within an ongoing, transatlantic, cultural tradition.

Part I sets out historically the main ideological, literary and social characteristics of the genre: the theoretical conceptualisations of utopian writing as initiated by More, the foundations of the utopian tradition in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hispanic world, and links between the utopian format and socially reformist texts in eighteenth-century Spain. Part II examines in detail the five chosen texts, exploring their differentiating features with respect to the prevailing utopian tradition and demonstrating their distinctiveness in relation to Spanish economic, political, religious and social structures, while probing their idealising strands on a spectrum stretching from reformism to utopian experimentalism. The analyses ultimately reveal great variety in the social focus of the texts and an eclectic approach to the salient features of the utopian generic tradition, as well as the widely contrasting links to Enlightenment ideals and thought.

# Contents

# Introduction

The pursuit of utopia is presently understood as a desire to change an unsatisfactory order of things by proposing an alternative organisational system that can better an existing society. However, utopian desire goes beyond being a mere mental concept and first crystallised as a fictional narrative when the English humanist Thomas More wrote his foundational work *Utopia* in 1516. Building on the Morean model, a utopian tradition subsequently flourished in Europe, but compelling utopian fictions were not written in Spain until the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This late manifestation of Spanish utopian writing can be seen to parallel the reformist spirit that characterised the political and cultural life of the Enlightenment era.

It is in this context that the present thesis aims to set out new analyses of the most outstanding utopian works of the 'long' eighteenth century in Spain,[1] a neglected area of study when compared with the scholarly interest in utopian narratives elsewhere in Europe during the same period. What is more, recent academic research, principally in the last forty years, has brought to light new texts relating to the utopian tradition — like the anonymous *Sinapia* or Andrés Merino's *Monarquía columbina* — and found references to lost works, such as José de Cadalso's *Observaciones de un oficial holandés en el nuevamente descubierto reino de Feliztá*.[2] Scholarly surveys have also underscored the existence of utopian material in Spanish works belonging to other generic forms such as novels or in texts constituting narrative episodes published in contemporary periodicals.[3]

Seeking to contribute new perspectives to the existing field of utopian texts, the present thesis will analyse five works that are illustrative of these heterogeneous forms of textual expression. The texts have been chosen on the one hand because of their literary import — that is to say, their relationship to a literary tradition of utopian writing in Spain as well as in the rest of Europe — and on the other hand because of their links to reformist socio-political writings designed to contribute to the debate in Spain about society and its structures and practices. The five texts are also significant because of their variety and complexity, in that they highlight different features of the

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[1] By 'long' eighteenth century I understand the period between circa 1675 and 1808.

[2] See José de Cadalso, *Escritos autobiográficos y epistolario*, ed. by Nigel Glendinning and Nicole Harrison (London: Tamesis, 1979).

[3] Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, 'Sobre utopías y viajes imaginarios en el siglo XVIII español', in *Homenaje a Gonzalo Torrente Ballester*, ed. by Víctor García de la Concha (Salamanca: Biblioteca de la Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Salamanca, 1981); Elena de Lorenzo Álvarez, 'Literatura de viajes y utopías', in *Literatura española del siglo XVIII*, ed. by Alberto Romero Ferrer and Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos (Madrid: Liceus, 2005), pp. 1-21, <http://www.liceus.com>.

utopian tradition and display the experimental vision of their authors in setting their ideas within a utopian framework. The objective in grouping these writings together is to offer a fresh approach to the history of the Spanish utopian genre in the 'long' eighteenth century, one that takes into account the ideological and stylistic interplay between the selected texts and explores how each of them establishes a dialogue with literary utopianism as a genre.

The works to be studied in detail, and in chronological sequence, are fictitious accounts of ideal societies and their corresponding social, political, economic and religious institutions. The first is the *Descripción de la Sinapia, península en la tierra austral*,[4] one of the most recently discovered texts that, although undated, may justifiably be included within the framework of the 'long' eighteenth century, as will be explained below. The second text is Gutierre Joaquín Vaca de Guzmán's *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas* (1771),[5] an extensive two-volume sequel composed by a Spanish author to an existing Italian work, and which can be read independently of the stimulus text, namely Zaccaria Seriman's *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle terre incognite australi ed ai regni delle scimmie e dei cinocefali* (1749-64). The third work to be analysed is what can appropriately be called the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes' (1784-85), an anonymous utopian text that appeared in three instalments in the critical periodical *El Censor*.[6] The fourth work in the corpus is Andrés Merino de Jesucristo's *Monarquía columbina* (pre-1787),[7] published

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[4] *Descripción de la Sinapia, península en la tierra austral*, in *'Sinapia': una utopía española del Siglo de las Luces*, ed. by Miguel Avilés Fernández (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1976), pp. 67-134.

[5] [Gutierre] Joaquín [Vaca] de Guzmán y Manrique, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero [–cuarto y último] de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1778). Detailed bibliographical study has not been made of the text, but the first edition of the *Suplemento* is almost certainly that of 1771, since copies of volume 4 with that date are known to exist, though none have so far been located of volume 3. No copies of the 1771 edition of volumes 3 and 4 are available online.

[6] The text itself is untitled with each of the three sections included in separate issues of the periodical. The society depicted is more than once referred to as a *monarquía* and therefore I will use the more appropriate title of 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes'. Recent critics have expressly incorporated the word 'utopía' into the title without carefully considering what was in accord with the original author's concept of the text. See *El Censor*, 8 vols (Madrid: n.p., 1781-87; facsimile edition by José Miguel Caso González, Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, Instituto Feijoo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, 1989), III [1784]: 'Discurso LXI', pp. 225-39, 'Discurso LXIII', pp. 257-70; IV [1785]: 'Discurso LXXV', pp. 131-50. The dates of composition of the three *discursos* were determined by Caso González in 'El Censor, ¿periódico de Carlos III?', in *El Censor*, ed. by José Miguel Caso González (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, Instituto Feijoo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, 1989), pp. 776-99 (p. 786). In his edition of a selection of *El Censor*, Franciso Uzcanga gives the *discursos* in question the title 'Viaje a la tierra de los ayparchontes' as part of his edition's criteria. See Francisco Uzcanga Meinecke, ed., *El Censor* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2005), pp. 51, 157, 205.

[7] [Andrés Merino de Jesucristo], *Monarquía columbina*, in *'Tratado sobre la monarquía columbina': una utopía antiilustrada del siglo XVIII*, ed. by Pedro Álvarez de Miranda (Madrid: El Archipiélago, 1980), pp. 1-29.

posthumously and anonymously in the *Semanario Erudito*,[8] but whose authorship was revealed by Pedro Álvarez de Miranda thanks to the discovery of another version of the text in a later periodical.[9] The fifth work, and final text to be examined, is the utopian narrative interpolated in the fourth, concluding volume of Pablo de Olavide's epistolary composition *El Evangelio en triunfo, o historia de un filósofo desengañado* (1797-98),[10] which has recently been re-edited as an autonomous work, but has not attracted detailed critical attention. Each of these five texts has a particular formal configuration, but they are all structured around the portrayal of an organised utopian space that serves to indirectly criticise the existing order while proposing or insinuating an improved version of it.

A number of writings mentioned in some surveys of eighteenth-century Spanish utopias will not be included in this dissertation because they are either translations of a foreign text or novel, or an imaginary voyage in which the utopian component forms a minimal part of the narrative. However, their contribution to Spanish utopianism can be briefly commented on at this point. For example, Diego Ventura Rejón y Lucas's *Aventuras de Juan Luis: historia divertida que puede ser útil* (1781) describes the experiences of the noble Juan Luis in a utopian island called Fortunaria, characterised by efficient systems of social justice and education enjoyed by its exemplary citizens.[11] Another frequently cited work is the utopian story of a rustic village known as Zenit, included in four issues (57-60) of the periodical *Correo de Madrid* in 1787. The narration takes the form of a letter sent to the journal by a shipwrecked traveller who was stranded in the Arctic and encountered a primitive society that resembles an earthly paradise and contrasts with the civilised world the traveller returns to.[12] Three novels by Pedro Montengón also contain brief depictions of utopian spaces: Pennsylvania as a utopian Quaker paradise in the pedagogical novel *Eusebio* (1786-88), where the shipwrecked and orphaned six-year-old Eusebio is taken by a Quaker couple to their

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[8] [Andrés Merino de Jesucristo], *Tratado sobre la monarquía columbina*, in *Semanario erudito que comprende varias obras inéditas, críticas, morales, instructivas, políticas, históricas, satíricas y jocosas de nuestros mejores autores antiguos y modernos*, ed. by Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor, 34 vols (Madrid: Antonio Espinosa, 1787-91), XXX (1790), pp. 61-84.

[9] Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, 'El Padre Andrés Merino, autor de la *Monarquía columbina*', in *Las utopías en el mundo hispánico: actas del coloquio celebrado en la Casa de Velázquez*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Étienvre (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, Universidad Complutense, 1990), pp. 19-39.

[10] Pablo de Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', in *Cartas de Mariano a Antonio: el programa ilustrado de 'El Evangelio en triunfo'*, ed. by Gérard Dufour (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1988), pp. 37-229.

[11] Diego Ventura Rejón y Lucas, *Aventuras de Juan Luis: historia divertida que puede ser útil* (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1781; facsimile edition, Murcia: Tres Fronteras, 2008).

[12] *Correo de Madrid*, No. 57, 9 May 1787, pp. 241-44; No. 58, 12 May 1787, pp. 245-48; No. 59, 16 May 1787, pp. 249-52; No. 60, 19 May 1787, pp. 253-56.

plantation near Philadelphia;[13] the utopian republic of Elime in *El Antenor* (1788), in which the protagonist, upon returning to his homeland and becoming king, intends to apply a series of economic and social reforms that echo those proposed by Pablo de Olavide for the repopulation of Sierra Morena, a subject that will be discussed in Chapter 8 of this thesis;[14] and finally, the idealised Spanish countryside in the pastoral novel *El Mirtilo, o los pastores trashumantes* (1795), in which Mirtilo, disappointed with court life, takes refuge in rural Andalusia.[15]

There are two additional Spanish texts that constitute important examples of lunar utopias, but both are adaptations of foreign works: Pedro Gatell i Carnicer's 'Aventura magna del Bachiller', published in *El Argonauta Español: Periódico Gaditano* (1790) and based on Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire comique des États et empires de la lune* (1650);[16] and Antonio Marqués y Espejo's *Viaje de un filósofo a Selenópolis, corte desconocida de los habitantes de la tierra*, published in 1804 as a translation of Daniel Villeneuve's *Le voyageur philosophe dans un pays inconnu aux habitants de la terre* (1761).[17] In both Spanish versions, the description of the social practices and institutions of the inhabitants of the moon serves to criticise the life and customs of Spanish society.

**Academic Research on Spanish Utopian Texts**

It is important to point out that no book-length study on eighteenth-century Spanish utopias has yet appeared. In terms of existing criticism on utopian writings in Spain and the rhetorical and structural aspects of Spanish utopian narrative in that period, academic research is confined to journal articles, book chapters, surveys in histories of literature or introductions to editions of the texts. There are, however, two Spanish theses on major eighteenth-century Spanish utopias that their authors have left unpublished.[18]

Concerning utopian writings in the 'long' eighteenth century, it should be noted that some critics have studied the expression of the utopian imagination in relation to

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[13] Pedro Montengón, *Eusebio*, ed. by Fernando García Lara (Madrid: Cátedra, 1998).

[14] Pedro Montengón, *El Antenor*, 2 vols (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1788).

[15] Pedro Montengón, *El Mirtilo, o los pastores trashumantes* (Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1795).

[16] Pedro Gatell i Carnicer, 'Aventura magna del Bachiller', No. 8, in *El Argonauta Español: Periódico Gaditano*, ed. by Marieta Cantos Casenave and María José Rodríguez Sánchez de León (Seville: Renacimiento, 2008), pp. 210-13.

[17] Antonio Marqués y Espejo, *Viaje de un filósofo a Selenópolis, corte desconocida de los habitantes de la tierra* (Madrid: Gómez Fuentenebro, 1804).

[18] José Carlos Martínez García, 'Historia de la literatura utópica española: las utopías de la Ilustración' (unpublished thesis of Licenciatura, Universidad de Salamanca, 2004); Amable Fernández Sanz, 'Utopía y realidad en la Ilustración española: Pablo de Olavide y las "nuevas poblaciones"' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1990).

the Spanish Enlightenment, highlighting the interaction between the European utopian tradition and the specific circumstances of eighteenth-century Spain. An important work of this type is Francisco López Estrada's *Tomás Moro y España: sus relaciones hasta el siglo XVIII* (1980),[19] in which the author claims that although Thomas More's thought continued to be influential in Spain, as shown by the eighteenth-century reprints of the Spanish translation of *Utopia* after its first Spanish edition in 1637,[20] Hispanic utopian production responded to the need to project concrete socio-political concerns. From this perspective, López Estrada conceives of *Sinapia* as a work that is more important for its political than its literary significance because of what he considers its lack of imaginative power. In general, the author argues that there were no eighteenth-century Spanish utopias *stricto sensu*, but merely manifestations of utopian writing in didactic and moralistic novels or in the periodical press. Nevertheless, the discovery of unpublished, clearly autonomous utopian texts weakens López Estrada's argument, as this thesis will demonstrate.

In a more radical formulation, Jesús Torrecilla rejects the existence of a utopian mentality and utopian fiction in Spain in his book chapter 'El tiempo y los márgenes: utopía y conciencia de atraso' (1996).[21] According to Torrecilla, the use of the nebulous concept of 'practical utopia' — that is, the practical implementation of the abstract principles of a utopian plan — to define the peculiar characterisation of Hispanic utopias in the sixteenth century only disguises the fact that the utopian spirit did not flourish in Spain, or even as a coherent discourse during the Enlightenment period. The notion of a practical or empirical Spanish utopia was developed primarily by the Italian scholar Stelio Cro, whose viewpoint will be presented in detail later in this thesis.

A conclusion similar to Torrecilla's is reached by Ismael Piñera Tarque in 'Retórica de la ficción utópica: del género al texto en torno al siglo XVIII español' (2003),[22] in which he advances the idea that the limited interest generated by utopian fiction in eighteenth-century Spain implies scepticism about a correlative development of the Spanish Enlightenment model. By contrast, a considerable number of critics

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[19] Francisco López Estrada, *Tomás Moro y España: sus relaciones hasta el siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1980).
[20] The first translation of More's *Utopia* into Spanish was published by Jerónimo Antonio de Medinilla y Porres in Cordova in 1637. However, two years earlier, in 1635, Francisco de Quevedo translated a passage of *Utopia* and included it in his political work *Carta a Luis XIII*. Medinilla's translation was reprinted in 1790 and 1805. See López Estrada, pp. 81-82, 84, 97.
[21] Jesús Torrecilla, 'El tiempo y los márgenes: utopía y conciencia de atraso', in Jesús Torrecilla, *El tiempo y los márgenes: Europa como utopía y como amenaza en la literatura española* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Department of Romance Languages, 1996), pp. 19-52.
[22] Ismael Piñera Tarque, 'Retórica de la ficción utópica: del género al texto en torno al siglo XVIII español', *Cuadernos de Estudios del Siglo XVIII*, 12-13 (2003), 137-65.

argue for the presence of a utopian current in Enlightenment Spain, a position that is supported in the present thesis. A contribution in this respect is José Luis Calvo Carilla's chapter on Tomás de Iriarte's fables as micro-utopias of the pragmatic Enlightenment in his book *El sueño sostenible: estudios sobre la utopía literaria en España* (2008),[23] even though the didactic intention of the fables is satirical and literary rather than utopian. Calvo Carilla places the eighteenth-century fables alongside less well-developed literary utopias in addition to Olavide's utopian repopulation project, a topic that will be examined in the final chapter of this thesis.

Among the scholarly surveys of eighteenth-century Spanish utopian writings, there is a group of studies that will be discussed here in chronological order. The first is Monroe Z. Hafter's article 'Toward a History of Spanish Imaginary Voyages' (1975).[24] Like other overviews of the subject, Hafter could only include the Spanish utopias that were known to exist at the time when he was writing — *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton*, *Aventuras de Juan Luis*, the utopia of the Ayparchontes — in a more general list comprising the main imaginary travel accounts in Spain in the eighteenth century, such as the *Viaje de un filósofo a Selenópolis* and *El triunfo de las castañuelas, o mi viaje a Crotalópolis*.[25] Hafter claims that the writing of utopian voyages in Spain started in the 1780s and that this interest was motivated by the publication of Seriman's *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton* in 1749. He also stresses the difference between the exoticism that the depiction of remote peoples represented in earlier centuries and the function of social satire implied in the portrayal of non-European societies as a way of criticising Spain's defects.

An equally substantial analysis is that of Paul-Jacques Guinard, who in his article 'Les utopies en Espagne au XVIIIe siècle' (1977)[26] offers synopses of six Spanish texts that he identifies as the only Spanish utopias produced in the second half of the eighteenth century: *Aventuras de Juan Luis*, the utopia of the Ayparchontes, *El Antenor*, *El Mirtilo*, *Eudamonopeia* and *Sinapia*. Guinard argues that the utopian genre developed late in Spain because of the existence of the Inquisition. He highlights the

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[23] José Luis Calvo Carilla, 'Las fábulas de Iriarte: microutopías de la razón pragmática', in José Luis Calvo Carilla, *El sueño sostenible: estudios sobre la utopía literaria en España* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2008), pp. 63-104.

[24] Monroe Z. Hafter, 'Toward a History of Spanish Imaginary Voyages', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 8 (1975), 265-82.

[25] A satirical text written by Juan Fernández de Rojas in 1792 and published under the pseudonym of Alejandro Moya. See Noel Fallows, *Satire and Invective in Enlightened Spain: 'Crotalogía, o ciencia de las castañuelas' by Juan Fernández de Rojas* (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2001).

[26] Paul-Jacques Guinard, 'Les utopies en Espagne au XVIIIe siècle', in *Recherches sur le roman historique en Europe - XVIIIe-XIXe siècles*, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1977-79), I, ed. by Michel Apel-Muller (1977), pp. 171-202.

discovery of Joaquín Traggia's *Eudamonopeia* (1796) by Annick Emieux, who provided him with her transcription of the manuscript.[27] In this text, Father Traggia relates the travels of the Greek hero Filaretes[28] on his way to Eudamonia,[29] a kind of Promised Land. Regarding the then recent discovery of the manuscript of *Sinapia*, Guinard suggests that the author might have been an Italian functionary of Carlos III because of certain linguistic features of the text, in particular the original spelling of Machiavelli.

A subsequent succinct evaluation of eighteenth-century Spanish utopian writings is José Luis Abellán's 'La utopía dieciochesca' (1981).[30] Abellán's approach to the subject is based on the premise that Enlightenment thought is inherently utopian because of its desire for social change. Thus, after questionably claiming that Gaspar de Jovellanos was the perfect model of a Spanish enlightened thinker whose vision was imbued with a utopian spirit,[31] the historian of ideas briefly reviews four utopian texts: the utopia of the Ayparchontes, *Sinapia*, *El Evangelio en triunfo* and the *Monarquía columbina*. His examination of the texts interestingly reveals correspondences between Enlightenment and utopian discourses, especially in terms of the ideal coexistence of the state and Church in Spain. As he sees it, an illustrative example of the correlation between pragmatic Enlightenment projects and their utopian attributes is the narrativisation of Pablo de Olavide's *Plan de Nuevas Poblaciones* to create a utopian programme in the fourth volume of *El Evangelio en triunfo*. Abellán ends by highlighting the then very recent publication of Pedro Álvarez de Miranda's edition of the *Monarquía columbina*, which undermines the idea of the concurrence of utopia and Enlightenment because the editor argues that this text is an anti-Enlightenment utopia, an issue that will be explored in more detail in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

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[27] Emieux discovered the manuscript of the *Eudamonopeia* in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, and announced the preparation of an edition of the text in her 1991 article 'Un roman qui cherche sa forme: Le manuscrit de l'*Eudamonopeia* du Père Joaquín Traggia', in *Mélanges offerts à Paul Guinard*, 2 vols (Paris: Éditions Hispaniques, 1990-91), II: *Hommage des dix-huitièmistes français*, ed. by Jean René Aymes and Annick Emieux (1991), pp. 97-108. However, the edition has so far not been published.

[28] The name signifies 'love of virtue' in Greek.

[29] Aristotle introduced the concept of *eudaimonia*, which means 'happiness' or 'well-being'. See Daniel M. Haybron, *Happiness: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 82.

[30] José Luis Abellán, *Historia crítica del pensamiento español*, 7 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1979-92), III: *Del Barroco a la Ilustración (siglos XVII y XVIII)* (1981), pp. 607-22.

[31] 'Jovellanos [...] remontaba su deseo de cambio social al mito de la Edad de Oro. La pérdida de este dichoso estado se produjo por la introducción de una institución fatal: la propiedad privada, a la que se dirige con estos términos: 'Tú solo desterraste, / con la concordia de los siglos de oro, / sus inocentes y serenos días' (Abellán, III, p. 607). The verses belong to Jovellanos's *Respuesta a una epístola de Moratín* (1796).

Pedro Álvarez de Miranda is perhaps the critic who has contributed most overall to the study of imaginary voyages and utopias in eighteenth-century Spain. In his first article 'Sobre utopías y viajes imaginarios en el siglo XVIII español' (1981),[32] he adds to the list of Spanish utopias described by Hafter and Guinard in their respective articles, and emphasises the importance of the periodical press as a means of propagating the utopian genre in Spain. Apart from the account of the Ayparchontes in *El Censor*, Álvarez de Miranda draws attention to the utopian story included in letters 20 and 21 of *El Corresponsal del Censor* in 1787,[33] and overlooked by Guinard in his survey. He also analyses a brief utopian account contained in 'Discurso 4' of José Marchena's periodical *El Observador* of 1787 (the story is sometimes called 'Parábola sobre la religión y la política entre los selenitas').[34] Álvarez de Miranda argues that the proliferation of Spanish utopian writings in the decade of 1780 took its inspiration from the invention of the hot-air balloon by the Montgolfier brothers in 1783. In a later and more detailed book chapter, 'Los libros de viajes y las utopías en el XVIII español' (1995),[35] Álvarez de Miranda highlights the outcome and contributions of the colloquium *Las utopías en el mundo hispánico*, held in Madrid in 1988, at which he revealed the identity of the author of the *Monarquía columbina*: Father Andrés Merino de Jesucristo.[36] He also suggests that the manuscripts of other Spanish utopias may still survive, like that of the *Observaciones de un oficial holandés en el nuevamente descubierto reino de Feliztá* by José de Cadalso.[37] It should also be added that Álvarez de Miranda regards utopia as a narrative subgenre of imaginary travel writing; hence he emphasises the understanding of travel as an activity that promotes criticism, a constant of Enlightenment thought.[38]

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[32] Álvarez de Miranda, 'Sobre utopías y viajes imaginarios en el siglo XVIII español', pp. 351-82.

[33] Manuel Rubín de Celis, *El Corresponsal del Censor*, ed. by Klaus-Dieter Ertler, Renate Hodab and Inmaculada Urzainqui (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2009).

[34] José Marchena, 'Discurso cuarto' [in *El Observador*], in José Marchena, *Obra española en prosa: historia, política, literatura*, ed. by Juan Francisco Fuentes (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1990), pp. 67-72.

[35] Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, 'Los libros de viajes y las utopías en el XVIII español', in *Historia de la literatura española*, ed. by Víctor García de la Concha, 4 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1995-98), VII: *Siglo XVIII (II)*, ed. by Guillermo Carnero (1995), pp. 682-706.

[36] See footnote 9 above.

[37] The manuscript was given by Cadalso to the Count of Aranda: 'viendo la gran fama que el Conde Presidente tenía, [...] le llevé un manuscrito en que me había yo forjado un sistema de gobierno a mi modo, bajo el estilo de una novela, y el nombre de *Observaciones de un Oficial holandés en el nuevamente descubierto Reino de Feliztá*' (Cadalso, *Escritos autobiográficos y epistolario*, p. 13).

[38] Utopian texts were constantly produced at the same time as exploration accounts during the Enlightenment. However, more than operating in parallel, the overlap of both discourses can be understood as a desire of geographical utopias to imitate the narratives of explorers and conquerors. It is by virtue of this aspect that utopias usually turn into imaginary voyages. The most popular imaginary travel book in Spain was François Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699).

In 'Las utopías y el reformismo borbónico' (1996),[39] Salvador Bernabéu Albert briefly surveys the Spanish utopian writings listed by Hafter, Guinard, Abellán and Álvarez de Miranda, without adding anything of note. However, he brings into focus the discovery made by Francisco Aguilar Piñal of the very brief utopian text *El mundo sin vicios*, written by Cándido María Trigueros between 1780 and 1785.[40] He also emphasises the utopian character of Pablo de Olavide's colonisation project in the Sierra Morena, calling it a 'concrete utopia' as opposed to an 'abstract' or 'literary' utopia, a concept that will be taken up later in this thesis.

An extensive and more valuable recent survey is offered by Elena de Lorenzo Álvarez in 'Literatura de viajes y utopías' (2005).[41] She details the main characteristics of the aforementioned eighteenth-century Spanish utopias and highlights the fact that they appeared in very different formats: novels, short episodes within novels, or narratives published in instalments in periodicals. However, as she also indicates, each text adopted a critical attitude to contemporary Spanish society. Like Álvarez de Miranda, who describes the transition from the narrative of imaginary voyages to that of utopia in Spain, de Lorenzo subtly argues that an imaginary travel account turns into a utopia when travel ceases to be an end in itself and gives way to the description of the utopian society.

Based on a thesis submitted at the University of Salamanca,[42] José Carlos Martínez García's 'Un catálogo de utopías de la Ilustración española' (2006)[43] is one of the most complete inventories of editions of utopian writings of the Spanish Enlightenment. The list includes twenty texts published between 1769 and 1804, that is, between the year of publication of the first Spanish volume of the *Viajes de Enrique Wanton* and that of the *Viaje de un filósofo a Selenópolis*. The catalogue features all the utopias mentioned above, but does not include *Sinapia*, apparently because of the author's uncertainty over its date of composition. Martínez underlines the diverse literary forms in which these utopian creations appeared, that is, as independent texts or as part of an extended narrative, even though the interpolated utopian episodes can be seen as independent from the main story. Moreover, he identifies the defence of

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[39] Salvador Bernabéu Albert, 'Las utopías y el reformismo borbónico', in *El reformismo borbónico: una visión interdisciplinar*, ed. by Agustín Guimerá (Madrid: Alianza, 1996), pp. 247-63.

[40] Francisco Aguilar Piñal, 'La anti-utopía dieciochesca de Trigueros', in *Las utopías en el mundo hispánico*, pp. 65-72. Trigueros's utopian text is included in a collection of his tales and short novels entitled *Mis pasatiempos*, which was published posthumously in 1804.

[41] Lorenzo Álvarez, 'Literatura de viajes y utopías'.

[42] See footnote 18 above.

[43] José Carlos Martínez García, 'Un catálogo de utopías de la Ilustración española', *Cuadernos de Ilustración y Romanticismo*, 14 (2006), 257-69.

Spanish Enlightenment ideals in these utopias, while attributing a reactionary, counter-Enlightenment purpose to some of them, especially those written by clerics.

Another recent survey is that of Jesús Cañas Murillo in 'Utopías y libros de viajes en el siglo XVIII español: un capítulo de historia literaria de la Ilustración' (2007).[44] Cañas summarises the main points made by previous authors, stressing the invalidity of the idea that the realistic and rational disposition of eighteenth-century writing precluded the development of utopian fiction in Spain. He does not analyse the utopian texts that he cites, but provides a general description of the elements of the utopian society that the texts present. Cañas makes reference to three other undated Spanish utopias: the anonymous sixteenth-century *Omnibona* and two eighteenth-century manuscripts, namely the anonymous translation *El arte de cultivar la razón o descripción del establecimiento de la colonia de Ponthiamas* and the politician Melchor de Macanaz's *El deseado gobierno, buscado por el amor de Dios para el reino de España*.[45]

One final overview that is worth mentioning is Helmut Jacobs's 'Aspectos de la imagen utópica de España en la literatura española del siglo XVIII' (2007).[46] The fundamental point made by Jacobs is that the discovery of eighteenth-century Spanish utopias has positively changed the underestimated image of the Spanish Enlightenment given that these utopian texts reveal the most innovative, subversive and anticlerical tendencies of the period. In other words, Spanish utopias play an important role in the articulation of the reformist discourse of the Spanish Enlightenment. In addition to presenting the principal characteristics of *Sinapia*, *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton*, *Aventuras de Juan Luis* and *Monarquía columbina*, Jacobs outlines the

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[44] Jesús Cañas Murillo, 'Utopías y libros de viajes en el siglo XVIII español: un capítulo de historia literaria de la Ilustración', in *Aufklärung: estudios sobre la Ilustración española dedicados a Hans-Joachim Lope*, ed. by Jesús Cañas Murillo and José Roso Díaz (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2007), pp. 71-88.

[45] *Omnibona* and *El deseado gobierno* are studied by Miguel Avilés in 'Otros cuatro relatos utópicos en la España moderna: las utopías de J. Maldonado, *Omnibona* y *El Deseado Gobierno*', in *Las utopías en el mundo hispánico*, pp. 109-28. The manuscript of the former is held at the Real Academia de la Historia, while copies of that of the latter are in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (dated 1777) and the Biblioteca Pública de Huesca (dated 1855); a 1728 copy of *El deseado gobierno* is mentioned in the *Semanario Pintoresco Español* (*Semanario Pintoresco Español: Lectura de las familias. Enciclopedia popular*, 22 vols (Madrid: Oficinas y Establecimiento Tipográfico del Semanario Pintoresco, 1836-57), XVIII (1853), p. 50). The manuscript of the *Arte de cultivar la razón* was discovered by Pilar Nieva de la Paz in the Biblioteca Nacional de España. The text is apparently a translation of a French travel account written by Pierre Poivre in 1768. See Pilar Nieva de la Paz, '*El arte de cultivar la razón o descripción del establecimiento de la colonia de Ponthiamas*: un texto utópico traducido del francés en el siglo XVIII', in *Las utopías en el mundo hispánico*, pp. 79-94.

[46] Helmut C. Jacobs, 'Aspectos de la imagen utópica de España en la literatura española del siglo XVIII', in *Una de las dos Españas: representaciones de un conflicto identitario en la historia y en las literaturas hispánicas. Estudios reunidos en homenaje a Manfred Tietz*, ed. by Gero Arnscheidt and Pere Joan i Tous (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2007), pp. 619-33.

utopian qualities of Cadalso's *Cartas marruecas* (1789), Macanaz's *El deseado gobierno* and Merino's *La mujer feliz, dependiente del mundo y de la fortuna* (1786).

The contributions and more debatable aspects of these general surveys of eighteenth-century Spanish utopian writings[47] will be returned to in the chapters of Part II of this thesis, where they will be complemented by the discussion of a number of academic studies focused specifically on the five utopian texts selected for detailed examination.

## The Structure of the Present Thesis

Part I of this thesis sets out the main ideological, literary and social features of the utopian genre in its Western and Spanish contexts before moving on to discuss the development of utopianism and reformism in eighteenth-century Spain. Part II examines the five selected texts, chronologically organised according to the likely order in which they were written, exploring specific narrative features relating to the utopian tradition and demonstrating their distinctiveness with regard to discussions of economic, political, religious and social structures in contemporary Spain, while probing their reformist and idealising tendencies.[48]

Chapter 1 defines the theoretical framework that has informed discussion of the utopian genre as established by Thomas More's *Utopia*. In outlining the basic elements of the utopian model and its antecedents in other narrative traditions, special relevance is given to the relationship between utopianism and colonialism, an aspect to be applied to the Spanish context in the following chapter. Problematic issues pertaining to utopian discourse, such as the notions of insularity, perfectibility, civilisation, progress and the possibility of a Christian utopia are also addressed.

Chapter 2 presents the Spanish-American and Hispanic aspects of an eighteenth-century utopian consciousness in relation to Spain. Acknowledging the magnitude of the colonising experience in the New World as a germ of the Spanish utopian impulse, and following Stelio Cro's insights on the subject, the first part of this chapter reviews the most significant practical utopian projects envisioned in the Spanish-American colonies at around the time of the publication of More's text. The plans highlighted relate to the Christian mission of evangelisation after the conquest of the New World,

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[47] A brief consideration of major Spanish utopian texts can be found in Giovanni Stiffoni, 'Considerazioni su di una possibile storia dell'utopia nella Spagna del Sei-Settecento', in *Un 'hombre de bien'. Saggi di lingue e letterature iberiche in onore di Rinaldo Froldi*, ed. by Patrizia Garelli and Giovanni Marchetti, 2 vols (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2004), II, pp. 577-87.

[48] The spelling, capitalisation and punctuation of quotations from pre-1900 sources will be modernised in the interests of clarity and uniformity.

corresponding to what Cro terms 'empirical utopia'. The second part of the chapter focuses on the ideas of seventeenth-century Spanish *arbitristas* as Hispanic precedents for the emergence of Enlightenment utopianism in Spain.

Chapter 3 examines the ideological context of eighteenth-century Spain, starting with the intellectual work of the *novatores*, and how it was conducive to the development of utopian fiction. The utopian consciousness of Enlightenment Spain was not only socio-political, as reflected in the role of the *proyectistas* and governmental reform plans, but also strongly religious because Christianity was considered a fundamental component of Spanish identity. The ideological thrust behind the social criticism of the Spanish Enlightenment would naturally seem fundamental to the promotion of utopian thinking in Spain at that historical moment.

Part II of this thesis is dedicated to detailed examination of the five chosen works. Chapter 4 studies the *Descripción de la Sinapia, península en la tierra austral*. Despite its anonymity and uncertain date of composition, the text embraces the distinctive features of eighteenth-century Spanish utopianism: the construction of an ideal society whose structure and institutions are guided by Christian principles in tune with an appropriate implementation of secular education. The chapter also considers the representation of *Sinapia* as the prototype of Spanish pragmatic utopianism on the basis of the similarities of its imagined socio-political model to the evangelical reform programme of the Jesuit *reducciones* in Paraguay.

Chapter 5 centres on Gutierre Joaquín Vaca de Guzmán's *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas* (1771). Vaca de Guzmán's Spanish continuation of Zaccaria Seriman's utopia written in Italian can be read as a criticism of the artificial and worthless customs of eighteenth-century Spanish society reflected in the derisive depiction of the kingdom of the apes. The satirical representation of civilised habits exposes an undesirable cosmopolitanism that hampers the development of a national identity.

Chapter 6 examines the anonymous story that I have decided to call 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes', published in the periodical *El Censor* in 1784-85. The preliminary part of this chapter discusses the importance of *El Censor*, the most radical periodical of the time that either satirised or critically denounced various aspects of Spanish life and institutions, criticism that led to censorship and condemnation of some of its *discursos* (essays) by the Inquisition. The main targets of the text's attacks are the irrational hereditary privileges of the nobility and the contradictorily wealthy Church.

However, in contrast with other Spanish utopias, the Ayparchontes belong to a highly civilised society in which the idyllic myth of the good savage has no place.

Chapter 7 studies Andrés Merino de Jesucristo's *Monarquía columbina* (pre-1787), an allegorical utopia that can be interpreted as a direct critique of eighteenth-century Spanish society. While the use of birds as inhabitants of the utopian space recalls Vaca de Guzmán's republic of monkeys and the use of animals in fables more generally, the overwhelming presence of religious components in the *Monarquía columbina* brings Merino's utopia closer to the concerns of *Sinapia*. Moreover, the symbolic significance of doves reaffirms the dichotomy of civilisation and barbarism as a recurring *topos* in Spanish utopian writing. Nonetheless, the ending of the story, in which evil (or cruel civilisation) triumphs over good (or nature), enables the *Monarquía columbina* to be properly considered an anti-Enlightenment utopia.

Finally, Chapter 8 analyses Pablo de Olavide's utopian narrative in *El Evangelio en triunfo, o historia de un filósofo desengañado* (1797-98), a text that is as representative of Spanish utopianism as *Sinapia* because it brings together the most decisive factors in shaping the ideological and practical nature of the Spanish utopian model. Similar to the interaction between the societal system of the Jesuit *reducciones* and its recreation in the Sinapian nation, the utopian village designed by the philosopher in *El Evangelio en triunfo* matches the *Plan de Nuevas Poblaciones*, a government project implemented by Olavide in 1767, which entailed the repopulation and renewal of unproductive territories in the Sierra Morena region of Spain. Olavide's agrarian project is a rural utopia based on a rational Christianity. This text reconciles the civic and religious spheres while promoting the concept of good model citizens who are also Christians.

In the Conclusion, the various narrative and thematic features revealed in the analysis of the five works will lead to an overview of the utopian genre in eighteenth-century Spain, as well as to a review of the correlation between the literary characteristics of the utopian model and the vision of social transformation that defines the expression of reformism during the Spanish Enlightenment.

Part I


Setting the Scene

Chapter 1

The Conceptualisation of Utopian Discourse

Utopian texts can be discussed from a variety of intellectual perspectives, two of which
will be dominant in the present dissertation. One conceives of them as being an
ideological engagement with an evolving socio-political model responsive to specific
historical circumstances; the other centres on the literary dimension of utopia, that is to
say, the conception of utopia as a narrative artefact belonging to a flexible generic
mode. Within this dual framework, the Spanish utopian writings analysed in part II
below can be seen as playing a role in the development of utopianism in Europe during
the Enlightenment period. By taking as starting points the structural characteristics of
More's *Utopia* and tracing a brief historical outline of utopian thought, the present
chapter will establish the elements of the prevailing tradition relevant to the
configuration of utopian fiction and discourse in eighteenth-century Spain. In
presenting and reflecting on these literary, theoretical and ideological aspects, a general
conceptualisation of utopia will be addressed, and one that, it can be argued, is as
applicable in Spain as in other cultures of Europe.

**More's Utopian Model**

In order to assess the extent to which Spanish utopian texts borrow from, allude to and
develop ideas, structural features and literary characteristics deriving from More's
work, it is necessary to set out some of the key defining components contained in the
fictional account given by the traveller Raphael Hythloday in Book II of *Utopia*, since
they served as a starting point for the literary genre that gave rise to the rich tradition of
European utopian writing.

A basic condition of the utopian space is its insularity, that is, its deliberate
separation from the outside world justified by the aim of protecting its own values and
institutions. Utopus founded Utopia after conquering the country of Abraxa and turned
it into an island by excavating a channel that would isolate the conquered territory from
the mainland. The island comprised forty-four city-states, which were the equivalents
of England's forty-three counties plus London,[1] renamed Amaurotum, or 'Darkling

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[1] Dominic Baker-Smith, *More's 'Utopia'* (London: HarperCollins Academic, 1991), p. 151.

City', an allusion to foggy London.[2] Each of the cities had the same administrative, spatial and cultural structure. It is important to make clear that Utopia is the result of a process of conquest and colonisation, not the discovery of a paradisiacal place as is implicitly the case in some narrative traditions that share the idealistic worldview of utopian discourse; these other literary imaginaries and the colonising nature of utopia will be discussed below. Dominic Baker-Smith equates the imposing character of Utopia's creation with its artificial essence:

> The first thing to note about the Utopian commonwealth is its artificiality; it is not the fortuitous survival of some aboriginal golden age, such as the early discoverers were inclined to suppose [sic] American Indians, but a deliberate creation, set apart from the rest of the world by the daunting channel which the conqueror Utopus dug in order to isolate his subject state from surrounding territory.[3]

The primary objective of Utopus's intervention in Abraxa is to civilise its rustic people and made them culturally superior to all other peoples. In contrast with the sense of tyranny implied in the initial act of subjugation, the political system in Utopia is a combination of democracy and monarchy, a political model that might have been inspired by Sparta's governmental system.[4] In Utopia, the governor is an elected monarch, the syphogrants represent families in the senate and the tranibors constitute an intellectual elite without privileges of any kind. Families are the basic social unit of Utopian cities: a syphogrant is elected annually by thirty households and a tranibor is set to rule over ten syphogrants with their families. A city has six thousand households, each comprising between ten and sixteen adults, a figure increased to forty in rural households, and each household is ruled by its oldest member.

The main occupation of the inhabitants is agriculture, a subject in which all citizens are instructed from childhood, 'partly in the schools, where they learn theory, partly through field trips to nearby farms, which make something like a game of practical instruction'.[5] They work six hours a day and are expected to dedicate the rest of their time to some other occupation, especially intellectual activities, chosen according to personal preference. The opportunity for self-cultivation through public lectures in the dawn hours is perhaps the most innovative attribute of the Utopian

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[2] See Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. and trans. by Edward Surtz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 61, note 8.
[3] Baker-Smith, *More's 'Utopia'*, p. 151.
[4] Ibid., p. 156.
[5] Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. by George M. Logan and trans. by Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 48-49.

system.[6] The Utopians spend one hour in recreation after supper, 'in their gardens during the summer, or during winter in the common halls where they have their meals. There they either play music or amuse themselves with conversation'.[7] It should be emphasised that the Utopians are very attached to their gardens. The fact that this is the principal source of pleasure for the citizens indicates the importance that More gives to nature in the formation of the Utopian state. Virtue is actually dependent on nature: 'They [the Utopians] define virtue as living according to nature; and God, they say, created us to that end'.[8] Nature is ultimately the instrument to achieve happiness, and virtue is the vehicle for a joyous life.

Another fundamental aspect of the system in Utopia is the absence of money and private property. Nothing is privately owned, and the population lives unconcerned about the provision of food and other worldly goods:

> here [in Utopia], where everything belongs to everybody, no one need fear that, so long as the public warehouses are filled, anyone will ever lack for anything for his own use. For the distribution of goods is not niggardly; no one is poor there, there are no beggars, and though no one owns anything, everyone is rich.[9]

In turn, the non-existence of private property results in the absence of power, greed, corruption and crime. Although More expresses his concerns about the impracticability of eradicating the institution of private property, he longs for the implementation of such a change.

In terms of intellectual development, the Utopians learn the different disciplines that constitute knowledge in their native language. In the field of the arts, they master the art of printing and the manufacture of paper. In the area of scientific research, the islanders stand out for their observation of the natural world, in particular for their study of astronomy and meteorology. They are also interested in moral philosophy, especially in the argument that happiness depends on good and decent pleasure: 'they say, nature herself prescribes for us a joyous life, in other words, pleasure, as the goal of all our actions'.[10] Pleasure is the ultimate end of life, and the most pleasurable experience is the virtuous life. According to Quentin Skinner, virtue represents the true

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[6] Dominic Baker-Smith, 'Reading *Utopia*', in *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas More*, ed. by George M. Logan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 141-67 (p. 151).
[7] More, *Utopia*, ed. by Logan and trans. by Adams, p. 50.
[8] Ibid., p. 67.
[9] Ibid., p. 103.
[10] Ibid., p. 68.

view of nobility for the citizens of Utopia, as opposed to a false view based on wealth and privileges.[11]

Since virtue is the guiding principle of their lives, the Utopians' behaviour is impeccable and as a result they have very few laws to regulate their behaviour. Lawyers are not allowed in the commonwealth because they are seen as dishonest:

> The chief fault they find with other nations is that even their infinite volumes of laws and interpretations are not adequate. They think it completely unjust to bind people by a set of laws that are too many to be read or too obscure for anyone to understand. As for lawyers, [...] they exclude them entirely. They think it practical for each man to plead his own case [...]. This makes for less confusion and readier access to the truth. [...] in Utopia everyone is a legal expert.[12]

The citizens themselves are consequently in charge of applying corrective measures: 'Husbands chastise their wives and parents their children, unless the offence is so serious that public punishment is called for'.[13] Slavery is contemplated as a means of punishment for crimes and offences. Utopian criminals are kept chained and continually at work. Besides these slaves, there is also a category consisting of people from other countries who voluntarily choose to be slaves. Premarital sexual intercourse is severely punished, while adultery is condemned with punishment comprising the strictest form of slavery. The death penalty is imposed on rebellious slaves, but for slaves who show sincere repentance, their slavery may be either lightened or remitted.

As to religious beliefs, the Utopians follow a variety of creeds and practices. Some of them worship heavenly bodies, while others venerate a supreme god. However, Utopia is predominantly a heathen society:

> the vast majority, and those by far the wiser ones, [...] believe in a single divinity, unknown, eternal, infinite, inexplicable, beyond the grasp of the human mind, and diffused throughout the universe, not physically, but in influence. Him they call their parent.[14]

More importantly, the Utopians see in religion and reason two complementary forces that contribute to the idea of happiness:

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[11] Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), II: *Renaissance Virtues*, p. 234.
[12] More, *Utopia*, ed. by Logan and trans. by Adams, p. 82.
[13] Ibid., p. 81.
[14] Ibid., p. 93.

they never discuss happiness without joining to the rational arguments of philosophy certain principles drawn from religion. Without these religious principles, they think that reason by itself is weak and defective in its efforts to investigate true happiness. [...] Though these are [...] religious principles, they think that reason leads us to believe and accept them.[15]

These central components of More's Utopian society will be adapted by eighteenth-century Spanish utopian writers to provoke questioning of Spain's institutions and political system, as will be seen below in the analyses of the chosen texts. The next section of this chapter will comment on the main pillars of utopian theory as derived from More's model.

## The Theoretical Underpinnings of Utopia

The basic notion of utopia derives from the etymological significance of the neologism coined by Thomas More in his 1516 text written in Latin.[16] Understood as both 'no place' (*outopia*) and 'good place' (*eutopia*),[17] utopia is an ambiguous term that has led some scholars to approach the topic from the point of view of the unrealistic or impossible character of an ideal society. The concept has been explored before and since in a wide range of discursive contexts such as classical mythology, Platonism, imaginary geopolitical experiments, fantastic voyages or, more recently, science fiction. Due to its conventional ascription to a fantastic or chimerical realm, utopian texts are often seen as vain speculation and, at worst, as dangerous dreams that threaten the stability of the existing social order.

However, in his ideological characterisation of the goals of a utopian writer, Raymond Trousson argues that the intellectual action of a single person does not necessarily represent a genuine threat to the status quo. As opposed to a reformer whose concrete actions seek to have an impact on reality, the utopian thinker, for Trousson, is a sceptical, idealistic figure who does not intend to effect historical changes because he does not have the power to implement them.[18] His creative enterprise acts only as a theoretical weapon: 'Exclu de la lutte active, il se retranche

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[15] Ibid., p. 66.

[16] The full title is *Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo reipublicae statu, deque nova insula Utopia* (*A Truly Golden Little Book, No Less Beneficial Than Entertaining, of the Best State of a Republic, and of the New Island Utopia*).

[17] The neologism is based on the Greek prefix *ou* ('no' or 'not') and the Greek word *topos* ('place' or 'where'). However, in addition to the meaning of nowhere, More derived the neologism *eutopia* from the first to refer to a good (*eu*) or happy place. This new meaning appears in a six-verse poem published at the end of the first edition of *Utopia*. According to Raymond Trousson, the pun lies in the ambiguous English pronunciation of the prefixes *u* and *eu* (Raymond Trousson, *Voyages aux pays de nulle part: Histoire littéraire de la penseé utopique* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1999), p. 9).

[18] Trousson, p. 13.

dans l'abstrait, choisit d'effacer le réel pour le reconstruire en pensée, de créer un monde conforme à ses désirs'.[19] According to Trousson, a utopian is a theoriser who creates an abstract world in an attempt to override an actual world that he judges undesirable and defective. However, one might take issue with this view and argue that it is possible for a utopian thinker to influence other people to take some kind of action to change the existing order of things. Furthermore, the position of the utopian writer confronting the established order of society can also be understood in the context of the confrontation between the notion of ideology as the official discourse of the ruling class and the concept of utopia as the discourse of social minorities, as argued by Karl Mannheim:

> Utopias [...] are not ideologies in the measure and in so far as they succeed through counteractivity in transforming the existing historical reality into one more in accord with their own conceptions. [...] It is clear that those social strata which represent the prevailing social and intellectual order will experience as reality that structure of relationships of which they are the bearers, while the groups driven into opposition to the present order will be oriented towards the first stirrings of the social order for which they are striving and which is being realized through them.[20]

With regard to the utopian writer's creativity, Raymond Ruyer highlights the fact that certain messianic myths entail the utopian construction of spiritual worlds in the same way that the utopian thinker devises his ideal city: 'L'utopiste pense "autre monde", et par là il se place sur un terrain religieux. Il ne faut pas oublier que les îles Fortunées, les Champs-Elysées, la Cité céleste, Sion, la Nouvelle Jérusalem, le Paradis, sont, après tout, des "utopies" religieuses'.[21] Although the majority of utopian writers since Plato have endowed their utopian spaces with religious infrastructures and three of the most important utopias — *Utopia*, *Christianopolis* (1619)[22], *La Città del Sole* (1623)[23] — were written by priests — Thomas More, Johann Valentin Andreae, Tommaso Campanella — utopia is often a secular construct that is located in the earthly world.[24] In this sense, as Ruyer explains, religion is anti-utopian because it does

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1936), p. 176.

[21] Raymond Ruyer, *L'utopie et les utopies* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950), p. 30.

[22] Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis: An Ideal State of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916).

[23] Tommaso Campanella, *La Città del Sole: Dialogo Poetico/The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*, trans. by Daniel J. Donno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

[24] In describing utopia as a secular variety of social thought, Krishan Kumar inevitably argues that 'One reason why it is difficult to find utopia in non-Western societies is that they have mostly been dominated

not propose an alternative reality on an empirical basis, but advocates the fusion of the existing world and a transcendental and immanent reality; in other words, utopia is located not in this world, but in the afterlife.[25] Yet, contrary to the religious sense of a superior life, as Darko Suvin and Fátima Vieira emphasise in their respective surveys of utopian writing, utopia is primarily human-centred, a product of human endeavour that is meant for human beings and not dependent on divine intervention.[26] Thus, utopia may not be timeless, as a supernatural understanding of the concept implies, but intrinsically historical and determined by its relationship with the circumstances in which it is produced and disseminated. However, unlike the objectivity of historians' perceptions, utopian visions are grounded in a combination of fact and fiction, although this characteristic does not constrain utopia to being an escapist dream. Moreover, even though the imagined place is usually an opposite or inverted image of the one that needs to be changed, utopias transcend the criticism of the present situation and put forward innovative ideas that could be adopted in the future and bring about substantive changes.[27]

In spite of their Christian beliefs, the authors of utopian texts such as Thomas More, Francis Bacon[28] and Tommaso Campanella envisioned better societies whose reference point was the historical reality of the social systems that they were trying to improve. Their imaginary countries were the result of faith in human reason, not in the idea of an eternal life postulated by Christianity's claims. Rather than a Christian theological view of the world, their ideology reveals a secularising, humanistic component to their thought because they endorse attitudes such as those involving tolerance, virtue and reason, which have sometimes been considered opposed to Christian theology or Christian ways of thought. In fact, More's Utopians, Bacon's citizens of Bensalem and Campanella's Solarians are all pagans and rely on their human ability to achieve a better state of things. As Krishan Kumar points out, 'they [the Christian practitioners of utopia] were more concerned with the City of Man than the

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by religious systems of thought' (Krishan Kumar, *Utopianism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. 35).

[25] Ruyer, p. 31.

[26] Darko Suvin, *Defined by a Hollow: Essays on Utopia, Science Fiction and Political Epistemology* (Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 23; Fátima Vieira, 'The Concept of Utopia', in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. by Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 3-27 (p. 7).

[27] Vieira, p. 8.

[28] Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis*, in *Three Early Modern Utopias: Thomas More, Utopia; Francis Bacon, New Atlantis; Henry Neville, The Isle of Pines*, ed. by Susan Bruce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 149-86.

City of God',[29] alluding to St Augustine's *The City of God*, a work that can hardly be treated as a utopia because St Augustine visualises the ideal city in the afterlife. What he created can instead be seen as an anti-utopia or alotopia.[30]

However, it is important to note that the historical circumstances from which the image of the utopian space unfolds are not supposed to be explicitly reflected in a space that is ahistorical by definition, as in the implicit correspondence between Utopia and England. In any case, as Bronislaw Baczko observes, the historical time of both the narrator and the reader is tacitly represented in a negative way because its omission or the unawareness of its existence by the inhabitants of the utopian place is the precondition for the successful establishment of a better society: 'Les Utopiens ont réussi à échapper à cette histoire et c'est pourquoi ils n'ont pas connu nos maux, nos vices, nos injustices'.[31] The interaction between the real world and its fictional counterpart is not reciprocal: while utopian residents do not need to know the reader's historical situation because it is not a determining factor of their history, readers must understand the imaginary history — if one is described — of the imaginary country in order to judge their own social reality by contrast.

In attempting to differentiate the essential attributes of utopian writing, Ruth Levitas distinguishes the form of utopia from what she defines as the content (the portrayal of a good society) and the function (the concrete goals) of utopia. The form refers to the definition of utopia as a literary genre, which involves the detailed fictional depiction of an alternative society.[32] Nevertheless, Levitas and J. C. Davis cast doubt on the necessary condition of fictionality that utopia should exhibit in order to be treated as such.[33] Descriptions of good societies do not necessarily take the form of literary fictions, especially in the context of political writing. When there is an attempt to translate theoretical fictions into experimental facts, such as political programmes that become militant or designed for action, utopias cease to exist.[34] This feature is inherent in the transition from the Platonic utopia to the literary utopia of the

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[29] Kumar, *Utopianism*, p. 35.
[30] Vieira, p. 6. Alotopia is the presentation of a fictional world as if it was the only possible real world. See Umberto Eco, 'Los mundos de la ciencia ficción', in Umberto Eco, *De los espejos y otros ensayos* (Barcelona: Lumen, 1988), pp. 185-92 (p. 186).
[31] Bronislaw Baczko, *Lumières de l'utopie* (Paris: Payot, 1978), p. 156.
[32] Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (London: Philip Allan, 1990), pp. 4-5.
[33] J. C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 15-16; Levitas, p. 5.
[34] Judith Shklar, 'The Political Theory of Utopia: From Melancholy to Nostalgia', in *Utopias and Utopian Thought*, ed. by Frank E. Manuel (London: Souvenir Press, 1973), pp. 101-15 (pp. 106-07).

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the fictional aspect of utopianism[35] becomes strengthened, possibly in response to the realistic nature of political writing that began to prevail in the period. Apart from marking the dividing line between reformism and utopianism, the aspiration to actualise a utopian vision reaffirms the fact that utopia is anchored in a real society, but disregards the impossibility of building a utopian equivalent, giving prominence to the meaning of utopia as somewhere good over the sense of it being nowhere.

The difference between theoretical and practical utopia is constantly discussed in the field of utopian studies and constitutes a major topic in the representation of Spanish utopias, as will be explained later in this chapter. Although the practice of utopia has commonly been assessed in the light of a socialist concept of utopia — a stage of utopian thought excluded from the historical limits of my research[36] — there are earlier examples of the practical impact of utopia. The most significant case was the programme of organised science that Francis Bacon included in his unfinished *New Atlantis* (1627). Salomon's House, a scientific organisation of collaborative research, has been seen as the inspiration for the creation of the Royal Society in London in 1662. The premise of Bacon's scientific utopia was that 'science would revolutionize life and realize utopian aspirations'.[37] Similarly, James Harrington's *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) was extremely influential in the American and French revolutionary experiences of the eighteenth century; there was even a proposal that the state of Massachusetts should be renamed Oceana.[38] This ambivalence concerning the conception of utopia can be understood as an aspect corresponding to what Levitas identifies as the function of utopia, that is, the realisation of utopia through some kind of specific action.

Among the various conceptual categorisations that the problematic nature of utopia has given rise to, the one that is most commented on is Lewis Mumford's differentiation between utopias of escape and utopias of reconstruction. Whereas the former type does not intend to change reality and provides only a temporary escape from it, the latter seeks to transform the world according to one's own desires: 'In one we build impossible castles in the air; in the other we consult a surveyor and an

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[35] 'Utopianism' was coined by the literary historian Alexandre Cioranescu to refer to a current of thought, distinguishing it from utopia as a literary genre (Trousson, p. 12).

[36] Utopian socialism flourished in Europe in the nineteenth century; its main representatives were the French Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier, and the Welshman Robert Owen. For a selection of texts by Spanish utopian socialists, see Antonio Elorza, *El fourierismo en España* (Madrid: Ediciones de la Revista de Trabajo, 1975).

[37] Krishan Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 31.

[38] Kumar, *Utopianism*, pp. 68-69.

architect and a mason and proceed to build a house which meets our essential needs'.[39]
Ultimately, the perception of utopia as a notion torn between the comforting relief of
fantasy and the projective or practical impulse underlying man's dream of a better
world is raised in Raphael Hythloday's speech about the credibility of his account of
what he saw in Utopia: 'What if I told them [the English councillors] the kind of thing
that Plato imagines in his republic, or that the Utopians actually practise in theirs?'.[40]
What distances the commonwealth of Utopia from the merely hypothetical republic
imagined by Plato is the fact that the utopian model has been effectively put into
practice. This duality of utopia as an empirical realisation of a fantastic project is
especially relevant to the Spanish utopian tradition, as will be argued in the next
chapter. However, the imaginary republic, principally the one invented by More, is not
necessarily created from scratch, but over the foundations of an existing society, a
subject that I will now elaborate on.

**The Interplay between Utopianism and Colonialism**

The composition of More's *Utopia* was inspired by the letters in which Christopher
Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci described the discovery of new worlds and peoples.[41]
The new American continent and other still unknown territories naturally functioned as
utopian scenarios in which the association of colonisation with civilisation played an
important ideological role in justifying the act of conquest itself. Nicole Pohl argues
that eighteenth-century utopias were primarily ethnological utopias that speculated on
models of progressive socialisation, perfectibility, reason and reform.[42] Such narratives
were natural histories of civil society that

> served to demarcate western achievements in science and technology, the
> arts and culture, in short, civilization. This conjectural historiography not
> only reinforced the superiority of the "Old World" but justified and
> naturalized the extensive appropriation and colonization of the "New
> World".[43]

In addition to these texts, Pohl points out the presence of non-utopian historiographies
where historical pessimism created utopias that idealised the 'state of nature' and

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[39] Lewis Mumford, *The Story of Utopias: Ideal Commonwealths and Social Myths* (London: Harrap, 1923), p. 15.
[40] More, *Utopia*, ed. by Logan and trans. by Adams, pp. 35-36.
[41] Vieira, p. 4.
[42] Nicole Pohl, 'Utopianism After More: The Renaissance and Enlightenment', in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. by Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 51-78 (p. 63).
[43] Ibid.

promised the regeneration of society in order to take it back to its original state of innocence. Consequently, the New World became the projection of utopian hopes and desires: 'These utopias promoted domestic, self-sufficient economies of production, based on Native American economies, accompanied by the abolition of private property and money within the utopian society'.[44]

In *Utopia*, Raphael Hythloday, a Portuguese gentleman, joined Vespucci in his last three voyages, but did not return with him in the final one because of his eagerness to travel the world, a voyage which gave him the opportunity to arrive in Utopia. Hythloday recounts the establishment of the utopian state through a process of conquest and colonisation: the land of Abraxa was conquered by Utopus, who 'gave it his name, and who brought its rude, uncouth inhabitants to such a high level of culture and humanity that they now surpass almost every other people'.[45] Utopus immediately subdued the natives and put them to work on the excavation of a channel with the aim of converting the land into an island, but he also set his own soldiers to the task in order to prevent the natives from thinking that labour should be considered an act of humiliation.

King Utopus's gesture can be interpreted as the recognition of otherness, but contrary to Vieira's assertion that 'More used the emerging awareness of otherness to legitimize the invention of other spaces, with other people and different forms of organization',[46] the discovery of the Other serves to reinforce the traditional Western values that are reconfigured in a new space. As Chris Ferns points out,

> Where an indigenous population exists, its function is to be moulded in the image of a King Utopus; neighbouring races are portrayed either as enemies to be destroyed, or else as eager to be governed by the superior wisdom of the Utopians.[47]

The utopian encounter with the Other not only brings about the confrontation between civilisation and barbarism, but also entails a sense of xenophobia resulting from the geographical insularity of the utopian space. However, as Trousson rightly infers, the utopian insularity is basically a mental state because the image of the island acts as a metaphorical representation of the need to protect the utopian community from the corruption of the external world: 'L'insularisme utopique est avant tout une attitude

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[44] Ibid., p. 64.
[45] More, *Utopia*, ed. by Logan and trans. by Adams, p. 42.
[46] Vieira, p. 4.
[47] Chris Ferns, *Narrating Utopia: Ideology, Gender, Form in Utopian Literature* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. 49.

mentale, dont l'′île classique n'est que la représentation figurée. Il relève de la conviction que seule une communauté à l'abri des influences dissolvantes de l'extérieur peut atteindre la perfection de son développement'.[48] Thus, any xenophobic reaction against cultural interaction with other communities should be understood as a way of preserving the state of perfection of the utopian country. The arrival of foreign visitors is a sign that the utopian space is not unreachable after all, as Ferns concludes:

> Although utopia's isolation is clearly designed to protect it from contamination by the squalor and disorder of the real world, it can never be *so* isolated as to be inaccessible to the privileged individual who will eventually return to bear witness to the superiority of the utopian way.[49]

According to More's story, the utopian 'colony' should be based on agriculture, with six-hour working days for all the Utopians. The island comprised forty-four city-states, all of them identical in language, traditions, customs, laws and spatial layout. The lands were proportionally assigned to the cities, and none of them had the desire to extend their territory because they saw themselves as the tenants rather than the owners of their possessions. However, if the population rose above the fixed quotas, colonies were established in unoccupied spaces of the mainland as a way to expand the utopian lifestyle. In terms of training in farming, twenty Utopians from each rural household returned to the city every year after having spent two years in the country learning agricultural activities; the same number of citizens were sent from the city to replace those leaving the fields. Their faith in agriculture relates to their conviction that happiness can only be reached by living according to nature and the pragmatic dictates of reason.

As can be seen, utopian thought has been associated with social control and colonialism from the outset. More's *Utopia* has been regarded as a theory of colonisation of new worlds[50] with the purpose of turning them into productive and profitable lands. In this respect, the desire to forge an ideal republic resorts to the reorganisation — or 'reconstruction', in Mumford's words — of already occupied territories, which in some measure implies the imposition of an existing system on a new one, as well as a kind of authoritarian spirit in utopian discourse. With regard to this matter, Fredric Jameson stresses the importance of understanding utopian writing as a type of *praxis*, rather than as a specific mode of representation:

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[48] Trousson, pp. 15-16.
[49] Ferns, pp. 2-3.
[50] Paul Longley Arthur, *Virtual Voyages: Travel Writing and the Antipodes, 1605-1837* (London: Anthem, 2011), p. 10.

a praxis which has less to do with the construction and perfection of someone's "idea" of a "perfect society" than it does with a concrete set of mental operations to be performed on a determinate type of raw material given in advance which is contemporary society itself.[51]

However, as colonies embodied utopian dreams in themselves, they tended to be the experimental space in which to enforce the changes originally devised for dominant societies.[52] As Lyman Sargent claims, colonies have always been designed to serve the interests of the colonising country, not to fulfil the needs of the colonies. Moreover, since the dreams of the colonisers clashed with the expectations of the colonised, the utopian enterprise ended up being a dystopia for the indigenous peoples.[53] Utopian writers, similar to explorers or conquerors, can be pictured as speculative colonisers or political idealists who tried to find solutions to the social and political problems of European countries. This relationship between colonialism and utopianism is particularly present in the configuration of Spanish utopian narrative, as will be shown in the next chapter.

**The Elements of Utopian Fiction**

The impulse to create utopias was, of course, present in cultural history before More invented a term to express such a tendency. Thus, in ancient history, there were several myths or narrative traditions in which a primitive form of the utopian component was the means to convey the idealistic image of a better time or a better world. The main antecedents include Plato's *Republic*, the idea of a Golden Age, Virgil's Arcadia and the Earthly Paradise.

More's *Utopia* was directly influenced by the *Republic*, although Plato's work proves to be more of a portrayal of the principles of the ideal state than the application of those principles to concrete institutions and lifestyles. In a more nostalgic vein, diverse versions of the myth of the Golden Age can be found in all societies, and each one refers to a time in which humanity lived in a state of happiness and in harmony with nature.[54] This primordial era was characterised by simplicity and frugality;

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[51] Fredric Jameson, 'Of Islands and Trenches: Naturalization and the Production of Utopian Discourse', *Diacritics*, 7 (1977), 2-21 (p. 6).

[52] Lyman Tower Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 50.

[53] Lyman Tower Sargent, 'Colonial and Postcolonial Utopias', in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. by Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 200-22 (p. 204).

[54] An important literary concept to mention in this respect is that of the *locus amoenus*, formulated by Ernst Robert Curtius as an idealised place similar to the Earthly Paradise. See Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), pp. 197-99.

therefore, human needs were easily fulfilled by an abundant nature. In accordance with this belief in the virtues of nature, the tradition of Arcadia — a region in the Peloponnese typified by a rural life of rustic pleasures that prompted the literary pastoral until the end of the eighteenth century — was rooted in the belief that human nature is good. Such a preconception of primitive innocence and purity was discussed by Michel de Montaigne in his essay 'Des cannibales' (1580),[55] and it was the premise of Étienne-Gabriel Morelly's later utopian text *Naufrage des îles flottantes, ou Basiliade du célèbre Pilpai* (1753),[56] in which Arcadianism is exhibited in the absolute governance of nature over the Floating Islanders, who are safe from the mistakes of civilisation caused by man's efforts to prescribe rules for nature that only pervert it.[57] Moving away somewhat from the perception of the Golden Age as an idyllic period in the past, the myth of a Christian Paradise projects the recovery of the lost Garden of Eden into the future. The discovery of the New World renewed the faith in this legend since Columbus thought that he had found the Earthly Paradise when he first encountered the New World and its peoples.[58]

There are other traditions that reveal a utopian inclination, but in a highly satirical way, such as the medieval legend of the Land of Cockaygne (poor man's paradise), the Feast of Fools and the Roman Saturnalia. All of them temporarily provide the poor and oppressed with power over their superiors for a day or a week, although this unrealistic inversion of social and political roles develops in a land dominated by extravagance and excess: nobody works and everything is free.[59] The formal relations between utopia and satire have always been present ever since Aristophanes and are evident in the writings of the Anglo-Irish author Jonathan Swift, More's great follower.[60] A utopian vision inevitably involves a satirical look at a given society and results from a negative assessment of its current conditions. As Robert Elliott underlines,

> Satire and utopia are not really separable, the one a critique of the real world in the name of something better, the other a hopeful construct of a world that might be. The hope feeds the criticism, the criticism the hope.[61]

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[55] Michel de Montaigne, 'Des cannibales', in Michel de Montaigne, *Essais*, ed. by Albert Thibaudet (Paris: Gallimard, 1950), pp. 239-53.

[56] Morelly, Étienne-Gabriel, *Naufrage des îles flottantes, ou Basiliade du célèbre Pilpai*, 2 vols (Messine: n.p., 1753).

[57] Paul Bloomfield, *Imaginary Worlds: Or the Evolution of Utopia* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1932), pp. 114-15.

[58] Kumar, *Utopianism*, pp. 4-5.

[59] Sargent, *Utopianism*, pp. 12-13.

[60] Christine Rees, *Utopian Imagination and Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (London; New York: Longman, 1996), p. 123.

[61] Robert C. Elliott, *The Shape of Utopia: Studies in a Literary Genre* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 24.

In contrast with a life based on a lack of moderation, work and austerity are essential components of utopian societies. The description of this and other main features of the utopian state and its way of life is normally embedded in a conventional narrative structure that exhibits the defining formal traits of utopian fiction as a literary genre, as follows. A traveller arrives in the utopian country, typically an island, after an imaginary voyage, which is located in settings such as the New World, the hypothetical continent of Terra Australis Incognita in the southern hemisphere or the moon. Usually guided by a native of the utopian country, the visitor provides a detailed account of the political and social institutions of the utopian society he is introduced to by the guide. This narration turns out to be the future report that the traveller will write upon the return to his homeland in order to make known what he saw during his visit to the utopian place.[62] The account specifies the common ideal attributes of the archetypal utopian community, which customarily follow the model established by More. The structure of the story — drawing on More's *Utopia* — encompasses elements such as a patriarchal family system, an agrarian economy, the abolition of private property, a simple legislative system, an elaborate social hierarchy, a topographical organisation of the city according to the division of labour, scientific and technological discoveries, and a dominant position for religion. In spite of counting on a complex political organisation, the fundamental unit of utopian society is the patriarchal family because the family provides the basic economic unit of agricultural production; each of the forty-four city-states in Utopia is an economic unit. Heads of families elect the syphogrants, who constitute the lowest rank in the government structure, and inculcate the citizens with the habit of obedience to authority, which guarantees the stability of economy and society.[63] However, the marginalisation of the feminine by the superimposition of a masculine order that can be observed in the forms of social organisation that utopian fiction depicts has been considered a significant contradiction in the traditional utopia.[64]

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[62] Paul Arthur notices that, in opposition to the tyrannical image of the coloniser, the fictional traveller is frequently portrayed as a peacekeeper who may try to impose European values by invitation rather than by force: 'The traveller usually arrives powerless in the new world but slowly begins to exert an influence. If the antipodean inhabitants are persuaded by the traveller's arguments in support of the value of European culture, he is often given the role of negotiator or instigator of change' (Arthur, p. 6).

[63] More, *Utopia*, ed. by Logan and trans. by Adams, p. 47.

[64] Ferns identifies a symbolic representation according to which there is a constant conflict between male power in the utopian world and its almost ignominious origin from a female space, that is, the maternal womb: 'in the decisive act of authority with which the male King Utopus establishes Utopia, severing it from the mainland, one may see a further rewriting of the primal myth. While [...] some critics view this action as analogous to the severing of the umbilical cord, its implications are actually more ambiguous. Where the cord linking mother and child is severed *after* the birth process, here the analogous action is a *prelude* to the womb's creation: the direction of time, in effect, is reversed, as if the hidden intent of the

Among other noteworthy aspects of utopian societies that draw on More's utopian model, such as the justification of slavery or the cultivation of certain trades and sciences, the question of religion has received special attention from both utopian writers and critics. Religious tolerance is key to maintaining civil order in Utopia, and if someone is too vehement in expressing their religious preference, they are punished with exile or enslavement. Most of More's Utopians believe in an unknown supreme being, to whom the creation and the providential government of the world are due. The adherence to religion does not contradict the scientific investigation of nature because all the manifestations of religion tend to the worship of divine nature.[65] The Utopians' mentality is ultimately based on their faith in virtue and reason.

**Paradoxical Aspects of the Utopian Imagination**

In relation to the features of utopia as a literary form, Darko Suvin underscores the comprehensive construction of an alternative location that is radically different from the author's socio-political environment. The invention of such an alternative world generates a mechanism of estrangement that subverts the unconscious internalisation of social institutions.[66] Elaborating on Suvin's interpretation of utopia as an estranged world, Tom Moylan posits the notion of a critical utopia, that is, a text that presents the utopian society in a more critical light than traditional utopias do: 'the critical utopia [...] breaks with previous utopias by presenting in much greater, almost balanced, detail both the utopian society and the original society against which the utopia is pitted as a revolutionary alternative'.[67] Nevertheless, the image of utopia as an alternative social model produced different variations in the eighteenth century. The majority of the literary utopias of that period interacted with Enlightenment concerns about reason, reform and progress. In this context, utopian writers conceived of alternative possibilities as arguments against absolutism, the role of the aristocracy and the position of the Catholic Church, especially in the French case.[68] Of these factors, the characterisation of progress is thought provoking, as will be seen next.

Since the traditional utopia is fundamentally a spatial conception devoid of a specific historical setting, the preservation of the ideal society tends to be associated

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utopian fantasy were to reach back beyond the birth process [...] and start over again — only with the male firmly in control. If the earthly paradise constitutes an allegory of the womb, the utopian dream [...] is rather one of recreating its security by distinctively male means' (Ferns, p. 47).

[65] More, *Utopia*, ed. by Logan and trans. by Adams, pp. 93, 94, 97.

[66] Suvin, pp. 21, 30.

[67] Tom Moylan, *Demand the Impossible: Science Fiction and the Utopian Imagination* (London; New York: Methuen, 1986), p. 44.

[68] Pohl, p. 63.

with a sense of stability for which change becomes a threat to perfection. However, there was a change of mentality, rooted in an optimistic European worldview, that gave way to the development of euchronia during the Enlightenment. Euchronia, a neologism derived from *eutopia*, implies the projection of utopian wishes into the future rather than into a place. This move from space to time was stimulated by the new belief of some thinkers that reason could enable man to reach perfection.[69] *L'an 2440: Un rêve s'il en fut jamais* (1771) by the French writer Louis-Sébastien Mercier was the first euchronia and shows how the notion of a utopian time favours the logic of historical progress: 'History was now envisaged as a process of infinite improvement, and utopia, in the spirit of euchronia, was presented as a synchronic representation of one of the rings in the chain of progress'.[70] Thus, the concept of a temporal utopia or a utopia of the future, as opposed to a static spatial utopia, articulates the logic of historical progress as a process of continuous betterment. In addition to this ideological change in the nature of utopia, Reinhart Koselleck notes that the creation of a euchronia requires more creativity because 'The reality signals of the author's fiction no longer lie in the space existing today but rather in the mind of the author alone'.[71] Unlike the process of invention of a spatial utopia, a temporal utopia is the sole product of the writer's imagination because the future cannot be observed or captured by experience, as is the case with the physical space of the geographical utopia. Trousson realises that since euchronia no longer implies the formulation of a parallel world in the present, Mercier does not refrain from using France as the utopian setting of his story and its inhabitants as the utopian natives:[72]

> choisissant pour héros, non de mystérieux Utopiens, des Sélénites, des Ajaoiens ou des Sévarambes, mais d'authentiques Parisiens; conservant la France, selon lui mesure éternelle de la civilisation, [...] Mercier frayait au genre une voie inexplorée et le fondait en même temps sur l'optimisme'.[73]

The achievement of progress is related to another problematic aspect of utopia: the idea of perfectibility. In changing the perspective from space to time, the image of

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[69] Vieira, p. 9.
[70] Ibid., p. 10.
[71] Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 87.
[72] Louis-Sébastien Mercier's text was prohibited by the Consejo de Castilla in 1778 because 'la idea de este impío escritor es fingir un sueño, y [...] despierta de él en París el año de dos mil cuatrocientos cuarenta [...], afectando desengaños, y suponiendo alteraciones en todo el gobierno eclesiástico, civil y político: [...] esta obra es un tejido continuado de blasfemias contra nuestra sagrada religión católica' (*Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España*, 6 vols (Madrid: n.p., 1805-07), IV (1805), p. 158).
[73] Raymond Trousson, 'Introduction', in Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'an deux mille quatre cent quarante. Rêve s'il en fut jamais*, ed. by Raymond Trousson (Bordeaux: Ducros, 1971), pp. 7-73 (p. 59).

an eternally present and ahistorical utopian state fades away when a vision of the future permeates the fixed picture of the ideal society, and this change, in turn, leads into the temporalisation of the sense of perfection, which redefines the static concept of perfection in terms of progress. This goal of earthly perfection was treated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1755) under the neologism of *perfectibilité,* the capability of becoming perfect through the action of external factors that are favourable to the development of such a condition:

> la perfectibilité, les vertus sociales, et les autres facultés que l'homme naturel avait reçues en puissance ne pouvaient jamais se développer d'elles-mêmes, [...] elles avaient besoin pour cela du concours fortuit des plusieurs causes étrangères qui pouvaient ne jamais naître, et sans lesquelles il fût demeuré éternellement dans sa condition primitive.[74]

As Koselleck indicates, 'Perfectibility is a key word of the new age [in France]. The static, quasi-spatial pregivens of the *perfectio* ideal are temporalized'.[75] Despite the optimistic irruption of the idea of progress, Rousseau believed that the advance in the process of civilisation contained the potential danger of leading man to corruption and moral degeneration.[76] This negative assumption can be framed within the debate about the confrontation between civilisation and barbarism, a controversy that will be addressed in the next chapter in the context of Spanish utopianism.

**Conclusion**

The imagined projection of a better society as an alternative to the existing social order implies the consideration of factors that makes the understanding of utopia complex. This complexity becomes apparent in the narrative components of classical utopian writings, which reveal ambiguous or paradoxical aspects of the construction of utopian texts. Elements such as the ideals of progress and perfection were made possible by the historical transition from a merely spatial conception of utopia to a complementary temporal conceptualisation of the utopian desire. However, euchronias were not the norm in the eighteenth century, and they certainly did not develop in the Spanish context; instead, they represented an important step in the evolution of the utopian genre. The changes pursued by utopian discourse are basically aimed at improving the

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[74] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1755), pp. 91-92.
[75] Koselleck, p. 89.
[76] Ibid.

social, political and economic institutions of the prevailing situation. Within this concept of improvement or progress, other features such as education, scientific research and religion are also significantly represented.

Although all of the traditional elements of the utopian model will be present in Spanish literary utopias, the pragmatic dimension of the utopian imagination and the importance of the colonising enterprise in the founding of the utopian state will be emphasised in eighteenth-century Spanish utopias. Utopian colonialism not only brings up the debate about the imposition of civilisation on supposedly uncivilised cultures, but also permits one to conceive of utopian texts as a parallel or unofficial project to Spain's reform agenda. The convergence and divergence of the ideals of the Enlightenment with those of utopianism will similarly have a particular relevance.

Chapter 2

Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Utopianism in the Hispanic World

Spanish history was significantly marked by a spirit of discovery and expansion as a result of the encounter with the New World in 1492 until the new era of scientific investigation that began in the late seventeenth century. The spirit of reform and innovation, promoted by the Spanish Crown, not only responded to a thirst for knowledge in all fields, equally pursued by other dominant European nations, but also contributed to the development of utopian thought in Spain. In this way, Spanish utopianism would find in social experimentation in Spanish America a significant antecedent of its principles and practices. In addition to the transatlantic experience, the reformist vision of *arbitristas* in seventeenth-century Spain was a strong intellectual precedent that laid the foundation for the flourishing of a Spanish utopian mentality. Relevant aspects of these attitudes will be explored in the present chapter.

**The Spanish Utopian Impulse and Experimental Utopia in the New World**

The utopian character of the Spanish-American colonies derived from the opportunity that they offered to create a better society in a then unknown territory, where the supposed innocence of its inhabitants and the apparently pristine nature of its environment seemed to promise well-being and material abundance. For the Spanish historian José Antonio Maravall, Spain sees in newly discovered America the opportunity to carry out its dream-like aspirations of imperial domination. The New World represented the untouched place where Spanish inventive and transformative power could be put into practice, and its unknown inhabitants were treated as a blank slate for implementing an entire system of thinking. This non-violent act of indoctrination was unthinkable in the European context because of the resistance put up by its peoples: 'En el Viejo Mundo, el endurecimiento de los pueblos ante la potencia transformadora e inventora del nuevo tipo humano hacía difícil la penetración reformadora'.[1] Similarly, José Luis Abellán has written extensively on the act of imagining the New World as the most rudimentary expression of Spanish utopian thought. The vision of the colonial territory as a potential space in which the principles

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[1] José Antonio Maravall, *Utopía y reformismo en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España, 1982), p. 4.

of religion, justice and happiness could be better achieved corresponds to a phenomenon of 'inverted' Western values explained by Abellán as follows:

> en América se invierten los valores y las relaciones del Antiguo Continente: lo que en el uno es malo en el otro es bueno, y viceversa. Así se valora positivamente el Nuevo Mundo frente al Viejo; aquél es el mundo del futuro, del porvenir, de la abundancia y de la fertilidad, mientras éste es habitáculo de un pretérito que pesa excesivamente sobre sus espaldas, un mundo de pobreza, escasez y esterilidad.[2]

As a result, it was the imagined conception of America and its inherent condition as a 'good place' that gave the continent its status as a utopia, even though the identification of utopia with a specific place in the southern hemisphere undermines one standard feature of utopia itself, which is meant to refer to a 'no place'. It is also noteworthy that the discovery of the New World was stigmatised by Columbus's messianic consciousness of his mission as a discoverer: 'Columbus always insisted that his "execution of the affair of the Indies" was a fulfillment of prophecies in Isaiah and not a matter of mere reason, mathematics, and maps'.[3] Columbus was convinced that he had arrived in the Earthly Paradise because the characteristics of the place he had discovered fitted the description of it given by theologians. The account of his third voyage contains his speculations concerning the location of the mythical land:

> no porque yo crea que allí donde es la altura del extremo sea navegable ni agua, ni que se pueda subir allá, porque creo que allí es el paraíso terrenal adonde no puede llegar nadie, salvo por voluntad divina [...]. Grandes indicios son estos del paraíso terrenal, porque el sitio es conforme a la opinión de estos santos y sanos teólogos, y asimismo las señales son muy conformes, que yo jamás leí ni oí que tanta cantidad de agua dulce fuese así adentro y vecina con la salada [...], y si de allí del paraíso no sale, parece aun mayor maravilla, porque no creo que se sepa en el mundo de río tan grande y tan fondo.[4]

It is also worth mentioning that the seventeenth-century Spanish historian and jurist Antonio de León Pinelo wrote a two-volume work entitled *El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo: comentario apologético, historia natural y peregrina de las Indias*

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[2] José Luis Abellán, II: *La Edad de Oro* (1979), p. 384.
[3] Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 61.
[4] Christopher Columbus, *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus, with Other Original Documents, Relating to His Four Voyages to the New World*, trans. and ed. by Richard Henry Major (London: Hakluyt Society, 1870), pp. 141-43. This is a bilingual edition with English translations alongside the Spanish originals.

*Occidentales* (1656).[5] León Pinelo defended the thesis that the biblical Paradise was located in South America, specifically in the Amazon. However, although the Spaniard praised the richness and magnificence of the region, he believed in the superiority of Europeans over indigenous peoples,[6] an ideological position that would be the basis for the eighteenth-century European intellectual debate regarding the inferiority of indigenes and the superiority of Western cultures. This controversy was to form part of the Spanish Black Legend[7] promoted by enlightened European naturalists and historians such as Georges-Louis Leclerc (Count of Buffon), Cornelius de Pauw, William Robertson and Guillaume Raynal, who questioned the effectiveness and morality of Spain's colonial enterprise in America.

Apart from the influence of the Christian myth of the Earthly Paradise in the utopian perception of the Spanish-American colonies, the narrative concept of travel and discovery underlying the utopian genre can be seen as corresponding to the historical circumstances of Spain's policies of expansion and colonisation. This aspect becomes relevant in considering the practice of experimental utopia that defines an important strand in eighteenth-century Spanish utopian fiction. Thus, a central premise is the predominance of a practical or empirical utopia in enlightened Spain as a correlative of the imperial imperative of domination: the Spanish expansionist policy is historically determined by the founding of a real utopia. Such an objective would be principally reflected in the construction of a new historiography of the New World during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, 'one constructed in the name of the nation rather than the monarchy'.[8] The most relevant text in this respect was Juan Bautista Muñoz's *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1793), a revised history of Spanish colonisation as a way to undermine the Spanish Black Legend created by foreign adversaries.

The magnitude of the colonising experience in the New World as the germ of the Spanish utopian impulse is visible in the significant practical utopian projects that were envisioned by Spanish missionaries at around the time of the publication of More's pioneering text. Thus, the events to be highlighted are the ones related to the Christian

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[5] Only the title page and table of contents were published in 1656. The first edition of both volumes was made by the Peruvian historian Raúl Porras Barrenechea in 1943. See footnote 2 in Carlos Rey Pereira, 'El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo: entre el ejemplo y la excepción', *Cuadernos para Investigación de la Literatura Hispánica*, 29 (2004), 141-59 (p. 141).

[6] Abellán, II, pp. 377, 381.

[7] The term was coined by the Spanish historian Julián Juderías in *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica* (1914).

[8] Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), p. 30.

mission of evangelisation after the conquest of America, which corresponds to what Stelio Cro describes as empirical utopia or the second stage in the development of the Spanish utopian tradition. The perception of a Spanish empirical utopia from the discovery of the New World until the late colonial period entails the idea that Spaniards were never searching for a utopia because they were always creating one and acting according to its rules. Cro gives important insight into this assumption:

> Mientras la utopía de Platón, como la de Moro y de la mayoría de los utopistas europeos, se basa en una tradición literaria, la utopía española arranca de una experiencia vital. De allí que se distinga netamente de la otra por su carácter empírico. Esto puede haber influido también en la escasez de las elaboraciones teóricas de la utopía española. Al percibir a la utopía como ideal de reforma inspirado en la realidad del Nuevo Mundo, los españoles tuvieron un punto de referencia que otros no conocieron. Al desconocer la utopía empírica, otros pueblos elaboraron la utopía teórica.[9]

In the Italian scholar's view, the first stage in the evolution of the Hispanic utopia is that of the discovery and conquest of the New World or the encounter with a real utopia; the third refers to the replacement of the experimental utopia with the literary utopia during the Spanish Golden Age, represented in *Don Quixote*; the fourth and final stage, according to Cro's theory, is marked by the composition of the anonymous and undated *Descripción de la Sinapia, península en la tierra austral*, the only true example, in his opinion, of the utopian genre in Spain.[10]

Given the assumption that the Christianisation of the newly discovered peoples was a primitive form of utopian vision, there are at least three socio-religious experiments that are worth focusing on: Father Bartolomé de las Casas's 1516 reform plan to achieve new legislation for protection of the natives (coincidentally in the same year that More's *Utopia* was published); Vasco de Quiroga's *pueblos-hospitales* of Santa Fe in Mexico during the period of 1532 to 1539, set up in an attempt to create a

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[9] Stelio Cro, 'El mito de la ciudad ideal en España: *Sinapia*', in *Actas del Sexto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, ed. by Evelyn Rugg and Alan M. Gordon (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1980), pp. 192-94 (p. 192).

[10] Stelio Cro, *The American Foundations of the Hispanic Utopia, 1492-1793*, 2 vols (Tallahassee, Florida: DeSoto Press, 1994), I: *The Literary Utopia. 'Sinapia', A Classical Utopia of Spain and the 'Discurso de la educación'*, pp. 28-29. According to the author, the peculiar utopian dimension of *Don Quixote* is that the main character, instead of a place, acts as a mechanism of social criticism and symbolises the disillusionment caused by the Spanish social situation (Cro, *The American Foundations of the Hispanic Utopia*, I, p. 29). A similar perspective is proposed by José Antonio Maravall, who sees in the indeterminacy of the geographical place in which Don Quixote's actions occur a significant feature for the utopian nature of the novel: 'en lo que Cervantes cambia fundamentalmente el método utópico es en que más que inventar un lugar "sin lugar", lo que hace es imaginar una figura humana de indeterminable emplazamiento' (José Antonio Maravall, *Utopía y contrautopía en 'El Quijote'* (Madrid: Visor Libros, 2006), p. 236).

new republic of Indians; and the Paraguayan Jesuit *reducciones* established in 1609. These proposals can be understood as defiant reformist programmes, but the plausibility of conceiving of them as utopian plans lies in their aim to have a meaningful impact on entire communities. Of these three projects, the last two are of special importance, and in fact the *reducciones* were apparently inspired by the *pueblos-hospitales*.[11] Both were complex models of a new type of community with a strong Christian ethos.

In contrast with León Pinelo's derogatory view of the otherness of the inhabitants of the New World, Bartolomé de las Casas formulates an anthropological interpretation of the laudable, sophisticated beliefs and practices of the indigenous inhabitants. Las Casas argues that the natives are perfectly rational because their physical constitution is determined by the clemency of the weather and the favourable conditions of the territory. Their rational nature not only makes them self-governing, prone to accept the Catholic faith and capable of doing without other countries' protection, but also makes them in no way inferior to European nations:[12]

> con muchas naciones del mundo señaladas y nombradas por políticas y razonables se igualaron, y a otras muchas más sobrepujaron, y a ningunas fueron inferiores, y entre las con quien[es] se igualaron, fueron los griegos y romanos, y en muchas buenas y mejores costumbres, los vencieron y sobrepujaron. Sobrepujaron también a los ingleses y franceses y a algunas gentes de nuestra España, y a otras innumerables fueron tan superiores en las costumbres, tenerlas buenas y carecer de muchas malas, que no merecieron con las de estas Indias compararse.[13]

Las Casas's reform programme called for the abolition of all forms of subjugation and the restoration of indigenous states and their rulers, with a population who were the legitimate owners of the land. Instead of an oppressive conversion process,

> Las Casas hoped for a peaceful colonization of the New World by Spanish farmers who would live side by side with the natives, teach them to farm and live in the European way, and gradually bring into being an ideal Christian community.[14]

The materialisation of More's imaginary society was first undertaken by the Spanish humanist and Bishop of Michoacán Vasco de Quiroga with the founding of

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[11] Silvio Zavala, *Recuerdo de Vasco de Quiroga* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1987), p. 161.
[12] Abellán, II, pp. 421-22.
[13] Bartolomé de las Casas, *Obras escogidas*, 5 vols (Madrid: Atlas, 1957-58), IV: *Apologética historia*, ed. by Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso (1958), pp. 430-31.
[14] Benjamin Keen and Keith Haynes, *A History of Latin America*, 2 vols (Boston, Massachusetts: Wadsworth/Cengage Learning, 2013), I: *Ancient America to 1910*, p. 82.

three experimental towns in New Spain: Santa Fe de los Altos, Santa Fe de la Laguna and Santa Fe del Río.[15] In fact, he translated *Utopia* into Spanish, but the manuscript is apparently lost.[16] Quiroga's plan was to introduce European civilisation into the New World by organising the natives into villages where they would live according to Catholic doctrine and acquire the habits of virtue. As Silvio Zavala asserts, '*Utopia*, for Quiroga, had a realistic meaning, it was something that could be applied, not an idle dream'.[17] The objectives of utopia turned into an organisational strategy in Quiroga's humanistic programme. Besides the immediate influence of More's work, it is possible to draw a parallel between Bacon's utopia and Quiroga's project on the grounds that the Spanish reformer wanted to establish an ideal community supported by the virtue of science and regulated by a Christian government.[18]

Besides being influenced by More and Bacon, Quiroga's thought was based on his reading of the play *Saturnalia*, written by the second-century Greek satirist Lucian of Samosata and translated into Latin by Thomas More.[19] In his *Información en derecho* (1535), Quiroga claimed that the behaviour of the indigenous people of the New World was similar to that of the men of the Golden Age described by Lucian in his work:

> casi de la misma manera que he hallado que dice Luciano en sus Saturnales que eran los siervos entre aquellas gentes que llaman de oro y edad dorada de los tiempos de los reinos de Saturno, en que parece que había en todo y por todo la misma manera e igualdad, simplicidad, bondad, obediencia, humildad, fiestas, juegos, placeres, beberes, holgares, ocios, desnudez, pobre y menospreciado ajuar, vestir y calzar y comer, según que la fertilidad de la tierra se lo daba, ofrecía y producía de gracia y casi sin trabajo, cuidado ni solicitud suya, que ahora en este Nuevo Mundo parece que hay y se ve en aquestos naturales, con un descuido y menosprecio de todo lo superfluo, con aquel mismo contentamiento y muy grande y libre libertad de las vidas y de los ánimos que gozan aquestos naturales.[20]

Quiroga's zealous interpretation of the legend of the Golden Age seems to intensify the utopian features of that ideal era of abundance and equality in order to

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[15] A copy of More's *Utopia* underlined and annotated by Quiroga was found in the personal library of Bishop Juan de Zumárraga, who probably lent that copy to Quiroga. See Abellán, II, p. 392.

[16] Julie Greer Johnson, *Satire in Colonial Spanish America: Turning the New World Upside Down* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), p. 4.

[17] Silvio Zavala, *Sir Thomas More in New Spain: A Utopian Adventure of the Renaissance* (London: Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1955), p. 12.

[18] Juan Pimentel, *Testigos del mundo: ciencia, literatura y viajes en la Ilustración* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003), p. 92.

[19] Raúl Villaseñor, 'Luciano, Moro y el utopismo de Vasco de Quiroga', *Cuadernos Americanos*, 68 (1953), 155-75 (p. 157).

[20] Vasco de Quiroga, *Información en derecho*, in Rafael Aguayo Spencer, *Don Vasco de Quiroga: pensamiento jurídico. Antología*, ed. by José Luis Soberanes (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1986), pp. 82-212 (p. 189).

extol the virtues and qualities of the New World's population. His social experiment of the *pueblos-hospitales* exhibited the fundamental ingredients of the utopian model: communities settled in communal lands in which families were the political unit and who dedicated themselves to farming and Christian education.[21] The civilising process of reshaping the natives was intended to protect them from the corrupt customs of the conquistadors and turn them into the agents of a restored Christianity:

> se pudiese reformar y restaurar y legitimar [...] la doctrina y vida cristiana [...] en esta renaciente Iglesia en esta edad dorada entre estos naturales; pues que en la nuestra de hierro lo repugna tanto nuestra y casi natural soberbia, codicia, ambición y malicia desenfrenadas.[22]

In the same vein, the system of *reducciones* was implemented by the Jesuits in Paraguay in 1609 with the purpose of organising the indigenous population according to a social model subscribing to Christianity, an ideological pattern that permeates the characterisation of Spanish utopian thought. The growth of the Paraguayan Jesuit missions has been seen in connection with the decadence of the Spanish Empire, which not only interested the French *philosophes*, but was also noted by the Spanish authorities who expelled the Order from Hispanic lands in 1767.[23] The Jesuit model consisted of the division of the Guarani population into thirty villages, in which the regulatory principles were the belonging of the land to the indigenous families and the guarantee of their freedom in the *reducciones*.[24] However, the majority of the opponents of the Jesuits claimed that the Guarani Indians were actually slaves in the missions:

> los jesuitas se han convertido en señores y soberanos de todos los indígenas reducidos, de las tierras que éstos ocupan, de sus cosechas y de su trabajo, y continúan extendiéndose todos los días sin título ni permiso. Los indios no tienen nada de ellos, todo pertenece a los jesuitas; y estas gentes — que deberían ser libres —, una vez que han aceptado voluntariamente la sumisión, son tratados como a los esclavos se trata.[25]

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[21] Abellán, II, pp. 394-96.

[22] Vasco de Quiroga, p. 194.

[23] Stelio Cro, *The American Foundations of the Hispanic Utopia*, II: *The Empirical Utopia*, p. 138. See also Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, *Dictamen fiscal de expulsión de los jesuitas de España*, ed. by Jorge Cejudo and Teófanes Egido (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1977); Teófanes Egido and Isidoro Pinedo, *Las causas "gravísimas" y secretas de la expulsión de los jesuitas por Carlos III* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1994).

[24] Abellán, II, pp. 404-05.

[25] A testimony of the period included in Rubén Bareiro Saguier and Jean-Paul Duviols, eds, *Tentación de la utopía: la república de los jesuitas en el Paraguay* (Asunción del Paraguay: Servilibro, 2012), p. 172.

In response to these defamatory statements, the Spanish missionary José Manuel Peramás would identify a correspondence between the utopian dimension of Plato's *Republic* and the structural aspects of the programme of *reducciones* in his work *La 'República' de Platón y los guaraníes* (1793), which was originally written in Latin. Anticipating the rejection that his comparison might generate ('abrigamos la esperanza de poder demostrar que entre los indios guaraníes de América se realizó, al menos aproximadamente, la concepción política de Platón'[26]), Peramás argues that his analogy is based on his personal observation of the Paraguayan Jesuit missions and on authorised writings. Nevertheless, the similarity between Plato's utopian model and the system of *reducciones* could be just a mere coincidence.

The utopian nature of the *reducciones* can also be noted not only in their attempt to create a parallel society in which the economic and social lives of the Indians would be strengthened and free of an interfering civil administration,[27] but also in the reactions that such an attempt sparked among certain dissenting sectors of society: 'The effectively utopian character of the Reduction system is clear from the many antagonisms it excited — from Spain's colonial competitors, from the civil authority, from the settlers (deprived of access to Indian labour) and from the diocesan church, among others'.[28]

Moreover, the missionary discourse behind these projects brings up the myth of the good savage or idealised indigenous inhabitant who has not been corrupted by contact with so-called civilisation. The image of the good savage is a recurring motif in utopian fiction, and especially in the Spanish utopian tradition, because the possibility of an individual whose mind is a blank slate over which civilisation has not exercised its influence is certainly a suitable feature in the building of a happy and perfect society. In fact, the noble or virtuous savage is not an actual person, but a mythical construct, a fable according to which man can live happier in a primitive state and in harmony with nature.

Although the concept was outlined by Montaigne in 'Des cannibales' as a means of working out a critique of French culture by opposing it to the virtues of non-European peoples, it was Rousseau who redefined it and brought it into mainstream

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[26] José Manuel Peramás, *La 'República' de Platón y los guaraníes* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1946), pp. 19-20.
[27] Josep M. Barnadas, 'The Catholic Church in Colonial Spanish America', in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. by Leslie Bethell, 11 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984-95), I (1984), pp. 509-40 (p. 533).
[28] Ibid., I, p. 534.

thinking in the eighteenth century. Rousseau's theory of natural man[29] emphasises the innate and amoral goodness of humanity in its natural state, which is actually neither good nor bad as morality only develops through education in a civil state. It is against this backdrop, in which Christian conversion merges with the idea of a pristine Other uncorrupted by the vices of an unnatural political society, that the utopian experiments in the Spanish colonies of America sought to protect the rights of their Christianised 'good savages'.

## Spanish *Arbitristas*

In the context of the actualisation of utopia — a 'concrete utopia' in Ernst Bloch's terms[30] — and the civilising colonial enterprise as essential elements of Spanish utopianism, it is important to identify the relationship between the characteristics of Enlightenment and utopianism in Spain in order to deconstruct the supposed absence of both utopian and Enlightenment thinking. Enlightenment thought in Spain was essentially an ideology of social criticism that implied a rupture with scholastic theology and a desire in part to employ secularising values in the fight against ignorance, superstition, and injustice.[31] This was a way of thinking particularly defended by the Spanish *arbitristas* (1600-50).

The seventeenth-century Spanish current of thought labelled *arbitrismo* was an important ideological precedent for the emergence of Spanish utopianism in the subsequent era of Enlightenment. In spite of being frequently depicted as charlatans whose supposedly irrational projects[32] did not constitute effective solutions to the

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[29] Rousseau never used the term 'good savage' (*bon sauvage*) or 'noble savage', but *l'homme naturel*. The expression 'noble savage' first appeared in English in 1670 in *The Conquest of Granada*, a heroic play by the English writer John Dryden.

[30] Concrete utopia foresees the actualisation of a utopian society in the future, as opposed to a merely abstract utopia. While abstract utopia expresses desire, concrete utopia carries hope. See Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, trans. by Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice and Paul Knight, 3 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), I, p. 157.

[31] Francisco Sánchez-Blanco, *La Ilustración en España* (Madrid: Akal, 1997), p. 5.

[32] The misrepresentation of the *arbitristas* as lunatic liars coincides with Fredric Jameson's negative impression of utopian writers: 'The Utopians, whether political, textual or hermeneutic, have always been maniacs and oddballs: a deformation readily enough explained by the fallen societies in which they had to fulfill their vocation' (Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (New York: Verso, 2005), p. 10). The proposal of irrational projects as solutions to the problems of the Spanish monarchy caused the *arbitristas* to be depicted as charlatans who used the pseudoscience of astrology. In her analysis of the interrelation of utopia and astrology in the popular literature of Enlightenment Spain, Iris Zavala puts forward the existence of a scholarly utopia as opposed to a popular one, the latter being fuelled by the predictive and imaginative power of astrology and its impact on the harmony of the social order. The contents of almanacs and their creator, the *piscator*, seek to provide the lower middle-class reader with an idealistic or ironic portrayal of society's institutions, through which the disenchanted popular audience could escape from the injustice of an unequal social structure (Iris M. Zavala, 'Utopía y astrología en la literatura popular del setecientos: los almanaques de Torres Villarroel', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 33 (1984), 196-212 (p. 197)). What interests

problems of the Spanish monarchy, the *arbitristas* can be regarded as the intellectual predecessors of Spanish Enlightenment utopian thinkers by virtue of their vision of social reform. Jean Vilar underlines the original seventeenth-century meaning of *arbitrio* as 'remedy', 'trick' or 'stratagem', that is, the artifice of thinking up alternatives to Spain's problems, especially in the economic sphere.[33] Far from being constrained, the suggestions of the *arbitristas* were tolerated and encouraged by the government due to the lack of an economic theory applicable to the needs of the Spanish nation.[34]

The literary representation of the *arbitrista* as a fictional character in novels and plays portrays him as extravagant, lunatic and unsuccessful. Such a description does not necessarily conform to reality as the actual *arbitrista* was often 'distraído, absorto, iluminado, maníaco [...] viejo, secreto y desconfiado, soñador e idealista',[35] but he was also 'interesado, alentado y al mismo tiempo mal escuchado'.[36] Thus, the negative image of the *arbitristas* may be rather the result of their condition as misunderstood thinkers. The nineteenth-century Spanish historian and economist Manuel Colmeiro also recognised the dual characterisation of these intellectual figures, whose supposedly unrealistic proposals were simultaneously seen as stimuli for feasible reform plans:

> Los arbitristas eran (como dijo algún escritor del siglo pasado) las sirenas del golfo político, o una secta disidente de los verdaderos economistas; pero en medio de los sueños de felicidad pública, de los delirios de su imaginación exaltada, de sus proyectos no siempre desinteresados, y algunas veces disparatados o imposibles, todavía merecen bien de la ciencia económica, porque excitaban la controversia y se purificaban las doctrinas favorables al aumento de la riqueza pública y a la reforma de las contribuciones.[37]

The definition of *arbitrista* given by the *Diccionario de autoridades* in 1726 highlights the concern with economic issues and the widespread negative opinion of the proposed remedies:

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here is that astrological utopia is a proof that fantasy functioned as a means of relieving social frustration and, therefore, as a way of restraining potential civil conflicts. It can be argued that this form of folk utopia was the vehicle of useless charlatanism aimed at misguiding the public, but instead it was intended to offer practical advice to help citizens achieve happiness and economic welfare. Among the various astrological fictions, Zavala features Diego de Torres Villarroel's works, which are utopian fabulations about the correct use of laws and social institutions. In that sense, Torres Villarroel's utopia has a strong didactic and critical impulse.

[33] Jean Vilar, *Literatura y economía: la figura satírica del arbitrista en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1973), pp. 31-32.

[34] Werner Krauss, 'Algunos aspectos de las teorías economistas españolas durante el siglo XVIII', *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, 246 (1970), 572-84 (p. 572).

[35] Vilar, p. 221.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Manuel Colmeiro, *Biblioteca de los economistas españoles de los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas, [1954]), p. 7.

El que discurre y propone medios para acrecentar el erario público o las rentas del príncipe. Viene del nombre arbitrio; pero esta voz comúnmente se toma en mala parte, y con universal aversión, respecto de que por lo general los arbitristas han sido muy perjudiciales a los príncipes, y muy gravosas al común sus trazas y arbitrios.[38]

However, as Henry Kamen explains, 'Los arbitristas provenían de una amplia gama de profesiones: soldados, funcionarios, clérigos, comerciantes, juristas. [...] Su temática era predominantemente económica — comercio, despoblación, inflación, agricultura, pobreza — pero también entraban en problemas morales, religiosos y políticos'.[39] This wide range of criticism demonstrates the freedom of expression allowed by the government at the time. The main solutions to the Spanish crisis proposed by the *arbitristas* included prohibiting foreign manufactures and increasing domestic production, abolishing harmful taxes, and creating a trading company to stop foreign merchants from controlling Spain's commerce.[40]

In attempting to delineate the parameters of *arbitrismo* as a genre, Juan Ignacio Gutiérrez, like Kamen, clarifies the fact that the movement's interests comprised different thematic areas: governmental finance, the economy, politics, society and manufacturing.[41] As seen from the perspective of utopianism, the involvement of the *arbitristas* in the field of social reform is especially relevant: 'sus propuestas reformistas inciden de manera directa en la sociedad, bien propugnando un cambio de valores sociales, bien proponiendo medidas que significarían una radical transformación del orden estamental'.[42] Moreover, Gutiérrez distinguishes a utopian spirit in programmes resulting from the practice of social *arbitrismo*, in particular in relation to social inequality: the *arbitristas* condemned the excessive wealth of certain social groups and encouraged the rise of the middle classes.[43] More than a simple moral issue, the importance of developing a bourgeois sector in society lay in the capacity of such people to secure a more balanced social class system and other societal changes. The utopian quality of these incipient and idealistic reform plans is equally perceived

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[38] *Diccionario de autoridades*, 6 vols (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1726-39; facsimile edition, Madrid: Gredos, 1969), I (1726), p. 373.

[39] Henry Kamen, *Vocabulario básico de la historia moderna*, trans. by Montserrat Iniesta (Barcelona: Crítica, 1986), p. 14.

[40] Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict* (London; New York: Longman, 1983), p. 233.

[41] Juan Ignacio Gutiérrez Nieto, 'El pensamiento económico, político y social de los arbitristas', in *Historia de España*, ed. by Ramón Menéndez Pidal and José María Jover Zamora, 42 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1935-2003), XXVI: *El siglo del Quijote (1580-1680): religión, filosofía, ciencia* (1986), pp. 233-351 (p. 237).

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., pp. 282, 293.

by Evaristo Correa Calderón, who chiefly focused his attention on utopia-like schemes that were created to reform the running of Galicia.[44]

The practical mentality of the *arbitristas* can be also seen as a reason underlying the pragmatic configuration of Spanish utopianism. In this respect, Mariano Baquero Goyanes wonders why *arbitristas*' futuristic vision did not lead to a more substantial production of literary utopias in Spain. His explanation is that the Spanish nation lives in a perpetual present that prevents it from projecting itself into an imaginary and ideal future: 'los españoles vivimos muy ligados al presente y estamos dotados de escasa capacidad de futurición, ahincados en el momento fugaz y asidos a las cosas, hechos y gestos que componen nuestro vivir más inmediato'.[45] According to the scholar, this immediacy that turns into an extreme materialism corroborates the Spanish tendency towards the promotion of an existentialist hyperrealism.[46]

To avoid falling into Baquero's radical perspective, it can be said that utopianism in Spain would take a discursive form shaped by the necessity of taking care of immediate socio-political matters in the midst of a reformist and progressive environment. As Amable Fernández Sanz states regarding Gaspar de Jovellanos's state project, Spanish utopian ideology was more the consolidation of a utopian reality rather than of an illusionist utopia.[47] For Spanish Enlightenment ideologues, utopian projects were valuable and justifiable on the basis of their potential degree of concrete realisation. This ideological filter seems to be stressed by José Antonio Maravall when he explains that utopia was a historical product of the renewed man of the Renaissance and that utopian spirit was anything but an ineffective fantasy.[48]

**The Spanish Translation of *Utopia***

Although the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the ideological circumstances that prepared the ground for the manifestation of a Spanish utopian awareness in the

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[44] Evaristo Correa Calderón, *Registro de arbitristas, economistas y reformadores españoles (1500-1936): catálogo de impresos y manuscritos* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1981), p. 9.

[45] Mariano Baquero Goyanes, 'Realismo y utopía en la literatura española', *Studi Ispanici*, 1 (1962), 7-28 (p. 14).

[46] A more extreme view is expressed by the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, who thinks that utopia is a false image of reality in the sense that it proposes an ideal but non-existent truth. Ortega y Gasset conceives a reality composed of multiple perspectives, each equally true and authentic, and where the sole false perspective is that which claims to be the only one there is. Utopia is then regarded as a kind of invalid comprehension of external reality and, consequently, utopians are doomed to undermine their own authorial image because their discourse is based on misconceptions: 'lo falso es la utopía, la verdad no localizada, vista desde "lugar ninguno". El utopista [...] es el que más yerra, porque es el hombre que no se conserva fiel a su punto de vista, que deserta de su puesto' (José Ortega y Gasset, *El tema de nuestro tiempo* (Madrid: Tecnos, 2002), p. 133).

[47] Amable Fernández Sanz, 'La utopía solucionista de Jovellanos', *El Basilisco*, 21 (1996), 25-27 (p. 26).

[48] Maravall, *Utopía y reformismo en la España de los Austrias*, p. 3.

eighteenth century, it is inevitable that reference be made to the publication of the first translation of More's *Utopia* into Spanish during the seventeenth century as a key moment in the history of utopian thinking in Spain. In 1637, the nobleman Jerónimo Antonio de Medinilla y Porres published his Spanish version with an introduction by his friend Francisco de Quevedo, who encouraged him to embark on the translation project.[49] However, Medinilla translated only Book II of *Utopia*, which contains the description of the utopian island made by Raphael Hythloday. Medinilla did not include Book I — which consists of the conversation between More (the narrator), the fictional character of the Flemish humanist Peter Giles and Hythloday about the problems of injustice and poverty in English society — and did not translate certain passages of the second book in anticipation of possible censorship by the Inquisition, which had already banned the original version of More in Latin.[50] The 1637 edition includes a statement by the notary of the Inquisition Bartolomé Jiménez Patón, who saved the translation from being censored.[51] The 1790 re-edition includes a new statement by Jiménez — presumably preserved and added by the printer — indicating that More's work was enlightening in terms of Christian experience: 'puede y debe imprimirse sin escrúpulo, ni sospecha de mala doctrina: antes su lección es de curiosidad cristiana y piadosa'.[52]

A second edition of Medinilla's Spanish text was not published until 1790, but this time the edition included a biographical summary of More's life based not on the well-known biography written by Fernando de Herrera in 1617, but on the one published by the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra in his *Historia eclesiástica del cisma del reino de Inglaterra* in 1588. In the prologue to his edition, Medinilla emphasises the spiritual and ethical dimensions of More's conception of the ideal state: 'Fundó la felicidad de un estado perfectamente dichoso, estableciendo la virtud, y destruyendo el

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[49] Thomas More, *La 'Utopía' de Tomás Moro, gran canciller de Inglaterra, vizconde y ciudadano de Londres*, trans. by Jerónimo Antonio de Medinilla y Porres (Cordova: Salvador de Cea, 1637).

[50] Francisco López Estrada, 'La primera versión española de la *Utopía* de Moro, por Jerónimo Antonio de Medinilla (Córdoba, 1637)', in *Collected Studies in Honour of Américo Castro's Eightieth Year*, ed. by Marcel P. Hornik (Oxford: Lincombe Lodge Research Library, 1965), pp. 291-309 (p. 304).

[51] In connection with the Inquisition's attitude towards More's *Utopia*, López Estrada asserts that 'la *Utopia* se encuentra en los índices inquisitoriales de Gaspar de Quiroga de 1583 y 1584, pero esto tiene poca validez porque la censura de la obra se limita a unas pocas líneas y además, el caso de este autor, reconocido por ser un ejemplo de gran cristiandad, está explícitamente considerado en las advertencias del *Índice* cuando se refiere a los libros que no conviene que anden en lengua vulgar o que, habiendo sido escritos con recta intención, la malicia de los tiempos hizo que corriesen el riesgo de ser mal entendidos; en los índices de 1620 y 1632 no figura la *Utopia*' (López Estrada, *Tomás Moro y España*, p. 65).

[52] Thomas More, *La 'Utopía' de Tomás Moro, gran canciller de Inglaterra, vizconde y ciudadano de Londres*, trans. by Jerónimo Antonio de Medinilla y Porres, 2nd edn (Madrid: Imprenta de Pantaleón Aznar, 1790), n.pag.

vicio; y cortó la raíz de competencias entre los hombres, reduciéndolos a vivir en común, sin poseer alguna cosa en particular'.[53] The translator also underscores the usefulness of introducing his compatriots to such a valuable work and its equally praiseworthy author:

> Esta admiración me produjo humor curioso, y deseos de servir a la patria, haciendo común este tesoro. Comuniqué el intento con personas sabias, y [...] últimamente me alentaron a poner esta versión en la opinión del mundo. He procurado en el traducir, dar más el espíritu del autor que sus palabras.[54]

It is clear that Medinilla attributed a practical and utilitarian function to More's proposal for a model republic of virtuous, happy citizens. In this sense, Medinilla's viewpoint connects with the pragmatic thought of *arbitristas*. His selective translation of *Utopia*, due to the repressive action of the Inquisition, ultimately offered the portrayal of a country in which England's problems had been solved by the application of social remedies that could be of use in all nations. The fact that a third edition of Medinilla's text should have been edited in 1805[55] reveals its continuing popularity among Spanish readers.

## Conclusion

As can be deduced from the arguments set out above, the appearance of utopian writings in Spain in the eighteenth century was preceded by historical circumstances or ideological currents that sought to change or improve the Spanish empire and its society through the application of practical reform projects. Not only would the social experiments of the Spanish evangelising mission in the New World foster the advent of a utopian mentality in the next few decades, but the reformist initiatives undertaken by *arbitristas* in the face of Spain's declining power in Europe would also contribute to the evolution of isolated reform efforts into the presentation of integrated utopian writings. In this context of renewal, the late translation of More's *Utopia* during this period seems to have responded to the intellectual thirst for new and effective economic and social solutions to Spain's perceived decadence.

Another important aspect to stress is the fact that the treatment of Spanish utopian thought implies the discussion of other formal and ideological spheres, such as the

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[53] Ibid., n.pag.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Thomas More, *La 'Utopía' de Tomás Moro, gran canciller de Inglaterra, vizconde y ciudadano de Londres*, trans. by Jerónimo Antonio de Medinilla y Porres, 3rd edn (Madrid: Imprenta de Mateo Repullés, 1805).

rhetoric of colonialism, the writing of imaginary voyages or the theory of the good savage, which in turn relates to concerns about civilisation, barbarism and identity. In this respect, Spanish utopianism would assimilate and develop, in a contextualised way, the more common themes addressed by the Western utopian tradition.

Chapter 3

Utopian Writing in the Context of Eighteenth-Century Spanish Reformism

Utopian writing implies new thinking on social structures contemporary with the moment when the utopian text is made known to the public. Although sharing many features with reformist writings, utopian writing focuses not on directly criticising the status quo, but rather strives to present an entirely new society with structures, institutions and practices different from those known to its readers at the moment when the text is published or written. By alluding to a changed version of specific features of society, the utopian writer avoids appearing to undermine the current system, something that might have seemed dangerous from a governmental perspective during the rule of the early Bourbons. In line with the nature of utopianism, the author may resort to an out-of-this-world reality, a reality one can only dream about. The utopian vision ultimately plays with assessing the degree to which the world it represents is possible in practice or not, a judgement that affects whether it seems less subversive or revolutionary.

Reformist writings can clash with what is permitted or with what the prevailing practice of censorship allows. State censorship can vary greatly and reacts to contingency: it is severe when circumstances seem to warrant it being harsher, but it is laxer when the status quo seems less under threat, a time when experiment may be allowed. Censorship revealed a greater tolerance of alternative points of view to the orthodox in the eighteenth century, especially in the second half.[1] What is more, a curious feature that became significantly notable in eighteenth-century Spain was the recovery of past reformist writings. Works that remained in manuscript from an earlier moment — sometimes only a generation or two earlier — were printed for the first time as they perhaps no longer seemed threateningly radical. Texts from the seventeenth century were reprinted in the eighteenth because some of the points for which they argued might still have seemed relevant to eighteenth-century reformist thinking. Within this ideological framework, the present chapter aims to outline the historical process of reformist writing in Spain and show how progressive thought in the eighteenth century provided a stimulus for setting out plans for change within the new spirit of Enlightenment.

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[1] Lucienne Domergue, *La censure des livres en Espagne à la fin de l'Ancien Régime* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1996), pp. 226-29.

**Spanish *Novatores***

In the name of civilisation, the *novatores* (approximately 1675-1725), or early Enlightenment thinkers, sought to separate empirical argumentation in the field of science from religious revelation.[2] Writing in the wake of the reformist texts of the *arbitristas*, the *novatores* were a group of scientists and humanists concerned with the backwardness of Spanish science in relation to the rest of Europe. In fact, they aimed to establish the foundations and principles of a modern conception of knowledge. As François Lopez points out, 'los miembros de esa muy estrecha élite aspiraron a una "restauración" de todo el saber, desde el de las buenas letras hasta lo que llamamos ciencias exactas'.[3] Thus, the diverse disciplines of human knowledge should be subject to rigorous critical enquiry. Nevertheless, Lopez also specifies that the *novatores* covered areas of knowledge beyond scientific disciplines:

> aunque compartiendo el deseo de renovación y rigor de los científicos, consagraron su labor a unas disciplinas que no suelen encontrar cabida en las actuales historias de las ciencias: el derecho y la jurisprudencia, la erudición y la investigación histórica, la economía política.[4]

While Lopez sees the *novatores* as a small intellectual elite, Jesús Pérez Magallón acknowledges their consciousness as a group, which was noticeable in the fact that they were constantly exchanging writings and ideas.[5] This sense of collective identity in being members of the privileged thinking classes was reflected in the subsequent organisation of the *novatores* into institutionalised academies under royal patronage.[6] The fact that these intellectual circles were engaged in the global advance or reform of knowledge — aimed at banishing myths and superstitions — made them the initiators not only of Spanish Enlightenment thought, but also, to some degree, of the new spirit of Spanish utopian thought.

The definition of *novator* by the *Diccionario de autoridades* gives the term a negative meaning in the sense that it refers to someone who transforms established

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[2] Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, *Ilustración y neoclasicismo en las letras españolas* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2005), p. 59.

[3] François Lopez, 'La vida intelectual en la España de los novatores', *Anejos de Dieciocho*, 1 (1997), 79-90 (p. 86).

[4] François Lopez, 'Los novatores en la Europa de los sabios', *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, 14 (1996), 95-111 (p. 96).

[5] Jesús Pérez Magallón, *Construyendo la modernidad: la cultura española en el "tiempo de los novatores" (1675-1725)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de la Lengua Española, 2002), p. 14.

[6] Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, 'Las academias de los novatores', in *De las academias a la enciclopedia: el discurso del saber en la modernidad*, ed. by Evangelina Rodríguez Cuadros (Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1993), pp. 263-300 (p. 273).

ideas: 'Inventor de novedades. Tómase regularmente por el que las inventa peligrosamente en materia de doctrina'.[7] However, this view of the *novatores* contrasts with the fact that, in retrospect, they have been vindicated and seen to be the originators of a scientific methodology and rational thought in Spain. The secularisation of philosophical and scientific matters carried out by the *novatores* led to their condemnation as heretics by the Spanish theologian Francisco Palanco in his work *Dialogus physico-theologicus contra philosophiae novatores* (1714). As Abellán explains in this respect:

> la nueva mentalidad supone una intrusión del laicismo en las investigaciones filosóficas y religiosas, que puede resultar peligroso para la fe. [...] [Palanco] Se escandaliza [...] de la arrogancia de estos filósofos que todo lo quieren medir con su mente, sin darse cuenta de que sólo la mente de Dios es medida de las cosas; motivo por el que acaba considerando su actitud como una temeridad impía y sacrílega.[8]

The *novatores* denied such accusations by claiming that their intention was to restore ancient doctrines distorted by scholasticism in order to arrive at modern methods and truths.[9]

Suspicions concerning the intellectual aims of the *novatores* might have been increased by the fact that their activities started outside the official university establishment: 'El movimiento que se denomina propiamente "novator" se inicia fuera de la Universidad. Nace a finales del siglo XVII en grupos laicos y eclesiásticos interesados por la filosofía natural y por la física en particular'.[10] Following the empirical approach introduced by the Valencian physician Juan de Cabriada, a medical *tertulia* gathered in Seville to discuss modern and experimental methods of medicine. The innovatory perspective of this group of physicians consisted in making knowledge accessible to citizens: 'ellos sacaron la ciencia del claustro académico a la plazuela pública'.[11] This led to the creation of the Royal Academy of Medicine and Surgery of Seville in 1700, an institution conceived for the general physical well-being of mankind and of Spaniards in particular.[12]

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[7] *Diccionario de autoridades*, IV (1734), p. 683.

[8] Abellán, III, pp. 343-44.

[9] Ibid., III, p. 344.

[10] Francisco Sánchez-Blanco, *La mentalidad ilustrada* (Madrid: Taurus, 1999), p. 24.

[11] Ibid., p. 35.

[12] Álvarez de Miranda, 'Las academias de los novatores', pp. 273-74. For a comprehensive history of the institution, see Antonio Hermosilla Molina, *Cien años de medicina sevillana: la Regia Sociedad de Medicina y Demás Ciencias, de Sevilla, en el siglo XVIII* (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1970).

The reformist continuity between *arbitristas* and *novatores* also included the activities of the intellectuals known as *proyectistas*, as will be seen next.

## The Reformist Heritage in Eighteenth-Century Spain

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the seventeenth-century phenomenon of *arbitrismo* was subject to a pejorative interpretation in some of the writings of the period. However, it experienced a change when it was replaced by the concept of *proyectismo* in the eighteenth century. José Muñoz Pérez suggests that the presentation of a project can be seen as a textual genre covering a series of writings dealing with reform plans in accord with the reformist impetus of Carlos III's reign.[13] The difference between *arbitrio* and *proyecto* lies in the improvised conjectures of the former and the rationalist, more empirical basis of the latter:

> El arbitrio viene a ser [...] una argucia ingeniosa y sencilla, [...] destinada a solucionar con un solo medio todos los males generales del Reino [...]. En los datos que [los arbitristas] manejaban no había ningún contacto con fuentes ni documentos; eran puramente estimativos. [...] El proyectista empezó a utilizar otro procedimiento. [...] Su proyecto ha surgido del manejo de los papeles.[14]

Unlike the temporary and immediate solutions devised by the *arbitristas*, the *proyectistas* focused on concrete problems and proposed solutions applicable in the long term. It is important to bear in mind that eighteenth-century *proyectistas* prompted the work of Spanish economic societies,[15] a group of organisations created and defined by the reformist mentality of the period, as will be explained later in this chapter.

In trying to overcome their connection with discredited *arbitrios*, eighteenth-century projects were based on an optimistic and creative attitude towards the idea of modernising the Spanish economy and society,[16] examples of which were Melchor de Macanaz's *Auxilios para bien gobernar una monarquía católica* (1722) and Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes's *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular* (1774). Moreover, as José Luis Gómez Urdáñez argues, while the theses of the *arbitristas*

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[13] José Muñoz Pérez, 'Los proyectos sobre España e Indias en el siglo XVIII: el proyectismo como género', *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, 81 (1955), 169-95 (p. 171).
[14] Ibid., pp. 179-80.
[15] Luis Miguel Enciso Recio, *Las sociedades económicas en el Siglo de las Luces* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2010), p. 10.
[16] Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, 'Proyectos y proyectistas en el siglo XVIII español', in *La Ilustración española: actas del Coloquio Internacional celebrado en Alicante, 1-4 octubre 1985*, ed. by A. Alberola and E. La Parra (Alicante: Instituto Juan Gil-Albert, Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 1986), pp. 133-50 (p. 137).

remained as impracticable utopian schemes, the programmes of the *proyectistas* were eventually put into practice:

> Si en el siglo XVII las ideas de los arbitristas quedaron en la utopía y en el lamento y la nostalgia, en el reinado de Fernando VI la mayor parte de las ideas de los más prestigiosos proyectistas, desde Gerónimo de Ustáriz y Bernardo Ulloa a Bernardo Ward o Miguel Antonio de la Gándara, pasando por las ideas de los que alcanzaron el gobierno como José del Campillo o [...] [José de] Carvajal, fueron llevadas a la práctica, si no a lo largo del corto reinado sí no mucho después de la muerte del rey Fernando VI.[17]

In this respect, there were large-scale reform plans such as those of Bernardo Ward, Gaspar de Jovellanos and León de Arroyal. One highly significant, unpublished reform project was set out by Miguel Antonio de la Gándara in *Apuntes sobre el bien y el mal de España* (1759), a text that influenced Campomanes's *Discurso* and the reformist ideas of other Enlightenment *proyectistas*.[18]

Campomanes was a major reformist figure in the reign of Carlos III. His admiration for the *arbitristas* led him to reprint some of their works in order to bring back into circulation the proposals of key reformers from the past and to emphasise their contemporary relevance.[19] He especially contributed to the re-edition of texts by Miguel Álvarez Ossorio y Redín, Francisco Martínez de la Mata and Sancho de Moncada.[20] Campomanes's initiative corresponds to an interest in preserving a connection with positive aspects of the national tradition, a recurring characteristic of the Spanish Enlightenment. He saw a direct link between the problems of civil order and those of the economy of the country, an idea that is in tune with the development of political economy as the paradigmatic science of the Enlightenment. Although the reformist spirit pervaded Spanish Enlightenment thought, the two most relevant areas were education and the economy. Ignorance was considered to be a cause of poverty and social injustice, hence the need for educational reform, almost as a prerequisite for economic improvement.[21] Furthermore, many progressive thinkers believed that the problems of the national economy could only be remedied if certain radical reforms of

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[17] José Luis Gómez Urdáñez, *Fernando VI* (Madrid: Arlanza, 2001), p. 194.

[18] Jacinta Macías Delgado, 'Estudio preliminar', in Miguel Antonio de la Gándara, *Apuntes sobre el bien y el mal de España*, ed. by Jacinta Macías Delgado (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1988), pp. xiii-clv (pp. cxxxi-cxxxvi).

[19] Vicent Llombart, *Campomanes, economista y político de Carlos III* (Madrid: Alianza, 1992), pp. 344-45.

[20] Abellán, III, p. 559. Several texts by Martínez de la Mata were included with Campomanes's *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su fomento*, 5 vols (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio de Sancha, 1775-77).

[21] Abellán, III, p. 552.

a socio-political nature, ones that related to privileged groups such as the Church and the nobility, were put into effect.

Reformism related to social structures was, however, already evident in the reign of Carlos II (1665-1700), the moment when *Sinapia*, a major utopian text that will be the subject of Chapter 4, was probably written. The fact that, two centuries later when it was rediscovered, the work could be thought to be as much a product of the 1680s as the 1770s reveals the relevance of its ideas to the whole of the period in question. The text was not published, but was preserved by Campomanes in his personal library.

Henry Kamen was one of the first scholars to identify a reformist attitude in the decades prior to 1700. According to him, it is in the reign of Carlos II that the origins of recovery from Spanish decadence[22] and the beginnings of a critical spirit should be located.[23] Kamen also reveals how the reformist spirit was further encouraged by the Bourbon accession to the Spanish throne. The new monarchs had the challenge of dealing with the decline of Spain, a situation profoundly problematic for the generation of *arbitristas*.[24] Since Spaniards were seen as being opposed to the introduction of novelties, Felipe V appointed foreign ministers who began the reform of governmental practices. The effectiveness of monarchical control over institutional reformism tended to focus on making the operations of the state function better.[25] Despite this desire for greater efficiency, the reformist spirit did not attack powerful existing institutions, which were argued to be fundamental to Spain's very identity: the monarchy, the church and the nobility.

However, even in the early decades of the eighteenth century, there were writers who questioned central aspects of the organisation of Spanish society. Foremost among these was Melchor de Macanaz, the most important Spanish administrator during the War of Succession and secretary of the Consejo de Castilla. Macanaz was entrusted with the reform of the finances and administration of Valencia. A promoter of regalism, he advocated a more significant intervention of the Crown in the actions of the Church and especially in diminishing the power of the Inquisition. His writings mostly remained in manuscript and circulated only to restricted members of the society of the

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[22] Henry Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain, 1700-15* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), p. 33.

[23] Henry Kamen, *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century, 1665-1700* (London; New York: Longman, 1980), p. 317.

[24] Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, p. 26.

[25] Ibid., pp. 118-19.

time because their bold character made them susceptible to political censorship.[26] Among his most distinctive works are *El deseado gobierno, buscado por el amor de Dios para el reino de España* (undated) and *Auxilios para bien gobernar una monarquía católica* (1789).[27] In fact, the former can be read as a utopian text, as will be highlighted in Chapter 4.

The reformist current of thought flourished throughout the eighteenth century, increasing in intensity in succeeding decades, especially after the mid-century. New writings built on the works of previous authors, often going back several generations. Yet major economic texts like Jerónimo de Uztáriz's *Teórica y práctica de comercio y de marina* (1724), Miguel de Zavala y Auñón's *Miscelánea económico-política* (1749), Bernardo Ward's *Proyecto económico* (1762), Campomanes's *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular* (1774) and León de Arroyal's *Cartas económico-políticas* (1786-95) dialogued with one another and kept debate alive. The writings of these authors focused on finding solutions for Spain as a whole, conscious of the need to balance the demands of both the rural and urban population. They were increasingly aware of Spain's backwardness in comparison with neighbouring countries, but their texts attempted to provide detailed remedies for what they saw as a lamentable situation, one that required urgent action on the part of government.[28]

Recent research highlights the fact that the powerful impetus to reform Spain can be seen to start during the rule of Fernando VI (1746-59). While the King himself did not seem as dynamic as his successor, he appointed ministers who attempted reform in areas where it was thought possible.[29] During this period, some rejected ideas of the *arbitristas* were reformulated and improved by the *proyectistas*, like José del Campillo, whose most representative work was *Lo que hay de más y de menos en España, para que sea lo que debe ser y no lo que es* (1741-42). As Gómez Urdáñez points out,

> Muchas de las despreciadas tesis de los arbitristas del XVII — que ya se empiezan a publicar antes de que lo haga Campomanes — se ven corroboradas con prácticas incipientes que han sido puestas al día por los proyectistas, algunos de los cuales dispondrán del gobierno para llevarlas a cabo.[30]

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[26] For a detailed description of Macanaz's writings, see Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, pp. 415-19.

[27] This is the date when the work was first put into print, and is clearly significant for understanding the possible influence of the text on utopian writing late in the century.

[28] Macías Delgado, pp. lxxi-lxxii.

[29] For a well-researched overview of the reign of Fernando VI, see Gómez Urdáñez, *Fernando VI*.

[30] Gómez Urdáñez, p. 152.

The Spanish reformers knew that the central problem of the empire was the uneven distribution and exploitation of land. The peasantry did not have the means to improve farming techniques and the profitability of its products, while the Church and the nobility owned and controlled the use of most of peninsular Spain's territory. Fernando VI's reign was not long, and his personal psychological problems seriously affected its final years, but the reformist spirit visible in government circles carries over into the new reign of his half-brother Carlos III (1759-88). Given that four of the utopian texts examined in this thesis are published in the final three decades of the eighteenth century, it is notable that the period also marks a high point of reformist thinking.

The reign of Carlos III was especially relevant for reformism: he had led reform as King of Naples before ascending the throne of Spain in 1759.[31] Unlike Britain and France, the Spanish monarchy was infrequently the object of criticism. Religion and absolute monarchy could not be questioned publicly. The Bourbons theoretically legitimised their absolute authority upon the principle of natural law: 'Las leyes no las dicta una voluntad singular, sino la naturaleza de las cosas. Lo importante es que las legitime la naturaleza y no la sacralidad del legislador'.[32] Thus, the ruler can be a despot who embodies all the power attributed by a social contract according to which that power must increase the happiness of the nation.[33] However, if the monarchy proved untouchable, the nobility and the clergy did become the target of attacks before 1789.[34] In the context of the rational utilitarianism that characterised Enlightenment thought, the main criticism against the nobility was its lack of social usefulness. To counteract this negative judgement, those who supported the existence of the nobility tried to demonstrate its positive role in society through participation in governmental projects such as the activities, both theoretical and practical, of economic societies, which were fostered by Campomanes as in part a way of occupying the idle nobility:

> La nobleza de las Provincias, que por lo común vive ociosa, ocuparía en
> estas sociedades económicas [...] últimamente su tiempo; y sin desembolso

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[31] Conde de Fernán Núñez [Carlos Gutiérrez de los Ríos], *Vida de Carlos III*, ed. by Alfred Morel-Fatio and Antonio Paz y Meliá, 2 vols (Madrid: Fernando Fé, 1898; facsimile edition, Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1988), I, pp. 39-105.

[32] Francisco Sánchez-Blanco, *El absolutismo y las Luces en el reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2002), p. 16.

[33] Sánchez-Blanco, *La Ilustración en España*, p. 40.

[34] José Antonio Maravall, 'Las tendencias de reforma política en el siglo XVIII español', in José Antonio Maravall, *Estudios de la historia del pensamiento español (siglo XVIII)*, ed. by María del Carmen Iglesias (Madrid: Mondadori España, 1991), pp. 61-81 (p. 67).

alguno del Estado serían los nobles los promovedores de la industria, y el apoyo permanente de sus compatriotas.[35]

Although the economic and legal privileges of the nobility and Church constituted an obstacle to the development of productive activities, the acceptance of a highly unequal social stratification was general: privileged classes were the norm, not the exception.[36] The economic power of these two sectors was not seriously challenged before the Cortes de Cadiz, in the wake of the Napoleonic invasion that led to the Spanish War of Independence.

Many reformist thinkers in Spain were not anti-monarchical, since they saw the monarchy as a potential guarantor of order in society, an aspect that will be especially relevant for the representation of monarchy in utopian texts. The power of the monarchy, according to some progressive historians of the period, was reinforced by its reluctance to facilitate social reform: 'la realidad del despotismo ilustrado es la de un intento de afianzar el poder de una monarquía cuya naturaleza está divorciada del cambio social'.[37] Many of the reform projects failed, but those that were successful seem designed to protect the interests of the dominant classes. Social pressure came from middling groups in society who demanded greater powers for themselves. Tax reform, whose foundations were laid during the rule of Fernando VI who approved the Catastro carried out by his chief minister the Marqués de la Ensenada, would have meant an authentic and progressive advance by making an impact on the system of privileges of the nobility and the clergy, but of course this would have interfered with the monarchy's centralised control of the territory.[38] In a broad sense, the Bourbon regime seemed not to be prepared to undertake social projects or experiments, such as the unsuccessful establishment of the new settlements of Sierra Morena promoted by Campomanes.

**Changes in Mentality: Enlightenment Thought**

The manifestation of Spanish Enlightenment thinking via ideological renovation, introduced by the *novatores*, contrasts with the idea that Spain did not implement

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[35] [Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes], *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio de Sancha, 1774), p. lxi.

[36] Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Las clases privilegiadas en la España del Antiguo Régimen* (Madrid: Istmo, 1973), p. 12.

[37] Equipo Madrid de Estudios Históricos, *Carlos III, Madrid y la Ilustración: contradicciones de un proyecto reformista* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España, 1988), p. 22.

[38] Ibid., pp. 10-11. See also Gómez Urdáñez, pp. 163-66.

projects or create institutions in order to detach itself from the Old Regime.[39] In fact, the absence of a strong middle class was a principal argument for claiming that there was no Spanish Enlightenment.[40] However, the political discourse of key thinkers under Bourbon rule advocated the modernisation and scientific progress of the country, as well as a high level of social improvement, similar to the one achieved by other European nations. In this sense, there was an interest in reinterpreting and rewriting the history of Spain, especially towards the end of the century when Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers wrote the article on Spain for the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, questioning Spain's historical cultural contribution to Europe. This was a debate in which the concept of nation acquired an intense political significance, making evident the logical tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, and one in which the apologists of traditional Spanish values perceived foreign influence as a threat to their view of national identity.[41]

Before their expulsion in 1767, the Jesuits tended to be seen as on the side of traditionalists who opposed the progressive thinking of the Enlightenment.[42] One of the triggers for their expulsion was the threat represented by the 1766 riots, the climactic symptom of the ineffectiveness of some of Carlos III's reformist policies.[43] These acts of rebellion responded to the discontent of the masses against the restrictions that the social and economic structures imposed over them. In general terms, the traditionalist or anti-Enlightenment sector of Spain's educated classes consisted of reactionary minorities such as the Jesuits and the apologists for Spain's historical legacy in the 1780s, who relied for their power on an institution like the Inquisition. For these groups, the Enlightenment was synonymous with anti-Spanish or foreign culture, especially French.[44]

[39] Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *La España del absolutismo ilustrado* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2005), pp. 12-13.
[40] José Ortega y Gasset was convinced that the Enlightenment did not flourish in Spain: 'Cuanto más se medita sobre nuestra historia, más clara se advierte esta desastrosa ausencia del siglo XVIII. Nos ha faltado el gran siglo educador. [...] Éste ha sido el triste sino de España, la nación europea que se ha saltado un siglo insustituible' (José Ortega y Gasset, 'El siglo XVIII, educador', in José Ortega y Gasset, *Obras completas*, 12 vols (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1946-83), II: *El espectador (1916-1934)* (1946), pp. 599-601 (pp. 600-01)).
[41] Álvarez Barrientos, *Ilustración y neoclasicismo en las letras españolas*, p. 23.
[42] François Lopez, 'El pensamiento tradicionalista', in *Historia de España*, ed. by Ramón Menéndez Pidal and José María Jover Zamora, 42 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1935-2003), XXXI: *La época de la Ilustración: el Estado y la cultura (1759-1808)* (1987), pp. 813-51 (pp. 835-36).
[43] Lluís Roura i Aulinas, 'Expectativas y frustración bajo el reformismo borbónico', in *Historia de España, siglo XVIII: La España de los Borbones*, ed. by Ricardo García Cárcel (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002), pp. 167-221 (p. 188).
[44] Teófanes Egido, 'Los anti-ilustrados españoles', in *La Ilustración en España y Alemania*, ed. by Reyes Mate and Friedrich Niewöhner (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1989), pp. 95-119 (pp. 96-97).

To a certain extent, the utopian thrust in the period is a response to the events resulting from the reformist mentality of the monarchy.[45] The paternalistic nature of the government and its supposedly divine origin reinforced its power at the expense of the rights of the citizens. Therefore, there was a conflict between public happiness and the interests of the absolute monarchy, which resulted in what is called 'enlightened despotism'.[46] However, the form of government was only absolute, not despotic, because it was not always tyrannical, but rather repressive of the desire for freedom of the mass of the population.[47] As will be discussed later in the thesis, *El Censor*, the major critical periodical of the 1780s, was condemned because it revealed the contradictions and limitations of governmental reforms.[48] Radical change in the university sector should have been a priority in the programme of the Bourbon reforms, but instructing the country in the new values and knowledge they needed would have potentially implied greater emancipation for Spain's citizens. That is why instead of teaching how to improve their condition as individuals and as a society, the emphasis was put on the inculcation of utilitarian skills in order to create better workers and thus contribute to the economic growth of the country. As denounced by *El Censor*, governmental action sought to protect the privileges and benefits of the nobility and the Church to the detriment of the rights of the bourgeoisie. This objective of giving prominence to members of the Spanish elite is especially noticeable in the constitution of the economic societies, as stated by Campomanes in his *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular*.[49]

Although a gradual change in mentality among Spain's intellectual classes can be detected from the 1680s, the more dynamic spirit of renewal does not seem to break into broader areas of intellectual debate in the public sphere until the second half of the eighteenth century. The new mentality of the Enlightenment period is described by

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[45] Franco Venturi identifies a complementary dynamics between the realms of utopia and reform: '[My concern] is rather the history of political ideas, the relationship between the forces of social enthusiasm, to quote Shaftesbury, the forces of the burgeoning utopias of a human society able to solve 'le mot de l'énigme métaphysique et morale' and the concrete determination to modify this or that aspect of the societies inherited from the past, to bring about practical change. In short, the relationship between utopia and reform' (Franco Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 99).

[46] Sánchez-Blanco, *El absolutismo y las Luces en el reinado de Carlos III*, p. 50.

[47] François Lopez, 'La resistencia a la Ilustración: bases sociales y medios de acción', in *Historia de España*, ed. by Ramón Menéndez Pidal and José María Jover Zamora, 42 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1935-2003), XXXI: *La época de la Ilustración: el Estado y la cultura (1759-1808)* (1987), pp. 767-812 (p. 811); Aguilar Piñal, *La España del absolutismo ilustrado*, p. 31.

[48] Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, 8 vols (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1945), VI, pp. 343-44.

[49] Antonio Elorza, *La modernización política en España: (ensayos de historia del pensamiento político)* (Madrid: Endymion, 1990), p. 17.

Peter Gay as 'the recovery of nerve' because 'it was a century of decline in mysticism, of growing hope for life and trust in effort, of commitment to inquiry and criticism, of interest in social reform, of increasing secularism, and a growing willingness to take risks'.[50] This renewed attitude was also determined by an imperial rivalry that led to intellectual exchanges among European states and transnational borrowings of successful practices. Such a phenomenon of emulation responded to the challenges of international competition and cosmopolitanism.[51]

For Spain, however, the appropriation of foreign ideas was not always a fortunate experience, as when the internal colonisation scheme of the Sierra Morena used Prussian and Russian precedents as a model. England, in particular, was considered as the greatest power to be emulated, especially in terms of its agricultural system. Pablo de Olavide's agrarian reform plans encouraged imitation of English agriculture, seen as a guaranteed path to improvement.[52] Bourbon reformist ideology aimed to restore state power through a restructuring of society inspired by the British geopolitical model.[53] Works of British political economy were widely disseminated by Bourbon reformers (Jovellanos and especially Campomanes) who 'sought to attract the public's attention to meritorious institutions and practices of other nations'[54] in order to achieve public happiness and the growth of the state.

The debate widens from the 1750s when more Spaniards are interested in questioning the status quo and speculating on ways in which society can be changed. In this context, the importance of *tertulias* resided not only in the promotion of writers and intellectuals in general as functional collaborators in society, but also in the creation of spaces for critical reflection on general issues:

> Eran las tertulias [...] lugares de encuentro y comunicación en los que se podían debatir y difundir ideas, creando un estado de opinión, y donde, saltando la vigilancia de la censura sobre los escritos, se discutía y conocían las novedades políticas, estéticas e ideológicas.[55]

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[50] Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols (London; New York: W. W. Norton, 1966-69), II: *The Science of Freedom* (1977), p. 6.
[51] Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and Its Empire, 1759-1808* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 30.
[52] Pablo de Olavide, *Informe sobre la ley agraria*, in Pablo de Olavide, *Obras selectas*, ed. by Estuardo Núñez (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1987), pp. 483-531 (pp. 488-89).
[53] This is evident throughout Antonio Elorza's *La ideología liberal en la Ilustración española* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1970).
[54] Paquette, p. 40.
[55] Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, 'Los hombres de letras', in Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, François Lopez and Inmaculada Urzainqui, *La república de las letras en la España del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1995), pp. 19-61 (p. 53).

Similarly, academies, although set up with royal approval, became centres of discussion, often encouraged by the government. These institutions were founded during the reign of Carlos II with the official establishment of the Royal Academy of Medicine and Surgery of Seville and came to an end with the setting up of economic societies initiated in the 1760s.

One very effective spur to such wider debate came in advances in the field of publication and printing. Some restrictions on publication were lessened, and new institutions had rights that supposed easier access to public forums of intellectual interchange. Thus, one dynamic new centre of debate able to spread innovation and questioning was the periodical press. According to Richard Herr, alongside universities and economic societies, the periodical press contributed to the dissemination of enlightened and contemporary thought, especially through the journals and newspapers that flourished in the last years of Carlos III's rule, many of which provided news of innovations from abroad.[56] The conception of periodicals as a tool for the immediate presentation of current debates is also highlighted by Inmaculada Urzainqui, who sees this characteristic as a revolutionary feature of the Spanish press. She equally describes as unprecedented the fact that these periodicals provided a wide network of communication that allowed an increased effective flow of ideas on a national and international scale.[57] In his definition of the genre of *papeles periódicos* published in 1787, Juan Sempere y Guarinos underlined the innovative nature of this new cultural vehicle:[58] 'Para los progresos de las ciencias y las artes, o a lo menos para la mayor y más rápida extensión de sus conocimientos, han contribuido mucho en estos últimos tiempos los papeles periódicos'.[59] The convenience of conveying great amounts of information in a compact format was indeed an important feature of periodical publications. Drawing on Urzainqui's research, it can be said that the periodical press

[56] Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 183. See also Paul-Jacques Guinard, *La presse espagnole de 1737 à 1791: Formation et signification d'un genre* (Paris: Centre de Recherches Hispaniques, Institut d'Études Hispaniques, 1973).

[57] Inmaculada Urzainqui, 'Un nuevo instrumento cultural: la prensa periódica', in Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, François Lopez and Inmaculada Urzainqui, *La república de las letras en la España del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1995), pp. 125-216 (pp. 126, 129). See also Inmaculada Urzainqui, 'Diálogo entre periodistas (1737-1770)', in *Francisco Mariano Nipho: el nacimiento de la prensa y de la crítica literaria periodística en la España del siglo XVIII*, ed. by José María Maestre Maestre, Manuel Antonio Díaz Gito and Alberto Romero Ferrer (Alcañiz: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2015), pp. 375-418.

[58] Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, *Los hombres de letras en la España del siglo XVIII. Apóstoles y arribistas* (Madrid: Castalia, 2006), pp. 98-101.

[59] Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III*, 6 vols (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1785-89; facsimile edition, Madrid: Gredos, 1969), IV (1787), p. 176.

was the emblematic instrument of the Spanish Enlightenment and the facilitator of the connection between Spain and Europe. At the same time as it emphasised links between Spain and the world outside, it powerfully encouraged dialogue between Spaniards:

> la Ilustración española, en lo que tuvo de programa de apertura a Europa, de renovación y de cambio, encontró en el periódico el instrumento más idóneo [...]. Como ningún otro canal anterior, la prensa estaba en las mejores condiciones para allegar información, seleccionarla y filtrarla ofreciendo un medio dúctil y cómodo, además de asequible [...] económicamente. Europa podía estar ahora mucho más vívidamente en España, al tiempo que a España le era permitido también manifestarse con mucha mayor claridad ante los ojos de fuera.[60]

Almost all areas of social change had their arguments aired and promoted in the periodical press. In the 1760s this seems limited to individual social action and practices, but in the 1780s this can be seen in what is now referred to by cultural historians as the *prensa crítica*. In contrast with journals that sought to entertain or criticise social manners and that were promptly discontinued, two publications stood out for the depth of their critical observations of Spanish society: *El Pensador* (1762-67), edited by José Clavijo y Fajardo, and *El Censor* (1781-87), edited by lawyers Luis García del Cañuelo and Luis Marcelino Pereira. Both periodicals attacked the privileges of the nobility and the Church. However, *El Censor* adopted a more radical and comprehensive approach to all aspects of society, including the legal system. As Sempere y Guarinos asserts,

> hay muy buenas reflexiones sobre la educación y enseñanza; sobre la ociosidad, y varios vicios de los hombres en la conducta de la vida; sobre los defectos de varias ciencias y artes y particularmente de la jurisprudencia; sobre la legislación y otros asuntos de la mayor importancia.[61]

*El Censor* criticised the foundations of Spanish social structures and defended the role of the bourgeoisie as the social stratum with better chances to achieve happiness.[62] Along with the disapproval of the inherited wealth of the aristocracy, the periodical also attacked the unacceptably wealthy Spanish Church. This potentially dangerous turn was commented on by the ever perceptive Sempere:

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[60] Urzainqui, 'Un nuevo instrumento cultural', p. 130.
[61] Sempere y Guarinos, II (1785), pp. 131-32.
[62] Elorza, *La ideología liberal en la Ilustración española*, p. 215.

> Hasta ahora el *Pensador* y los autores de otros papeles periódicos no se habían propuesto otro que el de ridiculizar las modas y ciertas máximas viciosas introducidas en la conducta de la vida. *El Censor* manifiesta otras miras más arduas y más arriesgadas. Habla de los vicios de nuestra legislación, de los abusos introducidos con pretexto de religión, de los errores políticos, y de otros asuntos semejantes.[63]

Hence, it is logical that there should be a text like the one on the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes' in *El Censor*. The fact that two of the five works studied in this thesis originally appeared in periodicals, neither of them indicating the author's name, further underlines the suitability of the press for the expression of unorthodox ideas like the ones proposed in utopian texts.

Nonetheless, the press interacted with pamphlets that advanced the debate further. Although periodicals implied that they might include replies from readers to articles published, when editors ignored the replies, the authors who thought they had something to offer could get their pamphlets published with little difficulty, reacting to articles in the press, sometimes in agreement, but often in opposition.[64] Such texts were frequently published under pseudonyms,[65] but their effect was clear. Paul-Jacques Guinard offers an extensive list of the publications that appeared in reaction to *El Censor*,[66] including the periodical *El Corresponsal del Censor*, written by Manuel Rubín de Celis under the fictional name of Ramón Harnero.

In addition to the periodical press, Herr sees Spanish economic societies as a major contributing element to what he characterises as the eighteenth-century revolution in Spain. Dating from the 1760s, these institutions received government backing in the 1770s, specifically from Campomanes, a government minister from the lower nobility who recommended the setting up of economic societies throughout Spain in his *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular*. The mentality that gave rise to the Economic Societies of Friends of the Country was identical to, and chronologically parallel to, that of major utopian writings in Spain. In fact, the system of Salomon's House in Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* can be identified as the primitive rudiments of these societies as the Royal Society of London, inspired by the

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[63] Sempere y Guarinos, IV (1787), p. 191.

[64] Philip Deacon, 'La prensa dieciochesca española como agente de las Luces', in *Francisco Mariano Nipho: el nacimiento de la prensa y de la crítica literaria periodística en la España del siglo XVIII*, ed. by José María Maestre Maestre, Manuel Antonio Díaz Gito and Alberto Romero Ferrer (Alcañiz: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2015), pp. 225-44 (p. 237).

[65] Philip Deacon, 'El autor esquivo en la cultura española del siglo XVIII: apuntes sobre decoro, estrategias y juegos', *Dieciocho*, 22 (1999), 213-36 (pp. 225-26).

[66] Guinard, *La presse espagnole de 1737 à 1791*, pp. 318-22.

organisation of the society of Salomon's House, has been considered a direct influence on them. Thus, foreign societies, such as the ones in Dublin and Bern, motivated the founding of the Basque Society, the first Spanish economic society established in 1765.[67]

Economic change was seen as essential to promoting the happiness of all members of society. However, the activities of the economic societies also entailed social reform that perhaps surprisingly would be carried out almost exclusively by members of the Spanish elite, although this grouping now extended to intellectuals not belonging to Spain's economically dominant classes:

> ¿acaso el pueblo ignorante de las zonas rurales y el pueblo pervertido de las ciudades podía comprender que lo que se pretendía era hacerles felices? De ahí la paradoja de un gobierno reformador condenado a apoyarse en una opinión pública hecha de privilegiados para combatir a múltiples privilegios.[68]

The improvement plans should address areas such as agriculture, industry, commerce and education. Sempere y Guarinos summed up the mission of the societies as follows: 'No podía haberse imaginado establecimiento más útil que este, para adelantar con la mayor rapidez posible la Agricultura, las Artes y el Comercio, en cualquiera nación que sea; pero mucho más en España, por sus particulares circunstancias'.[69] The results of the analysis and remedies for the agrarian question in Spain by Madrid's economic society, based in many instances on data requested by government from provincial authorities, were published in Gaspar de Jovellanos's *Informe en el expediente de ley agraria* (1795),[70] a text in which social institutions such as those that produced Church entailment and noble *mayorazgos* were seen as major impediments in the way of progress. It is significant that among the sources of key information that fed into Jovellanos's *Informe* was the report written over two decades earlier by Pablo de Olavide, about which more will be argued in Chapter 8.

The Spanish societies primarily comprised members of the nobility and the clergy, but also included middle-class individuals involved in commerce and leading intellectuals (Nicolás Moratín, Valentín de Foronda, Juan Meléndez Valdés, Manuel de Aguirre, Jovellanos, José de Cadalso and many others) who took part in their meetings

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[67] Robert Jones Shafer, *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World (1763-1821)* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1958), pp. 24-25.
[68] Jean-Pierre Amalric and Lucienne Domergue, *La España de la Ilustración (1700-1833)* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001), p. 121.
[69] Sempere y Guarinos, V (1789), p. 140.
[70] Enciso Recio, p. 156.

and activities. The education of noblemen was an important objective of Campomanes's project: 'El fiscal del Consejo estaba convencido de que una nobleza culta y trabajadora había de convertirse en un instrumento especialmente idóneo para la estabilidad social'.[71] The teaching of political economy was particularly crucial because Spanish universities did not offer this subject. However, although aristocrats were meant to be the patrons of the economic societies, not enough of them responded to the call.[72] In a similar attitude, sections of the clergy were hostile to the purposes of the economic societies and refused to collaborate with them. This was the case with the Aragonese Society of Zaragoza,[73] but not with the Basque Society of Azkoitia, which received the support of the more enlightened members of the Church.[74] Many members of economic societies belonged to the clergy, from bishops to parish priests. Some key archbishops acted energetically to promote economic societies, donating money for prizes and encouraging priests to participate. Only in the late 1780s and 1790s — especially once the French Revolution got underway, and particularly when it began to attack fundamental elements of the social structure such as the monarchy, the nobility and the Church — did concern for the socio-political status quo provoke some clerics to voice their opposition and the membership of the economic societies to decrease. Some members of the clergy had fears concerning economic reform and their livelihood if questioning of privileges continued. This negative response would eventually lead the Church to place a major reformist text such as Jovellanos's *Informe en el expediente de ley agraria* on the Inquisition's index of banned books in 1825.

Despite the reticence of certain members of the Church, in the early years of the economic societies, an enlightened clergy was willing to participate in what has subsequently been described by certain scholars as the Catholic Enlightenment. The goal of this movement was especially reflected in the type of education imparted by the clergy, who aimed to integrate the teaching of morality and religion with the training in practical sciences:

> Para que la formación que da el clero sea humanamente integral, es preciso que esté construida en las ciencias útiles al Estado. [...] Se trata, en definitiva, de hacer realidad la síntesis que exigían los tiempos de un cristianismo ilustrado. [...] En la mítica exaltación de lo experimental, jamás

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[71] Ibid., p. 170.
[72] Herr, p. 162.
[73] François Lopez, 'Un sociodrama bajo el antiguo régimen: nuevo enfoque de un suceso zaragozano. El caso Normante', in *Actas del I Symposium del Seminario de Ilustración aragonesa*, ed. by María-Dolores Albiac Blanco (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1987), pp. 103-16.
[74] Herr, pp. 160-61.

se olvida que el principio de la felicidad individual y colectiva no está en el conocimiento puramente científico.[75]

In this context of Catholic Enlightenment, a major reformist line of thinking and action within the Church in Spain received the label 'Jansenist', although the thinking cannot be easily related to the European Jansenist tradition: 'They had been given the name because of their views on the limited authority of the papacy and not for accepting the heretical beliefs of the French Jansenists'.[76] The Spanish sense of the term 'Jansenist' basically implied opposition to the religious teachings of the Jesuit Order and to excessive papal power. Although the Jesuits had partially defended Spanish regalism, they were fundamentally defenders of the power of the pope. There seems to have been some confusion between Jansenism and regalism in this respect. They were both related by virtue of a concern with authority, power and reforms among laymen and clergy.[77]

Regalists argued that interdependence between the Church and the state was necessary in order for both institutions to prosper in accordance with the requirements of public happiness.[78] However, rather than mutual dependence, the state sought to reform and mould the Church according to its own political interests.[79] The attempt to turn the Church into a political tool reduced the religious reform plans to a mechanism that fulfilled the regalist objectives of the Crown.[80] In addition to its spiritual function, it was argued that the Church should cooperate with the modernisation of the kingdom: 'The clergy were seen as agents of the State promoting economic development, improving education, building public works, and, in general, advancing the utilitarian policies formulated in Madrid'.[81] The regalist policy of the Spanish Bourbons and the 'Jansenist' orientation of some leading intellectuals undermined the authority of the Church and stimulated the spread of enlightenment in Spain.[82] Thus, the Spanish Enlightenment was marked by more progressive attitudes within Catholicism,

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[75] Vicente Rodríguez Casado, 'El intento español de "Ilustración Cristiana"', *Estudios Americanos*, 9 (1955), 141-69 (p. 158).

[76] Herr, p. 35.

[77] Charles C. Noel, 'Clerics and Crown in Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808: Jesuits, Jansenists and Enlightenment', in *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe*, ed. by James E. Bradley and Dale K. Van Kley (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), pp. 119-53 (pp. 131-32).

[78] Paquette, p. 73.

[79] Luis Sánchez Agesta, *El pensamiento político del despotismo ilustrado* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1953), p. 174.

[80] María Giovanna Tomsich, *El jansenismo en España: estudio sobre ideas religiosas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España, 1972), p. 30.

[81] William J. Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 5.

[82] Herr, p. 36.

sponsored by the monarchy with the intention of benefitting the country as a whole. Andrea Smidt concludes that Catholic Enlightenment in Spain encompassed a useful and civilising Catholicism that would bring renewal to society: 'As studies have exposed the intersection of regalist policy and Catholic Enlightenment, much room exists to uncover the enlightened efforts of Spaniards who [...] campaigned out of genuinely religious motivations for Catholic renewal and renovation'. [83] The examination of the spiritual role of the Church in the context of Enlightenment thought is a recurring topic in the utopian texts analysed in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has examined areas whose understanding is essential for explaining why the eighteenth century was a moment conducive to the composition of utopian texts. On the one hand, utopian and reformist writers of the eighteenth century could look back to a tradition of writings that called for renewal in Spain's institutions and social practices. The major reformist figures of the period constantly consulted the writings of the past because they contained not only informed analyses of social and political structures belonging to the moment in which they were written, but also practical ideas designed to bring about change. However, the circumstance that gives added weight to this reforming tradition is the stimulus provided by the intellectual attitude associated with the word 'Enlightenment'. The Enlightenment spirit involving the questioning of the status quo in search of ways of improving almost every aspect of human existence lays an emphasis on formulating plans for change. These can be limited to narrow fields of human activity in society or, at the other extreme, attempt to present comprehensive all-embracing plans for new forms of social organisation. The utopian format allows the modelling of new societies at both of these levels.

A utopian consciousness would emerge in both negative and positive reactions to the restrictive and unfinished governmental plans during the early Bourbon period. It would therefore seem logical to expect that utopian writings concerned with changing important aspects of society should be produced in Spain in the eighteenth century. Not only is the spirit of *proyectismo* and the impulse behind economic societies going to influence the imagining in narrative form of alternative social systems, but the emergence of a critical attitude towards questionable features of institutions such as the nobility and the clergy as well as their interaction with the state's interests were going

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[83] Andrea J. Smidt, 'Luces por la fe: The Cause of Catholic Enlightenment in 18th-Century Spain', in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, ed. by Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 403-52 (pp. 448-49).

to find in utopian texts a forum for debate, rather than condemnation or rejection. In this sense, a utopian text only indirectly suggests that something is not right in the existing status quo; it is not a direct attack against the actual order of things. New ideas can be presented to a receptive public for debate and modification without being rejected out of hand or condemned as dangerously revolutionary.

At the same time, a strong religious consciousness would pervade most Spanish utopian texts, not only because a significant number of their authors were clerics, but also because Christianity was at that time a fundamental aspect of the identity of Spaniards. As will be shown in the next chapters, this spiritual orientation of Spanish utopianism is in accord with the Catholic utopia proposed by More, but it also tends to equate a utopian Christian ideal with eternal salvation.

Part II


Utopias: Ideal and Satirical

Chapter 4

*Sinapia* and the Legacy of *Utopia*

In much the same way that some scholars still see More's *Utopia* as an enigmatic work,[1] the anonymous Spanish utopian text *Sinapia*[2] has provoked a similar critical response in its readers since being discovered in the mid-1970s. Moreover, the fact that we do not know the name of its author or the precise date of its composition compounds the mystery surrounding this surprising work. As will be discussed later in this chapter, however, the consensus among informed critics is that the text belongs to the period of the *novatores* and that a date in the early 1680s seems quite likely.

While the Spanish text overtly demonstrates that it interacts with the extensive utopian tradition established by Thomas More, it is no less evident that some of its key ideological concerns can be related to attitudes and intellectual sensibilities that were prominent in the eighteenth century, which for many critics marks the high point of the flowering of enlightened debate in Spain. It is the purpose of this chapter to explore the convergences and divergences between the political, social and religious features of *Sinapia* and those of the major utopian models, that is to say, the works by Thomas More, Francis Bacon and Tommaso Campanella. However, before entering into an analysis of the text, an overview of the discovery of the manuscript of *Sinapia* as well as the scholarly suppositions about the date of composition and authorship of the text need to be explained.

**The Text and Current State of Research on *Sinapia***

The previously unknown manuscript of *Sinapia* was discovered in the mid-1970s among the private papers of the Spanish politician Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes (1723-1803), after their transfer to the archive of the Fundación Universitaria Española in Madrid. The manuscript was first described in the *Catálogo del Archivo del Conde de Campomanes* compiled by the librarian Jorge Cejudo López in 1975,[3] and the revelation of its existence resulted in the almost simultaneous editions of the text

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[1] George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams, 'Introduction', in Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. by George M. Logan and trans. by Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. xi-xxix (p. xiii).

[2] Although the full title is *Descripción de la Sinapia, península en la tierra austral*, I will generally use the abbreviation *Sinapia*.

[3] Jorge Cejudo López, *Catálogo del Archivo del Conde de Campomanes (fondos Carmen Dorado y Rafael Gasset)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1975), p. 34.

prepared by Stelio Cro in Canada in 1975[4] and Miguel Avilés Fernández in Spain in 1976.[5]

Cro's volume included a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript, as well as a transcription and facsimile of a text entitled *Discurso de la educación*, also deposited in the Campomanes Archive, and which suggested to him that the same person transcribed both *Sinapia* and the *Discurso*. The connection led Cro to speculate on the ideological profile of the author, who, he suggested, could have been a priest due to the strong religious component of both texts. He also argued that the author was a contemporary of Diego de Torres Villarroel (1694-1770) and Gregorio Mayans (1699-1781) because of the alleged resemblance between their ideas and those of the anonymous author. This comparison in turn led Cro to believe that the two writings (*Sinapia* and the *Discurso*) were composed in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. However, a year later in his book *A Forerunner of the Enlightenment in Spain*, Cro suggested a composition date for *Sinapia* of around 1682, based on two additional manuscripts in the same handwriting as that of *Sinapia*, that he also discovered in the archives of the Fundación Universitaria Española.[6]

For his part, Miguel Avilés focused initially on spatial and geographical aspects of the text that resulted in a hypothetical map of Sinapia, traced in accordance with the geographical information given in the work. Claiming, though without much evidence, that the themes of *Sinapia* echo certain aspects of Enlightenment thinking in Spain — such as the reformism of the Spanish economic societies and physiocratic economic principles — Avilés concluded that the text could have been written in the last third of the eighteenth century.[7] He even thought that *Sinapia* followed the utopian model of Olavide's socio-economic project begun at government instigation in 1767 and that Campomanes might therefore have been the author. Although their findings provided a starting point for further research, neither Cro nor Avilés had any previous

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[4] Stelio Cro, ed., *'Descripción de la Sinapia, península en la tierra austral': A Classical Utopia of Spain* (Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University, 1975). There is a plain, unannotated reproduction of Cro's transcription of *Sinapia* in Stelio Cro, 'La utopía de las dos orillas (1453-1793)', *Cuadernos para Investigación de la Literatura Hispánica*, 30 (2005), 15-268 (pp. 212-39).

[5] Miguel Avilés Fernández, ed., *'Sinapia': una utopía española del Siglo de las Luces* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1976). Avilés's edition was republished with a new prologue by Pedro Galera Andreu in 2011 (Madrid: Círculo de Bellas Artes). The 1976 edition will be used in the present thesis.

[6] Stelio Cro, *A Forerunner of the Enlightenment in Spain* (Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University, 1976), p. 16.

[7] Carlos Sambricio agrees with Avilés that the text was written towards the end of the eighteenth century, based on *Sinapia*'s replication of the principles of city planning in late eighteenth-century Spain. See Carlos Sambricio, '*Sinapia*: utopía, territorio y ciudad a finales del siglo XVIII', *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 18 (2014), <http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-475.htm>.

specialisation in eighteenth-century Spanish cultural history and hence their claims should be treated with care.[8]

In spite of various other scholars having subsequently shown interest in exploring the utopian nature of *Sinapia*,[9] Stelio Cro is undoubtedly the scholar who has published most on the work. However, he tends to reiterate the same basic opinions and ideas in each of his published critical writings. The introduction to his edition of *Sinapia* centres on the analysis of the manuscripts that he used in order to put forward a date of composition of the anonymous work. Similarly, his volumes on the evangelisation of colonial Spanish America as the foundations of Hispanic utopias — already discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis — are repetitive.[10] Nevertheless, in a 1980 article, Cro offered a more focused examination of the thematic and ideological aspects of *Sinapia*, underlining the educational dimension as a key element in its utopian system and the fact that, unlike other Spanish Catholic utopias, *Sinapia* sets out a political blueprint grounded in Christian doctrine, but according to a supposedly more authentic Christianity, at variance with the orthodox Catholic European tradition.[11]

In a similar line of thought, Miguel Avilés highlighted the religious nature of the utopian features of the text, while specifying that religion was not seen as conflicting with the actions of the state. He also claimed that, in a strict sense, *Sinapia* is an 'antitopia' because it is the antipodes of Spain, not actually a non-existent place.[12] In like fashion, another scholar, Jorge Pérez-Rey, has commented on the spatial

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[8] A detailed account of Cro's and Avilés's research work on *Sinapia* can be found in Francisco López Estrada, 'Más noticias sobre la *Sinapia* o *Utopía* española', *Moreana*, 4 (1977), 23-33.

[9] For a review of the perspectives of Cro, Avilés, Lopez, López Estrada and Abellán, see Ángel González Hernández and Juan Saez Carreras, '*Sinapia* o la Ispania utópica de la Ilustración: claro-oscuro de una polémica', in *Educación e Ilustración en España: III Coloquio de Historia de la Educación* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1984), pp. 90-100. The only contribution of González and Saez is to suggest a methodology for studying *Sinapia*: 'Lo que interesa, y quizás sea el único camino que queda para *Sinapia*, es aquél que se detiene en el *método*. La utopía es método' (González and Saez, p. 96).

[10] In an unpublished undergraduate dissertation, Carolina Varela Sepúlveda evaluates *Sinapia* in the light of Dutch expansionism and argues that the referential reality of the utopian text was not America, but New Holland, as the Dutch called Australia. See Carolina Varela Sepúlveda, 'La Ilustración europea: el racionalismo de las letras en el siglo XVIII. Utopías en la España del siglo XVIII: *Sinapia* y el expansionismo holandés' (unpublished thesis of Licenciatura, Universidad de Chile, 2007), <http://www.repositorio.uchile.cl/tesis/uchile/2007/varela_c/html/index-frames.html>. It is worth mentioning that there is another unpublished thesis on *Sinapia*, written by Rebecca Foust. See Rebecca A. Foust, '*Sinapia*: An Enlightened Ideal' (unpublished Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1988).

[11] Cro, 'El mito de la ciudad ideal en España: *Sinapia*'.

[12] Miguel Avilés Fernández, 'Introducción', in *'Sinapia': una utopía española del Siglo de las Luces*, pp. 13-65 (p. 24).

configuration of *Sinapia* that he suggests reveal its totalitarian nature as a result of the repressive colonisation of the urban space.[13]

Among leading recent critics of Spanish eighteenth-century culture, François Lopez has devoted detailed attention to attempting to identify the author of *Sinapia*. Lopez supported Cro's dating of the manuscript by means of a lexical analysis that would place its composition before the end of the seventeenth century,[14] leading him at one point to suggest that the author was the Valencian Manuel Martí (1663-1735), mentor of Gregorio Mayans. Although Lopez subsequently rejected this hypothesis after realising that, according to Cro, the author and the scribe of the manuscript were the same person — which disqualified Martí from being the author since his handwriting did not match that of the manuscript[15] — he later resumed his speculations, arguing that Cro might have been wrong in not assuming that the author dictated the text to a scribe.[16]

Like Lopez, Pedro Álvarez de Miranda has been especially interested in fixing the date of composition of the utopian text by means of a linguistic analysis that corroborated its possible origin in the seventeenth century, specifically during the period of the *novatores*.[17] In fact, the current critical consensus of scholars acquainted with the Spanish eighteenth century, as stated earlier, is that the anonymous text belongs to the period of the reign of Carlos II (1665-1700). In spite of the scholarly work of Lopez and Álvarez de Miranda, in his 2013 edition of *Sinapia*, the specialist in philosophy of law Miguel Ángel Ramiro Avilés[18] takes for granted that the text was composed during the Enlightenment, but he does not explain why. His approach is primarily concerned with the representation of laws in the utopian model.

Following Lopez's idea that the manuscript is not autograph, José Santos Puerto set out the claim that the author might be Father Martín Sarmiento (1695-1772), an intellectual close to Benito Jerónimo Feijoo. In a long article in which he challenges the hypotheses of Cro, Avilés and Lopez regarding the authorship of *Sinapia*, Santos Puerto provides reasons for and against Sarmiento being the author: 'Sarmiento expresó

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[13] Jorge Pérez-Rey, '*Sinapia*, una utopía en el mundo hispánico del siglo XVIII: la imagen especular invertida de la nación real', in *Communautés nationales et marginalité dans le monde ibérique et ibéro-américain* (Tours: Université de Tours, 1981), pp. 49-57.

[14] François Lopez, 'Considérations sur *La Sinapia*', in *La contestation de la société dans la littérature espagnole du Siècle d'Or* (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1981), pp. 205-11.

[15] François Lopez, 'Una utopía española en busca de autor: *Sinapia*. Historia de una equivocación. Indicios para un acierto', *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Moderna*, 2 (1982), 211-21.

[16] François Lopez, 'Une autre approche de *Sinapia*', in *Las utopías en el mundo hispánico*, pp. 9-18.

[17] Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, 'Vuelta a *Sinapia*', in *Littérature et politique en Espagne aux siècles d'or: Colloque international*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Étienvre (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), pp. 349-60.

[18] Miguel Ángel Ramiro Avilés, ed., *Descripción de la Sinapia, península en la tierra austral* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2013).

por escrito el deseo de escribir la *novela* de unos pobladores cristianos que llegaron a una isla antípoda de España, allá en el mar Pacífico'.[19] Although he seems to have identified similarities between Sarmiento's mentality and that of the author of *Sinapia*, they may be merely coincidental or a result of ideological influence. In his extensive monographic study on Sarmiento's work, Santos Puerto also indicates that, although it may be proved that the cleric was not the author, what matters most is that Sarmiento's enterprise could be symbolically understood as a *Gran Sinapia*, in contrast to the anonymous *pequeña Sinapia* found in the Campomanes papers. In both cases, Santos identifies a polemical reaction against the status quo of the time: 'las Sinapias — la *pequeña Sinapia* durmiente del archivo de Campomanes y la *Gran Sinapia* de Sarmiento, arrinconadas por los saberes *oficiales* — son también una muestra de la fractura que se produjo en las filas de nuestros ilustrados'.[20] Such an ideological fracture, however, might rather be seen as a mere variety of intellectual stances in writers who advocated change.[21] Equally, the reference to 'las filas de nuestros ilustrados' would appear to exaggerate the number of identifiable enlightened thinkers in the 1680s.

Finally, it should be pointed out that, based on Avilés's 1976 edition, the Spanish philosopher and writer Fernando Savater wrote in 1983 a free theatrical adaptation of *Sinapia* entitled *Vente a Sinapia: una reflexión española sobre la utopía*, a work that was performed in Madrid in the same year. As the subtitle of the text indicates, Savater's purpose was to reflect on the subject of utopia from a Spanish perspective: 'me tentó la idea de utilizarla como pretexto para una reflexión "a la española"',[22] even though he undervalued the literary qualities of *Sinapia* and regarded it as an imperfect example that confirmed his conviction that utopian literature did not flourish in Spain: 'El texto, atribuido al conde de Campomanes, es literariamente pobre, mimético y del

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[19] José Santos Puerto, 'La *Sinapia*: luces para buscar la utopía de la Ilustración', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 103 (2001), 481-510 (p. 508).

[20] José Santos Puerto, *Martín Sarmiento: Ilustración, educación y utopía en la España del siglo XVIII*, 2 vols (La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2002), II, pp. 357-58.

[21] José Gómez-Tabanera does not dismiss the possibility of a collective authorship of *Sinapia* as a form of 'divertimento intelectual', a supposition that lacks solid evidence in its favour. The author apparently had the intention to publish his own edition of the text. See José Gómez-Tabanera, 'La *Sinapia*, una España imposible en el mundo austral o la forja de una utopía hispana en el siglo XVII', in *España y el Pacífico*, ed. by Antonio F. García-Abásolo (Cordova: Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacífico, 1997), pp. 121-34.

[22] Fernando Savater, *Vente a Sinapia: una reflexión española sobre la utopía*, in Fernando Savater, *Último desembarco; Vente a Sinapia* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988), pp. 77-138 (p. 80).

mínimo vuelo teórico imaginable: más que desmentir la inexistencia del género utópico en España, sirve como párvula excepción que confirma la regla'.[23]

As opposed to criticism focused on dating the manuscript and speculating about the identity of the author, the present chapter will concentrate on examining the narrative and ideological features of *Sinapia*. Critics do not enter into the political or ideological considerations of the text; the religious aspect is equally overlooked in their analyses. Assuming that the text was written after 1680, in agreement with Cro's, Lopez's and Álvarez de Miranda's arguments, the placing of the text in the period of the *novatores* will affect the interpretation of its ideas, which in fact can be shown to conform to some defining aspects of the spirit of that period, as will be argued in the analysis below.

## The Narrative Features of the Text

In comparing *Sinapia* with the formal features of a typical utopian text, the first element that stands out is the absence of the representation of a visitor arriving in the utopian country and from whose perspective the new territory and its ideal society are described. Instead of portraying the interaction between a traveller and the utopian space visited, the narrative voice purportedly retransmits some travel notes ('apuntamientos') concerning Sinapia made as a result of the journey to Terra Australis by the Dutch navigator Abel Tasman (1603-59) — the first European to discover New Zealand in 1642 — via a Spanish translation of a French version of the original manuscript, presumably written in Dutch. I will refer to the narrative voice as the author or translator, even though the text that the 'author' is using to set out the 'descripción' was supposedly written by Tasman.

*Sinapia*'s technique corresponds to the Cervantine strategy in *Don Quixote* of claiming that the text is not first-hand but found: 'No sé cómo me vinieron a las manos algunos apuntamientos que Abel Tasman había hecho en su viaje, traducidos, por algún curioso, de holandés en francés'.[24] As few believed Cervantes's words, few would be expected to believe the words of the Spanish author. However, *Sinapia* avoids this situation via the fact that there is the added verisimilitude of Tasman actually having existed and having explored the geographical area in question. If the story is indeed

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[23] Ibid. For an analysis of the play, see María Lastenia Valdez, 'Fernando Savater y el género utópico en España: de *Sinapia* (siglo XVII) a *Vente a Sinapia* (siglo XX)', in *Actas del XV Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas "Las dos orillas"*, ed. by Beatriz Mariscal and María Teresa Miaja de la Peña, 4 vols (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2007), III, pp. 417-25.
[24] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 69.

based on some of Tasman's travel notes, it could be thought that *Sinapia* is the result of writings originally composed before 1659, the year of Tasman's death. If this were the case, the text would turn out to be a largely implicit comparison of an early seventeenth-century Sinapia and late seventeenth-century Spain, which would entail a gap of at least twenty years between both contexts. This difference in time would not affect the fictional plausibility of *Sinapia* regardless of the actual date of composition of the work, whether in the reign of Carlos II or later.

Not only does the leitmotif of Terra Australis situate *Sinapia* in the tradition of voyages of discovery and utopias, but the very first sentence of the text situates the overall work in a literary context: 'Grande ha sido la curiosidad que hasta ahora han tenido los aficionados a las letras de saber los secretos de la Tierra Austral'.[25] The objective of conceiving the text as a travel account is reflected in the mention of a group of Spanish and Dutch navigators who have unsuccessfully explored the land before indicating that Tasman's writings contain information about the existence of a republic in that area. What supposedly most attracts the author to translating Tasman's notes is the fact of Sinapia being a flourishing and happy republic where the people practise Christian virtue, as well as its contrast with Europe and ideas of political organisation derived from the writings of Tacitus and Machiavelli.

Given that the description of Sinapia is the product of Tasman's 'apuntamientos', the structure of the text has a fragmented composition. In this respect, the author imitates More's organisation of the features of Utopia into sections, but the subdivisions in *Sinapia* are more numerous, and many are much shorter. The description is divided into thirty-three numbered and subheaded sections, including the introductory section explaining the lucky find of Tasman's notes and the closing section entitled 'Reflexiones', in which it is not clear if it is the translator or Tasman who expresses his opinion about the description of the utopian nation that has been presented in the preceding sections. However, the very last sentence of the text stating that Sinapia is the antipodean version of Spain is undoubtedly a judgement of the Spanish translator. This results in a remarkable counterpoint between the voice of the translator in the initial and final sections and that of Tasman throughout the rest of the descriptive parts of the text. The variation in length among these parts could be argued to respond to Tasman's preference to devote more space to aspects that he finds more interesting, probably because of their contrast with the European context.

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[25] Ibid.

Nevertheless, although the text supposedly has input from two figures (Tasman and the anonymous Spanish translator), some lapses made by the latter burst into the translation of the 'French' version, which interferes with the continuity or coherence of the text being translated. In sections 25, 30 and 33, the use of the word 'nosotros' seems to refer to Spaniards, which is reinforced by the expression 'nuestra Hispaña' in the last sentence of section 33 or 'Reflexiones', as already observed. Such a phrase would probably not be used by a translator of an originally Dutch text. Similarly, explicit references to Tasman's journey in sections 2 and 26 turn the translation into a not entirely coherent narrative.

The depiction of the utopian place is not presented in the form of a dialogue, as in More's *Utopia*, Campanella's *La Città del Sole* and Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*. The preference for a descriptive narration over a dynamic conversational structure denotes the predisposition of the Spanish implied author to avoid any confrontation with the reformist ideas proposed. Moreover, he anticipates that his text could be seen as fictional due to the inherently unrealistic nature of the utopian principles that rule Sinapian society: 'Determinéme, pues, a traducirla [the description of Sinapia], a riesgo de que pase por novela,[26] por la dificultad con que los que nos habemos criado con lo mío y lo tuyo podemos persuadirnos que pueda vivirse en perfecta comunidad'.[27] This scepticism about the possibility of the perfect state, to be revealed in the text, could undermine belief in the utopian system that Sinapia represents. The key factor in making a contemporary audience not believe it is the absence of differentiation between 'lo mío y lo tuyo', that is to say, ownership of property, as the text will proceed to make clear.

However, the translator has opted for a convenient objective viewpoint in order to give the impression that there is no need to persuade the reader of the validity of a social system that has proven to be effective in practice. Since its utilitarian objective has been successful, the question of the feasibility of Sinapia turns out to be of no consequence, and this leads the author to strongly believe that it is a model to follow: 'verdadera o verosímil, es muy digna de alabanza esta república, pues ha logrado el fin

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[26] It should be assumed that the author interprets the term 'novela' as a long short story or narrative, according to Cervantes's seventeenth-century understanding of the concept. Eloy Navarro Domínguez approaches the study of *Sinapia* by relating it to real travel accounts and argues that the author of *Sinapia* was prejudiced against the novelistic genre and other fictional forms, which resulted in a failed utopian account. However, his assertions on *Sinapia* lack textual underpinning. See Eloy Navarro Domínguez, 'Relaciones de viajes y ficción novelesca en la *Descripción de la Sinapia*', in *Utopía: los espacios imposibles*, ed. by Rosa García Gutiérrez, Valentín Núñez Rivera and Eloy Navarro Domínguez (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), pp. 131-46.
[27] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 70.

mejor que puede pretenderse o, a lo menos, ha dado ejemplo a los que lo quisieren lograr'.[28] The aim of giving the text a non-fictional appearance is rightly observed by Marie Laffranque when she considers the impact of this narrative strategy on the reader: 'La surprise et l'incrédulité du lecteur vont cesser. Il va aborder sans hésitation la terre de Sinapia. Il va croire à l'ensemble harmonieux de son histoire, de ses institutions et de ses coutumes'.[29]

Like Utopia, the City of the Sun and Bensalem, Sinapia functions as an autonomous and exemplary nation-state that implicitly stands in contrast with an existing form of government at a specific historical time. However, while the utopian commonwealths imagined by More, Bacon and Campanella appear to be socio-political models of possibly universal implementation, the Sinapian republic is conceived exclusively in terms of its antagonistic relationship with Spain in every possible aspect, although some of these differences might be questioned, especially with regard to religion, because almost everything in this area is the same as in Spain: 'en el sitio como en todo lo demás, es esta península [Sinapia] perfectísimo antípode de nuestra Hispaña'.[30] However, the fact that this declaration is only included at the end of the narration would seem to oblige the reader to return to the beginning of the text and re-read its description in the light of this claim, that Sinapia is a geographically inverted and programmatically subverted Spain in real time; hence the word 'Sinapia' is a near anagram of Hispania, the Latin name of Spain. While the author takes Christianity for granted, other aspects of Spanish society might be better if changed to be in accordance with Sinapia.

The tendency to interpret a new geographical, political, military, religious and social set-up in terms of an already existing society echoes the alienating European consciousness through which the Spanish conquistadors reinvented the New World in their chronicles of discovery and colonisation. Perhaps this atavistic gesture operates in accordance with the filtering of Tasman's travel notes through the act of translation, whose narration is controlled by the Spanish translator. *Sinapia*'s apparently objective narrative voice contrasts with the literary figure of the utopian traveller created by More. As Peter Giles says when taking More's fictional alter ego out of his

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Marie Laffranque, 'La *Descripción de la Sinapia, Península en la Tierra Austral*', in *La contestation de la société dans la littérature espagnole du Siècle d'Or*, pp. 193-204 (p. 197).

[30] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 134. The original word in the manuscript is 'Hespaña', which is transcribed thus by Cro in his edition. However, Avilés changes the spelling to 'Hispaña' without justifying his amendment.

misconception about Raphael Hythloday, Utopia's visitor is essentially a traveller, or rather a philosopher:

> 'In that case', said I [More], 'my guess wasn't a bad one, for at first glance I supposed he was a ship's captain.'
> 'Then you're far off the mark', he [Giles] replied, 'for his sailing has not been like that of Palinurus, but more that of Ulysses, or rather of Plato.'[31]

As to the narrative element of the discovery and exploration of a perfect but remote and inaccessible place, *Sinapia* does not comprise the representation of a utopian space in the process of being observed and assessed. What the Spanish text lacks is the recreation of experiencing the newly discovered land, which would provide the opportunity to discuss the suitability of the form of government proposed. However, this characteristic is in accord with the fact that the text is meant to be a description of different aspects of Sinapian society. Therefore, its descriptive tone is for the most part unemotional and neutral as the author's intention is not to assertively recommend the implementation of the Sinapian model in Spain.

The author of *Sinapia* is less enthusiastic in promoting his utopian society than More was. As opposed to the inquisitive and questioning Hythloday or the perplexed members of a European crew after their shipwreck in the *New Atlantis*, *Sinapia*'s narrator is focused on briefly explaining the framework of its utopian system. What ultimately motivates his account is the probable curiosity of his compatriots: 'se da noticia de cierta república que, por su antigüedad, justificación y suma diversidad de lo que por acá se practica, no me ha parecido indigna de la curiosidad de mis paisanos'.[32] The interest of the author seems to be to make details of this society known, and in particular for those who read their books in Spanish. As far as the author is concerned, the state of Sinapia contrasts with Spain, but that is clearly up to the reader to judge.

The significance of the structural components of the republic of Sinapia that are meant to positively turn upside down the existing Spanish system will be explored in the next sections of this chapter. These components are described from the second section of the anonymous text onwards, when readers are presented with a detailed and objective description of Sinapia, without being aware of the transition effected by the author from the mention of the discovery and translation of Tasman's 'apuntamientos' to their actual insertion in the text.

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[31] More, *Utopia*, ed. by Logan and trans. by Adams, pp. 9-10.
[32] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 69.

**The Political and Social Structure of Sinapia**

*Sinapia* reveals its distance from the utopian tradition in the puzzling genesis of Sinapian society. Sinapia is a monarchy, based on a mixture of aristocratic and democratic elements, in which the monarch is the prince, the nobles are the magistrates and the common people are the families, who make up the majority. The republic was founded by the Persian prince Sinap Ardxird, the Christian patriarch Joseph Codabend and the Chinese philosopher Siang,[33] and it is the result of a complex amalgam of diverse peoples: Malay, Peruvian, Chinese and Persian. Christianity arrived with the Persians — 'los cuales trajeron la luz del evangelio y con ella la verdadera política'[34] — whose exodus to Sinapia, in Cro's view, makes the text divert from the traditional utopian models:

> el motivo del éxodo de los persianos a Sinapia y el de la reunificación simbólica en la utopía cristiana representa un paso ulterior en la tradición del género utópico en relación a los modelos clásicos y humanísticos prevalentes en la utopía renacentista de Moro, Campanella y Bacon.[35]

The Christian orthodoxy introduced by the Persian people and the intervention of sophisticated cultures in the constitution of the Sinapian nation produce an innovative system based on the achievements of former dominant cultures and less dominant ones. In fact, the text suggests that the Malay and Peruvian peoples were subjected to civilising processes whose final goal was Christian conversion. Sinapia's three founders 'fueron amansando y domesticando la ferocidad de los malayos y rusticidad de los peruanos [...]. [Malays and Peruvians] Fueron poco a poco abrazando la religión cristiana y al mismo tiempo sujetándose a la obediencia del príncipe'.[36] Civilisation and Christianity are presented as interactive forces that enhance the viability and the strength of the system proposed.

The suggestive description of Sinapia's progressive establishment can be interpreted as the birth of a superior civilisation consisting of the amalgamation of social groups with colonising purposes, some of which have escaped from the tyranny of their previous rulers:

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[33] Navarro Domínguez thinks that Siang might be the equivalent of Confucius (Navarro Domínguez, p. 137).

[34] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 73.

[35] Stelio Cro, '*Sinapia*, el Viejo Testamento y la teocracia cristiana', in *Actas del XII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, ed. by Jules Whicker, 2 vols (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1998), II, pp. 130-36 (pp. 130-31).

[36] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 75.

> De cuatro naciones toman su origen los habitadores de esta península: malayos, peruanos, chinos y persianos. Los primeros, con el uso de las armas de hierro que trajeron, obligaron a los sencillos negrillos zambales que la habitaban a pasar la cordillera y retirarse con los lagos.[37] Aquéllos trajeron también el uso de vestirse y de cultivar la tierra y navegar. Los peruanos aportaron echados de una tempestad a estas marinas, habiendo salido huyendo del Inca. [...] Uniéronse con los malayos así por ser pocos como por gozar de las comodidades que los primeros con su industria ya tenían.
> Después vinieron los chinos y éstos fueron en gran número, por haber salido una armada de ellos huyendo de la tiranía de Kieu [...]. Estos, como gente política e industriosa, con maña fueron haciéndose lugar, de modo que adquirieron la veneración de las otras dos naciones y con el uso de la pólvora se hicieron formidables a los lagos [...].
> La última nación fueron los persas, los cuales trajeron la luz del evangelio y con ella la verdadera política.[38]

It is in this peculiar founding of the utopian community that *Sinapia* shows its originality and desire to underscore the beneficial irruption of civilisation into contexts of uncivilised anarchy. Thus, Malays did not exactly conquer and submit the 'negrillos zambales' who were presumably the original inhabitants of Sinapia's geographical settlement, but rather displaced them by using their civilised and violent weapons. This initial displacement of the first dwellers of the peninsula can be seen to be in keeping with the exile penalty applied to those who deviate from civil norms and deserve to return to their natural and instinctive environment. The symbolic reference to imposing civilisation by means of such features as weapons, clothing, agriculture and navigation intensifies the idea that Sinapia is the product of an advanced process of socio-cultural adaptation and integration. Furthermore, the fact that Peruvians and Chinese ran away from the tyrannical regimes of their respective nations suggests the imperfections of existing systems of government, even though *Sinapia*'s utopian political order is rather an absolutist system prone to commit political abuses with respect to individual freedoms.

However, the text attempts to create the impression of a struggle among these three nations with the aim of correcting the flaws in their original governments and making of the heterogeneous Sinapia an improved version of them. The Chinese colony will end up dominating the other two groups because of the supremacy of its highly developed culture and crucial invention of gunpowder. All in all, there is a competitive relationship among these cultural groups, of which only the strongest will survive. As a

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[37] Avilés specifies that the *lagos* have already been related to the *galos* (the Gauls), the barbarian Celtic invaders of the Iron Age. See footnote 21 in Avilés, 'Introducción', p. 27.
[38] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, pp. 72-73.

matter of fact, and irrespective of the chronological jump, the eclectic cultural fusion from which Sinapia emerges brings to mind the concept of 'the cosmic race' coined by the Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos in 1925.[39] This notion refers to the formation of a futuristic 'fifth race' in the Americas, which claims to be a blend of all the races in the world to shape a new civilisation called *Universópolis*. Vasconcelos's construct banishes popular myths about racial dominance by proclaiming that social progress does not depend upon racial purity. His theory relies on the advisability of miscegenation, which underpins racial and national unity.

Far from problematising the question of national identity, this kind of transculturation reinforces the idea of culture as a dynamic historical process instead of as a fixed and unchanging phenomenon with which a community identifies. *Sinapia*'s author subscribes to the thought that a utopian society must be multiracial and multicultural:

> siendo el pueblo de esta república formado de estas naciones, ha de participar de sus cualidades y así la fisionomía es varia, como mezclada de las cuatro más universales: etiópica de los zambales; indiana de los malayos; tartárica de los chinos y peruanos; y asiática y europea de los persas.[40]

The contradiction in including the 'negros zambales' as one of the racial groups involved, after having said that they were expelled from the peninsula by the Malays, is justified by their required participation in the building of an ideal and universal republic. Although *Sinapia* endorses this kind of terrestrial cultural fantasy without compromising the Sinapians' identity, its nationalism is largely dogmatic and intolerant of foreign influences or contributions, as will be detailed below. Such dogmatism is enhanced by the strong religious component that dominates the socio-political structure of Sinapia, as will also be seen later in this chapter.

Sinapia's repressive consciousness is only exceeded by the solipsistic self-conception of Campanella's City of the Sun in that its prince is called 'Sun' or, in the language of the Solarians, 'Metaphysician' because 'He is both their spiritual and their temporal chief, and all decisions terminate with him'.[41] The totalitarian intervention of the head of state makes him the measure of all things and nothing can be thought outside of his domain. Campanella and the anonymous Spanish author appear to subscribe to Plato's criticism of democracy as a free republic that may descend into

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[39] José Vasconcelos, *La raza cósmica: misión de la raza iberoamericana* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1966).
[40] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 75.
[41] Campanella, pp. 31, 33.

degeneration and later into tyranny. However, neither author provides a form of governmental alternative to the democratic or tyrannical excesses, but rather both authors distort the image of the ideal city-state proposed in Plato's *Republic*, in which the philosopher is identified as the only person entitled to rule a utopian city: 'Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, [...] cities will never have rest from their evils'.[42] Sinapia's form of government is not only hybrid and contradictory, but also radicalises the dehumanisation of the monarch as he is a metonymic representation of the laws: 'Es la forma de esta república monárquica, mezclada de aristocrática y democrática. El monarca son las leyes; los nobles son los magistrados y el pueblo son las familias'.[43]

The administrative and spatial organisation of Sinapia is considerably complex, but the important aspect to note is that families are the institution on the basis of which the layout and running of the peninsula is designed. Each family lives in a house and cannot have more than twelve members, including a slave couple and their children. Ten houses form a neighbourhood, and eight neighbourhoods constitute a village. A city has the same composition as a village, but is divided into parishes ('parroquias'). Of these cities, the one located in the centre of the region is the metropolis, where the church and the bishops are based. In turn, the court is the metropolis of the province of Ni-sa, which is in the centre of the peninsula and place of residence of the prince (or 'sinapo'), the senate and the archbishop. Echoing More's precise words when he describes the cities of Utopia,[44] the Spanish author asserts that all the settlements in Sinapia look exactly the same, except for a few constructional details:

> Quien ha visto una villa, las ha visto todas, pues todas son iguales y semejantes; y quien ha visto éstas, ha visto las ciudades, las metrópolis y la corte misma, pues sólo se diferencian en el número de los barrios, en la mejoría de los materiales y en la grandeza de los edificios públicos; y en todo lo demás son uniformes.[45]

Sinapia's social structure is organised in a pyramidal hierarchy with the prince at the top and the families at the bottom. The middle part of the pyramid is formed by the magistrates, who are all called 'fathers': 'padres de familia, padres de barrio, padres de

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[42] Plato, *The Republic* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 1998), pp. 156-57.
[43] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 86.
[44] 'If you know one of their cities you know them all, for they're exactly alike.' (More, *Utopia*, ed. by Logan and trans. by Adams, p. 44).
[45] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 85.

villas, padres de ciudad, padres de provincia'.[46] The senate is composed of the 'padres de Sinapia' and is headed by the prince. Apart from being described as a sentinel who supervises the actions of the magistrates, the prince is portrayed as having a colonising function: 'Naturaliza a los forasteros, da la libertad a los esclavos, [...] hace enviar fuera de la isla colonias cuando sobra el número de los moradores, hace venir de las colonias el número de moradores que faltan'.[47] Each category of magistrates wears a ribbon of a specific colour attached to their heads, and they are all elected from among each other, except for the 'padres de familia', who are designated by divine power.

Sinapians dedicate six hours to work, seven hours to sleep and one hour to the three meals of the day. They have eight spare hours of leisure to entertain themselves: 'les quedan libres ocho, las cuales gastan en repasar las lecciones, aprender algún arte o ciencia, leer o jugar algún juego de los permitidos, en cultivar el jardín común y los tiestos de las galerías'.[48] In this respect, the author provides Sinapians with recreational activities similar to those of More's Utopians. In terms of education, the heads of households are responsible for teaching good manners to their children, while schoolteachers are in charge of training them, in the skills thought necessary, from the age of five. Agriculture and other manual occupations are learned at home, whereas Christian doctrine and the basic learning of literacy and numeracy are acquired at school.

Laws and military actions are the means for the preservation of peace and prevention of war: 'El fin de todo gobierno es la paz y así la procuran por todos caminos. Para que se conserve entre los naturales sirven las leyes. Para que no puedan turbarla los extraños sirven los soldados, las fortalezas y las armas'.[49] Sinapians avoid war by all possible means, except when they have to act in self-defence. Prisoners of war become slaves, and Sinapians make every effort to release the captured soldiers from their captivity. They try not to destroy houses or trees and not to hurt women, children or the elderly. Considering that war is seen as opposing the principles of civilisation, they judge it more rational and Christian to resolve conflicts by resorting to proven effective stratagems: 'si pueden vencer con los beneficios, con la cortesía y con la clemencia, lo estiman, premian y juzgan por más digno de cristianos y de racionales y al mismo tiempo más conveniente y seguro'.[50]

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[46] Ibid., p. 86.
[47] Ibid., p. 91.
[48] Ibid., p. 103.
[49] Ibid., p. 99.
[50] Ibid., p. 102.

Alongside the objectives of the political administration, the ecclesiastical system plays an essential role in the functioning of Sinapia, as will be analysed next.

## The Christian Commonwealth of Sinapia

In spite of social equality being the fundamental principle of a utopian republic, *Sinapia* promotes an ideal nation based on the contemplation of divine dictate and subject to the established ideology. The only way to reach a perfect social balance is by living in conformity with Christian values. In other words, it is imperative to behave within the desired parameters in order to obtain divine salvation. Ultimately, the teleological objective of Sinapia is 'vivir templada, devota y justamente en este mundo aguardando la dicha prometida con la venida gloriosa de nuestro gran Dios',[51] and the means to attain it are 'la vida común, la igualdad, la moderación y el trabajo'.[52] These qualities are in fact the essential pillars of every utopian community.

Sinapia's system is determined by a Christianity that might apparently have had its roots in Persian religion. No matter how sophisticated the other three founding nations are, Persians manage to impose their culture because of the compatibility of their religious ideology with the project of Christendom envisioned by Sinapia. According to the anonymous narrator, regardless of history and culture, the Gospel is the real and proper basis of politics for Sinapians, represented by the agglomeration and cultural symbiosis of the four nations that are the constitutive foundations of Sinapian society. Therefore, the justification of the institution of slavery, which will be discussed below, is likely to be rooted in the fact that the Bible does not condemn slavery, but rather supports its regulated practice. Nevertheless, it is more likely that the justification is in the fact that slavery was accepted as normal by European countries until the end of the eighteenth century, when it began to be questioned.

Although the roles of the state and the Church are clearly separate and complementary, the religious sphere prevails in the functioning of Sinapia's utopian system. Spanish Enlightenment thinking developed essentially within the framework of Catholic culture, but the diffusion of science and critical thinking shook the foundations of Christian orthodoxy. However, a sign of new religious vitality was the renewal of missionary activity in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in the western territories of North America and the missions in Paraguay until the expulsion of the Jesuit Order in 1767. This resurgent impulse of

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[51] Ibid., p. 70.
[52] Ibid.

Christian goals was greatly supported by the idea that religion conquers peacefully and has the most effective and convincing means of instilling new principles and practices of government.

What appears to be remarkable in the eminently Christian political doctrine sustained in *Sinapia* is not only the relevance given to Christian virtue, but also its significance in the political sphere. The anonymous author refers to the mutual dependence of the political and the religious: 'el ejercicio de la virtud cristiana es más a propósito para hacer una república floreciente y una nación dichosa que cuantas redomadas políticas enseñan Tácito o Machiavelli, o practican los europeos'.[53] Civic and religious virtue can be reached through faith and contemplation: 'El empleo más apetecible y digno del hombre creen los sinapienses que es la contemplación de las grandezas de Dios y después las de sus obras'.[54]

Thus, the utopian scope covered by Sinapia's organisation is perceived through the spiritual filter of Christianity. Since the final end of the inhabitants is their salvation and their entry into the most utopian place to live, their compliance with Sinapia's maxims is only a vehicle to succeed in reaching their future destination: 'el fin de este gobierno no es dilatar su dominio, enriquecer sus súbditos ni extender su fama, sino hacerlos vivir en este mundo justa, templada y devotamente, para hacerlos felices en el otro. Sólo se estima la verdadera virtud'.[55] Apart from the constant assessment of virtue, what is persistently pondered is the rational configuration of the Christian religion and the assertion that it is not contaminated by superstition, hypocrisy and vanity. Sinapia is, then, a Christian commonwealth[56] where the equation of reason with nature prevails, and this in turn equates to virtue.

Moderation and simplicity are the principal qualities that constitute the virtuous nature of Sinapians: 'La moderación en comer, vestir, alhajas, instrumentos, ejercicios, edificios, etc. es grandísima, para evitar toda superfluidad, madre certísima de toda necesidad y desorden'.[57] A human nature of this kind, governed by reason and sobriety, was exactly what the Jesuit *reducciones* in Spanish America sought to achieve. Such an exercise in applied utopianism spanned the period 1607-1767, and was implemented in

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[53] Ibid., pp. 69-70.
[54] Ibid., p. 124.
[55] Ibid., p. 134.
[56] According to Stelio Cro, 'Por lo que se refiere a la tradición de la ciudad ideal cristiana en España se conocen los ejemplos de la *Ciudad de Dios* de San Agustín o el *Blanquerna* de Raimundo Lulio, primer ejemplo literario en España de una concepción utópica, según la definición de Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo de "utopía cristiano-social"' (Stelio Cro, 'La utopía en España: *Sinapia*', *Cuadernos para Investigación de la Literatura Hispánica*, 2-3 (1980), 27-40 (p. 37)).
[57] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 103.

colonial Paraguay starting in 1609. Some critics, especially Cro, have stressed the ideological correlation between *Sinapia* and the evangelical reform programme in view of the similarities concerning institutional organisation and the educational system. As in the *reducciones*, family is the fundamental social, political and economic unit in Sinapia: 'Del buen gobierno de las familias, de la buena educación y del acierto de los matrimonios, pende la conservación y felicidad de la república'.[58] Agricultural and industrial activities are supported by the family structure as the core of society, and only the father can be elected to the magistracy because 'Son los *padres de familia* magistrados naturales, dados por Dios, no elegidos por los hombres'.[59]

The Sinapian family is strictly patriarchal and acts as a balancing force in the communal system. Ultimately, the nuclear family replicates the mechanism of the whole society and the *pater familias* is expected to apply the overall model of social control in his household:

> Ejercitan su jurisdicción en todas las personas de la familia, a quien mandan absolutamente y castigan con prisión, ayuno y azotes. A ellos incumbe guardar y hacer guardar la ley de Dios, las leyes sinapienses [...] y aumentar la iglesia con buenos cristianos y la república de buenos ciudadanos.[60]

Despite Sinapia's rejection of the use of violence ('La religión florece libre [...] de la superstición [...] con huir de toda violencia y demasiada aspereza en la disciplina'),[61] the use of Christian mortifications or penances is contemplated as a valid part of its political-religious system ('Usan la penitencia pública según los cánones, pero rara vez pasa de un año').[62] For its part, the analogy between good Christians and good citizens not only echoes the likely problematic interaction between civic and spiritual virtue, but is also in line with the location of the church at the centre of the urban plan and with the fact of using the word 'padres' to name both ecclesiastical and governmental authorities. Nonetheless, it must be pointed out that there is a gender issue implied in the sense of patriarchy that ends up precluding any genuine sexual equality.

Another important point of comparison between Sinapian society and the Jesuit theocracy in Paraguay is the non-existence of private property, interpreted as a primitive and purer stage of Christianity in which all possessions are held as collective state property. Echoing the constitutive tenets of the Jesuit *reducciones*, *Sinapia* is a

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[58] Ibid., p. 102.
[59] Ibid., p. 86.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., p. 133.
[62] Ibid., p. 97.

response to a technocratic utopia: 'a controlled economy organized for universal well-being'.[63] What this kind of utopia pursued was a nostalgic vision of nature and natural man and a disapproval of religious superstition; its intention was not to justify a systematic set of reforms. Cro's observation sums up the logic of the *reducciones* that might be seen as a template for Sinapia's design:

> Las Reducciones representaban todo lo que la ilustración voltairiana combatía con más vehemencia: la unidad del poder temporal y espiritual bajo una casta sacerdotal, la economía comunitaria y planificada que excluía el beneficio individual, la exclusión del capital privado, la limitación del poder del monarca, la supeditación de la razón a la fe.[64]

Sinapia is described as 'una nación sencilla, que carece de las maliciosas máximas de la política interesada'[65], and that is why its governmental superstructure does not produce socio-economic crises. However, Sinapia's very conservative Christian blueprint restricts its inhabitants' free will. Since vice and corruption are deeply rooted in civilised man, those who try to sabotage the established order are necessarily punished, as will be explained below. The spiritual impetus is the essential factor in maintaining moral virtue, but it is not the entity that administers society because the Church is subject to the state in all that is not related to moral conscience. Under Sinapia's utopian scheme, politics and ethics work together to provide citizens with the happiness that justice and equality bring. The acceptance of a pre-existing political administration is chiefly associated with the sublime institution of family in which parents are natural magistrates elected by divine power, as mentioned before. A Christian utopia, then, seems to undermine the utopian aspect of free election of rulers and lawmakers by citizens.

The duality of reason and spiritual progress must be examined in relation to the belief held by some, especially the advocates of capitalism, that collective happiness depends on material progress. In order for civilisation to develop, happiness must be achieved through the improvement of man's spiritual, not material, world. This phenomenological premise underlies the allegedly rational Christianity that *Sinapia* defends as the starting point of its utopian model. The characterisation of a rational Christian plan is also reflected in the brevity and concision of Sinapia's laws, as in More's *Utopia*, even though their origins and implications are not supposed to be

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[63] Manuel and Manuel, p. 328.
[64] Stelio Cro, 'Las reducciones jesuíticas en la encrucijada de dos utopías', in *Las utopías en el mundo hispánico*, pp. 41-56 (p. 42).
[65] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 134.

questioned or explained at all: 'Las leyes son breves, claras, sin dar causas ni alegar razones, sino mandando y vedando absolutamente'.[66] This restrictive aspect is an indicator of the blinkered attitude towards other ways of creating a perfect society. In this respect, Miguel Ángel Ramiro Avilés posits that the utopian style allows the narrator to persuade the reader of the effectiveness of the socio-political measures that have already been applied, rather than using a direct descriptive style through which the audience is offered a series of experimental and uncertain reforms, contingent upon their successful application in the future:

> The utopian literary form allowed the author of *Sinapia* to avoid presenting his readers with reform policies to be legitimated and adopted. Instead, the readers were offered a political project already implemented and legitimized by the rationality, fairness and justice of its arrangements as they were vividly experienced in the lives and characters of the populace.[67]

Despite the fact that utopia is largely a political creation, its aesthetic features should not be overlooked. In doing so, its discursive complexity is reduced to a mere impulse or wish, as Fredric Jameson points out: 'It has often been observed that we need to distinguish between the Utopian form and the Utopian wish: between the written text or genre and something like a Utopian impulse detectable in daily life and its practices'.[68]

Although the configuration of a utopian civic Christendom is more coherent and technical in *Sinapia*, the same target is observed in other Spanish utopian texts, such as *El deseado gobierno, buscado por el amor de Dios para el reino de España* (pre-1760) by Melchor de Macanaz (1670-1760). The protagonist is a pilgrim who embarks on a fantastic journey to a utopian country called 'Deseado Gobierno', a kingdom of truth where nobody tells lies and where the practice of virtue is enshrined in law. The pilgrim believes that the remedy for the decline in politics and social behaviour 'would not come out of the outdated ideas on which the current regime operates, but that it is necessary to undertake reforms based on new ideas. This is the origin of his pilgrimage

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[66] Ibid., p. 116.

[67] Miguel Ángel Ramiro Avilés, '*Sinapia*, A Political Journey to the Antipodes of Spain', in *Utopian Moments: Reading Utopian Texts*, ed. by Miguel Ángel Ramiro Avilés and J. C. Davis (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), pp. 80-85 (p. 82). Ramiro Avilés's article is little more than a very brief paraphrase of the text of *Sinapia*, which ends by claiming to relate the work to Enlightenment thinking in order to conclude that '*Sinapia* illustrates the contradiction besetting Spanish Enlightenment authors: intellectual loyalty to the ideals of the Enlightenment as against emotional loyalty to the national tradition' (Ramiro Avilés, '*Sinapia*, A Political Journey to the Antipodes of Spain', p. 85). However, the scholar does not specify what those ideals might be.

[68] Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future*, p. 1.

towards enlightened ideas'.[69] The Desired Government is naturally one that fully complies with the requirements of Christian doctrine because 'Sin ella bien sabida, creída y ejecutada, no puede haber gobierno que agrade ni a Dios ni a los hombres'.[70] However, the narrator sadly recognises the vacuous character of any plan of government, real or imaginary:

> Dimos vuelta al mundo en breves horas: púsonos en un reino Deseado, no visto ni producido por la naturaleza. En él vimos lo que deseamos, no [lo] que hay real y verdaderamente. Entretuvimos lo representado, no lo vivo: cegonos lo aparente, no lo visible, no lo físico, todo fue fuerza de imaginación, todo celo, todo amor de la verdad. [...] Hemos vuelto a nuestro reino enseñados, pero no consolados; divertidos, pero no satisfechos; en fin nos hemos desengañado de que todo buen gobierno es especulación [...]. Todo buen gobernador se contenta con proponer, con inventar, con comenzar.[71]

By means of the narrative voice, Macanaz's reflection on the fact that both a good government and a good governor are speculative creations reinforces the sense of negativity that tends to appear in *Sinapia* and other Spanish utopias, as will be argued in the next chapters of this thesis. In this respect, it should be noted that the idea of impossibility and negativity has long been part of the definition of utopia in the Dictionary of the Real Academia Española. While the first appearance of the term in 1869 highlights its encouraging theoretical contribution, although overshadowed by its non-existent practical dimension ('Plan, proyecto, sistema o doctrina que halaga en teoría, pero cuya práctica es imposible'), the latest definition from 2014 reiterates the difficulty of its implementation ('Plan, proyecto, doctrina o sistema deseables que parecen de muy difícil realización'). It is striking that the most recent edition of the Dictionary has amended the 2001 definition of utopia as 'sistema optimista' to 'sistema deseable'.[72] The simple desirability factor overrides any evaluative judgements about the meaning of utopia.

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[69] Alex-Alban Gómez Coutouly, 'Spanish Literary Utopias: *Omnibona* and *The Desired Government*', in *Nowhere Somewhere: Writing Space and the Construction of Utopia*, ed. by José Eduardo Reis (Porto: Universidade do Porto, 2006), pp. 71-85 (p. 73).
[70] Melchor de Macanaz, *El deseado gobierno, buscado por el amor de Dios para el reino de España*, Huesca, Biblioteca Pública de Huesca, MS 141, Miscelánea, 1855, fols 57$^v$-94$^r$ (fol. 68$^v$), <http://bibliotecavirtual.aragon.es/bva/i18n/catalogo_imagenes/grupo.cmd?posicion=122&aceptar=Aceptar&path=1000180&presentacion=pagina>.
[71] Ibid., fols 93$^r$-93$^v$.
[72] See *Diccionario de la lengua española*, <http://dle.rae.es> [accessed 26 October 2015].

**The Rejection of Individualism and Aristocracy**

Since the institution of private property has been abolished in Sinapia, there are virtually no conflicts among the members of the community. However, in order for a system of shared goods to succeed, it is necessary to have enough supplies in stock to fulfil the needs of all the citizens: 'es forzoso tener en almacenes comunes todo lo necesario a la vida natural y política, para que desde allí se vaya suministrando a los particulares lo que han menester'.[73] Any surplus is exchanged among the cities, the metropolis and the court.

To enhance the sense of community and equality in all areas of life, there are a number of civic and religious activities through which the citizens are expected to strengthen their friendship and cooperation:

> Como el fin de la unión civil sea la asistencia recíproca en las necesidades particulares, [...] para excitar y conservar esta virtud han dispuesto [...] diversas funciones en que, hallándose en comunidad, los ciudadanos se viesen, se tratasen y, con la participación de los bienes espirituales y corporales, se cobrasen cariño y se uniesen más y más en amistad y buena correspondencia.[74]

In addition to gathering in the church to celebrate religious festivities, these communal events include weddings and baptisms. Sinapians also meet every Sunday to share a meal in the house of the father of the neighbourhood ('barrio'). Although these meals are meant to be special occasions in which the best food and drinks are served, moderation is always the norm. In this respect, the voice of the Spanish translator is made present in the narration in comparing Sinapian banquets with those in Spain: 'estas comidas (a quien dan el nombre griego de *ágapes*, por ser usado desde los principios de la Iglesia y nosotros diríamos *convites de caridad*)'.[75] The important element to highlight regarding such social activities is that individualism is unthinkable in Sinapia's system. A constant interaction between its citizens is required to maintain an efficient and happy society: 'De esta manera se traba toda la república en amistad, se conoce y se comunica'.[76]

As a result of pursuing social equality, hereditary nobility does not exist in Sinapia. The absence of an aristocracy not only prevents Sinapians from experiencing feelings of arrogance and ambition, but also eradicates the existence of poor people and

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[73] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 91.
[74] Ibid., p. 106.
[75] Ibid., p. 108.
[76] Ibid., p. 109.

plebeians from their social composition, as well as the potential threat of uprisings: 'Careciendo de nobleza, carecen del mayor incentivo de la soberbia y ambición y de la opresión que ellas causan en los plebeyos y origen de las sediciones'.[77] Such a disdain for the traditional institution of aristocracy is in direct opposition to the conventional social organisation in Spain, in which the hereditary nobility played a central role. As in Utopia, the absence of nobility, money and private property is a fundamental component in Sinapia. Furthermore, in the case of Utopians, and as mentioned in Chapter 1 of this thesis, it is possible to think that virtue is the only conceivable notion of nobility in Sinapia.

**Civilisation and Social Norms**

It is clear that *Sinapia* advocates a civilised coexistence of the members of the community. However, the notion of a civilised citizen can be problematic because he or she is susceptible to be corrupted by society itself. Oddly enough, the text of *Sinapia* blames corruption on rational and cultural conceptions resulting from supposedly civilising processes, such as money and private property:

> como la corrupción del hombre es tan grande, no han faltado naturales aviesos, que han procurado alterar el gobierno, introduciendo la propiedad, [...] la dominación, la moneda, la estimación de las riquezas y el ocio, la vanidad de la sangre, etc.[78]

In order to protect the integrity of the system, the authorities are called on to restrain the irrational excesses that are hard to banish from human nature. This is mostly the case when dealing with public celebrations, both sacred and secular. In describing the severity with which unacceptable behaviour is punished, the absolutist regime contemplated by *Sinapia* becomes more than evident:[79]

> En todas se prohíben, por las leyes, todos los desórdenes de bandos o parcialidades, de palabras o acciones poco honestas, de murmuraciones picantes o doctrinas contrarias a la república y buenas costumbres, para lo

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[77] Ibid., p. 132.

[78] Ibid., p. 134.

[79] In *Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones públicas* (1790), Gaspar de Jovellanos acknowledges that there is a blurred line between liberty and licence, but condemns the fact that Spanish magistrates confuse surveillance with oppression: Spanish power and justice, far from ensuring order and stability, are intended to subjugate and enslave the citizens by imposing social control through fear (Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Memoria sobre las diversiones públicas*, in Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Obras completas*, ed. by Elena de Lorenzo Álvarez, 14 vols (Oviedo: Ayuntamiento de Gijón, Instituto Feijoo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, KRK Ediciones, 1984-2010), XII: *Escritos sobre literatura* (2009), pp. 191-318 (pp. 252-53)).

cual hay nombrados celadores que asisten para notar los excesos, castigándolos al punto y sin remisión.[80]

The distortion of pseudo-civilising instruments of civil discipline makes the use of the utopian label more problematic. Laws and rules are intended to repress the natural freedom of the human will, and the effectiveness of force and punishment is fully legitimised by the government. Despite the fact that in Sinapia crime rarely occurs, 'La administración de justicia es breve y rigurosa. Toda se reduce a precio y castigo'.[81]

Sinapia's system conceptualises the hostile side of nature as a space of punishment and degradation. In that regard, the sentence of exile, which is the highest sentence given in Sinapia, consists in being abandoned in the middle of the vast space and inhospitality of the desert:

> La pena de destierro [...] se da a los rebeldes a Dios y a la república [...]. Ésta se ejecuta llevando al reo a una de muchas islas desiertas que hay hacia el oriente, donde lo dejan con víveres para un mes, instrumentos para cavar y cortar madera y para hacer fuego, vasos y semillas.[82]

It is interesting that the outcast is provided with the minimum civilised tools necessary to enable him or her to survive. In other words, the exiled person is sentenced to a reencounter with their pre-civilised self, but this regression necessarily implies a negative and degrading connotation of nature to the extent that the condemned will be sentenced to death if he or she attempts to return to Sinapia. The emptiness of a desert island as opposed to the fertility of the Sinapian peninsula, or of any primitive place with abundant natural resources, apparently alludes to the desire to suppress any external and contending pre-societal reality.

Alongside exile, slavery acts as a significant disciplinary action in Sinapia. Perpetual slavery replaces the death penalty in cases of serious offences, which are not specified in the text. This aspect connects to the fact that the relationship between utopia and reform brings about the complicated question of the right to punish. The topic permeates the entire utopian tradition and the functionality and legitimacy of punishment appear to be based on the mechanism of social control that is inherent to utopian projects. In More's *Utopia*, slavery is the most common type of punishment and it is understood as more effective than the death penalty because slave labour is of greater benefit to the community than their death could be:

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[80] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, pp. 111-12.
[81] Ibid., p. 113.
[82] Ibid., p. 114.

> Generally, the gravest crimes are punished with slavery, for they think this deters offenders just as much as getting rid of them by immediate capital punishment, and convict labour is more beneficial to the commonwealth. Slaves, moreover, contribute more by their labour than by their death [...]. If the slaves rebel against their condition, then, since neither bars nor chains can tame them, they are finally put to death like wild beasts.[83]

In a similar way to *Sinapia*, *Utopia* implies that those who are unable to bear their sentences must be treated as savages incapable of being kept in order and, therefore, deserving of death. Nonetheless, Utopians can get their liberty back or, at least, have their slavery mitigated thanks to the prince or the people's intercession, which can be equated to the temporary slavery to which Sinapians are subjected when they commit certain serious transgressions. A point not tackled by the text of *Sinapia* and notably highlighted by More is the imposition of slavery when adultery is committed. Both the adulterer and the adulteress must comply with the labour to which slaves are condemned, but once again, the repentance of the offender, together with the benevolence of both the prince and the injured person, allows him or her to be pardoned. However, those who relapse are punished with death.

The necessity of eradicating all actions contrary to moral principles by means of slavery points to the idea that civilisation prevents men from developing their human nature in a context untouched by the artificiality and tyranny of civil society, but *Sinapia* does not seek to change human nature or the interactions between humans and the natural world. The Spanish text favours a contemplative experience of nature instead of discussing the critical confrontation between mankind and nature. Paradoxically, going back to the Sinapian use of exile as a humiliating return to a pristine but barbaric primitivism, the kingdom of nature can be equally tyrannical and an unsuitable basis for government planning. Ultimately, natural man and moral man become indistinguishable since they belong to axiological spheres susceptible to the same degree of suspicion in terms of their value and viability.

**The Relations of Sinapia with the Outside World**

In Sinapia, the prevention of harmful innovations that could be spread by contact with foreigners results in an aversion to letting the citizens leave the country and allowing visitors to enter the Sinapian territory:

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[83] More, *Utopia*, ed. by Logan and trans. by Adams, p. 81.

> Logra esta república con lo demás del mundo de un comercio ventajosísimo, pues, pudiendo tener todo lo bueno que hay fuera de ella, está libre de que se le introduzca lo malo y, sacando todo lo inútil y sobrado, se queda con todo lo útil y provechoso. Esto consiguen teniendo prohibido a los naturales el salir de la península sin licencia del senado y toda comunicación con extranjeros y a éstos, el poner pie en la península sin permiso.[84]

The reluctance to overtly interact with other nations distinguishes the Spanish text from the *New Atlantis*, where a critique about the absence of the practice of travelling in Bensalem is formulated:

> this happy island where we now stood was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world [...]. This we found wonderfully strange; for that all nations have inter-knowledge one of another either by voyage into foreign parts, or by strangers that come to them [...]; for that it seemed to us a condition and propriety of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open and as in a light to them.[85]

Nevertheless, both Bensalem and Sinapia have the capacity to obtain goods and knowledge from other cultures without endangering their own supplies and wisdom. Under the guise of reciprocity, Sinapia's trading is contradictorily unilateral:

> Lo que sale de la península es lo que en ella sobra de frutos y manifacturas [...]. Lo que se trae son drogas medicinales, materiales para algunas manifacturas, las nuevas invenciones de artes y ciencias, buenos libros, modelos de artificios que no hay en Sinapia y mapas puntuales y cartas de marear de todas partes.[86]

A similar attitude is held by the people of the City of the Sun, who send spies to other nations to learn their customs and, by doing so, improve their own. Although it may seem paradoxical, the insularity that gives a utopia its autonomy and self-sufficiency does not mean a growing apart or an estrangement from other nations. On the contrary, as Bacon's shipwrecked travellers say, knowledge acquired through direct observation and physical contact with the territories to be explored constitutes the most appropriate type of interaction among countries.

The objective of voyages is not only an educational process that provides the traveller with a symbolic cultural capital, but also a dialectical encounter between the traveller and the socio-historical situations faced in the course of travel. As a consequence, the practice of voyaging entails a transformative experience that refers to

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[84] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 123.
[85] Bacon, pp. 161-62.
[86] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 124.

an open-minded pedagogy, which evidently conflicts with the ideological narrowness of Sinapia's programme. Any human activity that involves changes in the way people think would only mean danger to the established order of government. Thus, the omission of the practice of productive travelling activity is perplexing by virtue of the highly civilising nature of the act of travel in itself. Voyages have usually become an act of decentring through which individuals can better get to know themselves. Anthropological otherness allows civilisations to discover their uniqueness by entering into dialogue with each other's differences. The observation of other societies turns travel into a conciliatory force between physical and social environment. However, the fact that *Sinapia* does not recreate the act of travelling through which the novelty of the utopian society can be unveiled reaffirms its disdain for the epistemological function of travel experience, a belief at variance with the assertion of such an idea at the high point of Enlightenment debate in late eighteenth-century Spain.

**The Arts, Sciences and Culture**

Unlike Utopia and Bensalem, the development of the arts in Sinapia is not as valuable as that of the sciences because they are seen as probably deceitful and useless. The only way Sinapians can access true knowledge is by using rational methods:

> Válense para descubrir la verdad [...] de las vías matemáticas de división y de unión, procurando evitar todos los errores de los sentidos, de las pasiones y de la educación [...]. Del artificio retórico hacen poco caso, como de cosa que disminuye el crédito y sólo tiene eficacia mientras engaña. La poesía usan por la armonía y agrado de la música, pero muy natural, quitando todo relumbrón, juego de palabras y agudeza pueril.[87]

It is interesting that the text seems to be criticising the seventeenth-century fashion for *conceptismo*, evident in the rejection of 'juego de palabras y agudeza pueril', a fashion that only began to enjoy less support in the second half of the eighteenth century in Spain, though still the dominant poetic style in the late seventeenth century.

Any kind of intellectual or practical invention is condemned to mistrust and only permitted after official approval from the authorities: 'Todo inventor, con aprobación del senado, puede servirse de su invención para sí y para su familia, pero no los demás, hasta haber el senado permitido en común el uso de ella'.[88] Moreover, banned inventions are recorded in writing, an action that resembles the Inquisition's procedures

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[87] Ibid., p. 128.
[88] Ibid., pp. 129-30.

in compiling lists of prohibited literary creations, though here applied to practical invention: 'De las invenciones cuyo uso no permite el senado, conserva por escrito en sus archivos la noticia, los modelos y las muestras'.[89] Thus, *Sinapia* is characterised by a strong disapproval of the cultivation of creative skills because they constitute the germ of innovative and alternative projects that may threaten the ideological uniformity of the state. As an apparent believer in utilitarianism, *Sinapia*'s author stresses the importance of always keeping a rational objective, especially in the area of aesthetics. Poetry, painting, architecture and sculpture must be primarily appreciated by virtue of their contributions to pragmatic ways of improving the lives of Sinapians:

> La arquitectura en los edificios particulares atiende sólo a la comodidad y duración; en los públicos, también a la magnificencia y en todos a la hermosura, que no consiste en los adornos, sino en la observancia de la simetría que agrada. En la pintura y escultura no sólo atienden a la imitación, sino a la propiedad en fisionomía, trajes, usos, animales y plantas [...], y guardando el decoro en todo, como en la poesía, en lo cual pecan no poco nuestros artífices, que llenan de cosas de romanos y griegos las historias de personas de judíos y persianos.[90]

What appears to be disconcerting about *Sinapia*'s conception of the value of the arts is the ambiguous characterisation that they acquire in the text. Although all of these artistic disciplines are natural manifestations of human needs and thinking, they are treated as superfluous and corrupting areas of knowledge, which leads to questioning as to what extent the Enlightenment debate about the confrontation between nature and culture is involved in the author's utopian vision.

In the republic of Sinapia, the sciences are divided into the natural, the moral and the divine. These three, in their turn, are subdivided into more categories, but the relevant point is that they are all simplified into history and doctrine because the interplay between these two legitimises the utilitarian character of Sinapia's scheme. History provides the facts used to formulate doctrinal theorems:

> Toda la ciencia y sus partes vuelven a dividirse en historia y doctrina. Aquélla enseña los hechos en que se fundan los teoremas que componen ésta. [...] Todas las artes y ciencias se tienen por nobles y a los que las adelantan con utilidad se dan sus premios.[91]

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[89] Ibid., p. 130.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid., p. 125.

The two major institutions dedicated to promote the cultivation of science are an *academia* and a college, both epitomising 'el espíritu que vivifica la república, pues de ellos salen las buenas máximas con que se gobierna y las buenas invenciones con que socorre sus necesidades y alivia sus trabajos'.[92] While the academy consists of scholars versed in various disciplines of the arts and humanities and supervised by the interests of the senate, the college is comprised of a group of sages who are committed to making advances in the scientific field to a point when it would be difficult to maintain the belief in pre-existing knowledge. Their mission is to come up with useful inventions for the conservation of human life, preventing the implantation of harmful innovations that could be spread by contact with foreigners. The only foreign knowledge accepted is that derived from the valuable products of other nations and adequately filtered by the mediation of the translation process into Sinapia's language. An inquisitorial spirit follows from this censorious attitude: 'Los libros de los extranjeros son prohibidos, si no están traducidos en sinapiense, por orden del senado, el cual hace imprimir con gran cuidado todas las obras que por su orden escriben los académicos'.[93]

To carry out a beneficial trade in knowledge, a network of intellectuals conducts the meticulous task of organising and refining the information gathered: merchants of light[94] ('mercaderes de luz') who go on a pilgrimage to collect all the pertinent material from written sources, harvesters ('recogedores') who decide what data will be of use, distributors ('repartidores') who classify the information, miners ('mineros') who infer or correct scientific definitions, distillers ('destiladores') who formulate theorems based on the definitions, benefactors ('bienhechores') who solve problems by using both definitions and theorems, and magnifiers ('aumentadores') who draw out new and illuminating conclusions from all the findings. This description resembles the concept of 'invisible college' that became influential in seventeenth-century Europe. The invisible college in England consisted of a group of natural philosophers led by Robert Boyle and is generally regarded as a precursor to London's Royal Society. It was essentially a network of scientists and philosophers exchanging ideas in order to acquire knowledge through experimental research. Bringing up the comparison serves to show that the exclusive transfer of thought functions in Sinapia not as much as a kind of secret society, but as an intellectual defence against any questionable

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[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid., p. 127.

[94] 'Merchants of light' is the exact term used by Bacon in the *New Atlantis* to describe the explorers who collect knowledge from around the world (Bacon, p. 183).

institutional authority. This attitude would point to an ideal or utopian dimension where a new system for the circulation of knowledge could be founded. In any event, neither the college nor the academy is envisioned as a selective scholarly association. The attention paid to the sciences and arts is notably prioritised in *Sinapia* compared to the customary treatment of the topic in the utopian genre.

The influence on Sinapia's college of Francis Bacon's Salomon's House or The College of the Six Days' Works as described in the *New Atlantis* should also be pointed out. Bacon's ideal college prided itself on having achieved mastery over nature through a rational and collaborative undertaking. However, as is the case with the potential dissenting citizens of Sinapia, Bacon's scientists are also fallible and corruptible human beings. By hampering improvement, *Sinapia* limits all possibility of historical progress and, in that sense, differs from Salomon's House, where artificial measures are implemented to achieve the creation of a superior society. However, the fact that these measures result from the observation of nature is persistently stated. The Father of Salomon's House explains to the shipwrecked crew that the logic of his utopian community is based on the imitation and representation of nature, but with the intention of establishing a better social system:

> We have also engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have [...] and to make them stronger, and more violent than yours are; exceeding your greatest cannons and basilisks. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war [...]. We imitate also motions of living creatures, by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and serpents.[95]

Thus, in opposition to *Sinapia*'s repressive perspective on human progress, Bacon's utopian perception of an ideal state entails the capacity to expand and enrich knowledge, which requires a rethinking of ingrained human practices. As the Father of Salomon's House indicates, 'The end of our Foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire, to the effecting of all things possible'.[96]

The prevalence of a scientific culture in *Sinapia* is highlighted by the explicit reference to the French 'new philosopher' René Descartes, whose philosophical methodology is the basis for the practice of logic, even though Sinapians are not aware of his existence. Their innate connection with Descartes lies in the sole use of reason as

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[95] Bacon, pp. 182-83.
[96] Ibid., p. 177.

a universal faculty: 'aunque no tienen noticia de este nombre [Descartes], han conformádose con él por haber consultado la misma razón, que es común a todos'.[97] Just as in Descartes's thinking, the sciences in Sinapia are reduced to logic, medicine and mechanics. Although the science of ethics conceived by Descartes as the last degree of wisdom is not expressly included in Sinapia's institutional system, it is represented in the constant presence of moral virtue in Sinapia's political system. However, interestingly enough, Miguel Avilés remarks that the scribe of the manuscript crossed out the following segment on the list of sciences: 'Moral, que cura las pasiones y vicios y enseña las virtudes. Y ésta nace de la metafísica, dialéctica'.[98] This detail confirms the ideological adherence of Sinapia to the Cartesian axioms.

**The Functions of the Sinapian Language**

To consolidate the unity and equality of Sinapians, it was seen as imperative to achieve linguistic unity. The Sinapian language is a mixture, although not in equal parts, of the languages of the four founding nations: 'La lengua, aunque mezclada de todas las de estas gentes, mucho más participa de la dulzura y simplicidad china y de la elegancia persiana'.[99] The proposal of a universal language is utopian in itself, but it certainly was a key feature of the new order imposed by Felipe V (1700-46) after coming to power in the wake of the War of the Spanish Succession when a policy of Castilianisation was established. If not universal, the use of Spanish in administration, trading and legal actions meant that, at least, Spanish became the most prestigious and widely used language. The aim of the linguistic reform was the extinction of subordinate languages in Spanish colonies and in parts of Spain with their own language, which implied that only Spanish would be spoken. The Crown never completely abandoned its utopian plan to hispanicise the peoples of America and, in fact, the colonial linguistic policy responded to Antonio de Nebrija's classic formulation that 'la lengua fue compañera del imperio',[100] included in his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1492).

The main function of monolingualism is naturally reflected in its convenience for the legal system. In Sinapia, linguistic and political authoritarianism are tied to each other:

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[97] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 128.
[98] Ibid., p. 127.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana*, ed. by Carmen Lozano (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2011), p. 3.

> El libro de las leyes sinapienses, hecho por los tres fundadores de la república y añadido o alterado por las cortes generales de la nación [...] está escrito en purísimo estilo y lengua sinapiense, en verso suelto. Las leyes son breves, claras, sin dar causas ni alegar razones, sino mandando o vedando absolutamente.[101]

The use of free verse to write Sinapia's laws must be regarded not as a desire to achieve an aesthetic effect, but as a plain, memorable, brief and direct style through which orders and prohibitions are issued. However, Miguel Avilés explains that Tartessos, an early civilisation in southern Spain, wrote their laws in verse.[102]

The importance conceded to language is significantly more elaborate in *Sinapia* than in any other utopia. Not only do Sinapians have a culturally hybrid language that they use in their daily lives — 'la lengua vulgar en que hablan y escriben'[103] — but they have created a language to formulate their philosophical ideas:

> han formado artificiosamente una lengua filosófica, acomodada a las ideas simples o compuestas de las cosas, según la observación estudiosa de ellas, no según el uso o antojo de la gente y de ésta usan en la explicación de la naturaleza.[104]

Because everyday language is suspect and easily manipulated, a more reliable and exclusive communication code is needed to transmit ideological or scientific knowledge. This double communication system is applied to Sinapians' writing style. They use Persian characters while paying attention to the linguistic form of words, whereas Chinese writing is preferred when dealing with the content of thoughts:

> Tienen dos maneras de escribir: una, con caracteres arábigos, a la persiana; otra, con símbolos chinos. De ambas usan, pero de la última sólo en inscripciones públicas y en aquellos escritos en que no se atiende tanto a cómo se dice la cosa como a lo que se dice.[105]

It is evident that *Sinapia*'s author is aware of the interrelation between language and political power, as well as of the advantages of linguistic unity in achieving hegemony and dominance. Sinapia's utopian mindset is basically the result of a process of conquest and colonisation, and the introduction of rules and regulations is fundamentally peaceful and gradual: 'primero en una familia; después, en un barrio;

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[101] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 116.
[102] See footnote 141 in *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 116.
[103] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 75.
[104] Ibid., pp. 75-76.
[105] Ibid., p. 76.

luego, en una villa; en una ciudad, etc.'.[106] This non-violent method of submission is mainly due to the religious basis of Sinapia's government and its primary policy of ideological and spiritual conversion:

> No quisieron usar de la violencia, aunque pudieran, así por hacer su gobierno más amable y duradero como porque, siendo el principal intento la conversión verdadera, no juzgaron sería tal la que se procurase por otros medios que los que Cristo usó y mandó usar a sus apóstoles.[107]

The linguistic aspect also underlies the evangelical interests that define the utopian system of Sinapia. The study and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures as well as the teaching of divine wisdom are carefully regulated by the clergy and protected from misinterpretation through their translation into the Sinapian language:

> No puede nadie valerse de otra traducción de la Escritura que de la que hicieron en lengua sinapiense los tres héroes sinapienses, Sinap, Codabend y Siang, aprobada por el primer sínodo y sacada del texto hebreo en el Testamento Viejo y del griego en el Nuevo, de un manuscrito traído de la Persia. Puede cualquiera hacer observaciones críticas sobre esta traducción, pero no publicarlas sin la aprobación del sínodo. Solos los eclesiásticos pueden enseñar la ciencia divina, pero los seglares pueden muy bien estudiarla y escribir sobre ella, pero no dar a luz los escritos sin la aprobación de la Iglesia.[108]

Once again, language and religious legislation find themselves intertwined in an enterprise that seeks to ensure the ideological acceptance of Christianity.

The strictness of language use in Sinapia relates to the radical but apparently effective closed-minded administrative policies of the society. In this regard, *Sinapia* refuses to follow a Christian model like the one used in *Christianopolis*, a utopian community devised by the German theologian Johann Valentin Andreae in 1619.

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[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid., p. 75. Based on the notion of religious conquest, *Sinapia*'s viewpoint is in line with the political project outlined by the Spanish Jesuit Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro in his ambitious work entitled *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas* (1800-05). Hervás was a missionary in New Spain and knew that the complete subjugation of the Spanish colonies was decisive in order for Spain to maintain its imperial status, but more importantly, he believed that the only authorities capable of carrying out a just and successful administration were the bishops: 'La religión, la cual en gran parte ha conquistado las naciones americanas, es la que solamente las puede conservar; y por esto la buena política prescribe que los obispos sean los principales ejecutores de las sabias leyes' (Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas*, 6 vols (Madrid: Ranz, 1800-05), I: *Lenguas y naciones americanas* (1800), p. 151). The Jesuit thinker recognises the political achievements accomplished by the monarchy, but blames the inefficiency or unconstitutionality of its proceedings on the greed and despotism of the secular authorities. Moreover, a knowledge of the native languages of the colonies gave the ecclesiastical magistrates the power to implement an optimal or ideal system of social control.

[108] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 98.

Christianopolis is an ideal state where science and Christian tenets are the key elements of social order and where all citizens are free:

> Three principles stand out in the political and public life of Christianopolis: preserving the peace, equality of citizens, and contempt for large possessions. The practice of these principles guards the state and its citizens against the three greatest evils: war, slavery, and corruption in public affairs.[109]

However, the use of slavery may not be as strong a sign of intolerance as is the ban on foreign contact in Sinapia, as was pointed out above regarding the dynamics of trading strategies.

**Conclusion**

In trying to elucidate the features of Spanish utopianism and its interpretive framework, the discourse of *Sinapia* can be seen as a response to the need to reorganise and improve Spain's existing situation, except in terms of the religious sphere. Its affiliation with a patriarchal social system based on Christianity points to the possibility that the author would have been a priest who defended an active participation of the Church in the running of society. However, despite the support of traditional values, *Sinapia* offers a progressive approach to how the Spanish system can be enhanced by means of an effective development of knowledge and science. The importance given to culture and education turns the republic of Sinapia into a sophisticated civilisation with exemplary Christian citizens.

The unidentified author presents the republic supposedly discovered by Abel Tasman as an alternative and successful model of society. In this ideal nation, the institutions of family, religion and education play a major role in the dynamics of the socio-political system and are key features in enabling the disentangling of the peculiarities of the system of government set out in the text. Patriarchal government is ultimately a reproduction of domestic society — that is, family structure — on a larger scale. In this respect, the notion of a rational Christianity functions as a unifying force in the formulation and interpretation of the ideal republic of Sinapia.

Furthermore, in seeking to relate the anonymous Spanish text to prior historical circumstances, the administration of the Paraguayan Jesuit *reducciones* can be seen as a possible inspiration for the Sinapian model. The discovery of the New World triggered the formation of such an empirical utopia, that is to say, the undercover fictional

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[109] Andreae, p. 35.

representation of a system of practical reforms. In this sense, the anonymous and undated text has been regarded as the most programmatic text of Spanish utopian writing. However, this not especially literary aspect of *Sinapia* should not lead to the assumption that the Spanish nation should live in a continuous present that precluded projecting itself into an ideal future. Regardless of the lack of certainty about its compositional context, *Sinapia* represents a pivotal moment in the progression of Hispanic utopian writing, while at the same time eluding any fixed categorisation within the genre.

Chapter 5

Social Satire and Utopia in the *Suplemento de los viajes*
*de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas*

Terra Australis Incognita, or 'the unknown land of the South', is the name given to a
hypothetical great southern continent that was used in European cartography between
the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. The notion of what is now known as the
continent of Oceania was introduced by Aristotle and based on the hypothesis that the
landmasses of Europe, Asia and North Africa must be balanced by a large continent in
the southern hemisphere. However, despite the geographical knowledge provided by
several expeditions of discovery, such as those of the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman and
the English navigator James Cook,[1] the mythical representation of the Great Southern
Land continued to be a strong utopian and literary setting for European writers until
well into the eighteenth century.

As has been seen in *Sinapia*, Spanish authors were no exception and took
advantage of the old legends of Terra Australis as a framework to create utopian
societies. In this chapter, I will focus on a Spanish work equally representative of the
narrative of imaginary travel to the Great Southern Land, but this time in the second
half of the eighteenth century: the *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país
de las monas* by Gutierre Joaquín Vaca de Guzmán y Manrique. Unlike *Sinapia*'s
structure, which clearly follows More's utopian narrative model, Vaca de Guzmán's text
mostly conforms to the conventions of the imaginary voyage as characterised by
Jonathan Swift in his eighteenth-century satirical text *Travels into Several Remote
Nations of the World. In Four Parts by Lemuel Gulliver*, commonly known as
*Gulliver's Travels* (1726), as will be explained in the analysis below. Nevertheless, it
should not be forgotten that Swift's literary method was noticeably inspired by More's
textual model.

The work consists of four volumes: the initial two, first published in 1769 and
1771 respectively, are a Spanish translation made by Vaca de Guzmán of the original
text published in Italian by Zaccaria Seriman in Venice in 1749 and called *Viaggi di*

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[1] For information about Spanish expeditions to Terra Australis, see David Fausett, *Writing the New
World: Imaginary Voyages and Utopias of the Great Southern Land* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse
University Press, 1993) and Mercedes Maroto Camino, *Exploring the Explorers: Spaniards in Oceania,
1519-1794* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

*Enrico Wanton alle terre incognite australi, ed al paese delle scimmie*,[2] while the last two appeared in 1771 and are entitled *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas*; they are by Vaca de Guzmán himself and not a translation of the additional two volumes published by Seriman supposedly in Bern in 1764.[3] Although the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the nature of Vaca de Guzmán's *Suplemento* considered as a sequel to Seriman's story, an examination of the two translated volumes needs to be made in order to assess the thematic continuity and discontinuity between the narrative by the Italian author and the complementary text by the Spanish imitator.

**The Existing Criticism on Vaca de Guzmán's Work**

The translation and continuation of Zaccaria Seriman's *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton* by Gutierre Vaca de Guzmán struck Pedro Álvarez de Miranda as a complex textual and bibliographical tangle: Vaca de Guzmán published the Spanish versions of the first two volumes of Seriman's work in 1769 and 1771 respectively (the two volumes were originally published by the Italian author in 1749), but instead of translating the two other Italian volumes that appeared in 1764, the Spanish author published his own two-volume continuation in 1771, a date that corrects the year of publication of 1778 that current scholarship on the work had assumed; the subject will be further explored in this chapter. According to Álvarez de Miranda, the two-volume sequel created by Vaca de Guzmán not only ultimately shows the superiority of the Spanish writer's literary skills over those of Seriman, but also attracts the attention of the Spanish audience in directly portraying the reality of Spanish society. Álvarez de Miranda thinks that the original Italian work is not utopian at all, but rather a satirical criticism of social customs. However, he does not indicate whether he believes the same is true for the Spanish supplement to the Italian volumes.[4]

Unlike Álvarez de Miranda, José Escobar and Anthony Percival, the scholars who have studied in greatest detail the *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, consider that Seriman's two final volumes, which describe the land of the *cinocefali* (dog-headed men),

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[2] The full title is *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle terre incognite australi, ed al paese delle scimmie, ne' quali si spiegano il carattere, li costumi, le scienze, e la polizia di quegli straordinari abitanti. Tradotti da un manoscritto inglese, con figure in rame*. The Spanish title is *Viajes de Enrique Wanton a las tierras incógnitas australes y al país de las monas, en donde se expresan las costumbres, carácter, ciencias y policía de estos extraordinarios habitantes. Traducidos del idioma inglés al italiano, y de este al español, por D. Joaquín de Guzmán y Manrique. Con láminas que representan algunos pasajes de la historia*.

[3] An important listing of Seriman's editions and their Spanish translations is included in the Appendix C of Donald Maxwell White, *Zaccaria Seriman (1709-1784) and the Viaggi di Enrico Wanton: A Contribution to the Study of the Enlightenment in Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), pp. 141-49. I will later return to the issue of the editions.

[4] Álvarez de Miranda, 'Sobre utopías y viajes imaginarios en el siglo XVIII español', pp. 370-72.

constitute a utopia that complements the apparent anti-utopia depicted in the land of the monkeys. As to Vaca de Guzmán's two original volumes, the authors regard them as a transformation of the land of the monkeys into a 'near-utopia', in which the unproductive life of the Spanish aristocracy is especially criticised.[5] The subtle satire of customs and manners of Spain is also remarked on by Donald White in his detailed description of the Spanish editions of the *Viaggi*. White realised in 1961 that the Spanish *Suplemento* was then little known and merited detailed study.[6]

Opposing the conventional conception of the *Viajes* as an imaginary travel narrative, Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos conceived of the text in novelistic terms because of the complexity of its narrative structure and the significant intervention of the main characters in the utopian world.[7] A similar opinion was expressed by Elena de Lorenzo Álvarez, who saw the text as a novel, but organised according to the conventions of travel literature. She also related the satire of social customs included in Enrique's fantastic voyage to the thematic literary genre of *costumbrismo*.[8]

Another scholar who has questioned the utopian features of the *Viajes* and their *Suplemento* is Claude Morange, who sees the text as a traditional satire of social life, similar in its moralising tone to Cadalso's *Cartas marruecas,* a work completed in manuscript in the 1770s, but not published until seven years after the author's death, in 1789.[9] Despite his detailed analysis of the idealised rural life in Vaca de Guzmán's *Suplemento*, the ostensible focus of his study, Morange does not recognise the Spanish work as a utopia and proposes to interpret it in the context of the condemnation of Pablo de Olavide by the Inquisition in 1778,[10] the date he incorrectly assumes to be that of the *Suplemento*'s first publication, an opinion that the facts now prove to be

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[5] José Escobar and Anthony Percival, 'An Italo-Spanish Imaginary Voyage: Zaccaria Seriman (1709-1784) and Joaquín Vaca de Guzmán (1733-1808)', in *The Enlightenment in a Western Mediterranean Context* (Toronto: Benben Publications, 1984), pp. 87-96; José Escobar and Anthony Percival, 'Viaje imaginario y sátira de costumbres en la España del siglo XVIII: los *Viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas*', in *Aufstieg und Krise der Vernunft* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf, 1984), pp. 79-94. This second article is a translation of the English one cited first, although it includes a list of the Spanish editions of the *Viajes* that does not appear in the English version.

[6] White, pp. 144-49.

[7] Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, 'Sobre utopías y viajes imaginarios: Gutierre Joaquín Vaca de Guzmán', in *Historia de la literatura española*, ed. by Ricardo de la Fuente, 50 vols [incomplete] (Madrid: Júcar, 1991-97), XXVIII: *La novela del siglo XVIII* (1991), pp. 131-41.

[8] Lorenzo Álvarez, 'Literatura de viajes y utopías', pp. 12-13.

[9] See Nigel Glendinning, 'New Light on the Circulation of Cadalso's *Cartas marruecas* before Its First Printing', *Hispanic Review*, 28 (1960), 136-49.

[10] Claude Morange, 'Variations sur un thème: le monde rural dans le *Suplemento [...] de los viages de Enrique Wanton* (1778)', in *Les voies des Lumières: Le monde ibérique au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. by Carlos Serrano, Jean-Paul Duviols and Annie Molinié (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1998), pp. 79-111.

untenable. As will be argued below, a utopian generic model is clearly identifiable in the two Spanish volumes.

It is important to add that Vaca de Guzmán's translation was well known in the late eighteenth century and also acknowledged by nineteenth-century *costumbristas*, such as Mariano José de Larra[11] and Ramón de Mesonero Romanos.[12] Both writers highlight the importance of the *Viajes* as a portrayal of Spanish customs, as well as the affinity of the text with Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, which will be discussed below.[13] Similarly, the political author and activist José Marchena (1768-1821), whose utopian text was mentioned in the Introduction of this thesis, identified the depiction of Spanish society behind the fictional narrative of the travels of Enrique Wanton:

> A esta clase de escritos se pudieran reducir los viajes que, como el del pretenso *Henrique Wanton al país de las Monas*, esconden bajo la ficción de imaginarios pueblos la pintura de las costumbres, opiniones, leyes y estilos de su propio país.[14]

## The Spanish Translation of Seriman's *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton*

The conceptualisation of the southern continent in Seriman's original work not only resembles the imagined narrative of the discovery of America or that of the Northwest Passage, but also reinforces the depiction of an antipodean world as a suitable fictional space in which to rethink and critically analyse the existing order of things in a specific society.[15] This image of a world turned upside down constitutes the basis for the

[11] Larra refers to the *Viajes* in his review of Mesonero's *Panorama matritense* (1832-35): 'los autores de los viajes de Gulliver, de Wanton *al país de las monas* y otras alegorías semejantes han sido escritores de circunstancias' (Mariano José de Larra, '"Panorama matritense". Cuadros de costumbres de la capital observados y descritos por un Curioso Parlante. Artículo segundo y último', in Mariano José de Larra, *Fígaro: colección de artículos dramáticos, literarios, políticos y de costumbres*, ed. by Alejandro Pérez Vidal (Barcelona: Crítica, 1997), pp. 544-48 (p. 545)).

[12] Mesonero, however, did not know who the author of the text was: 'aunque ignoramos el verdadero autor de los *Viajes de Henrique Wanthon* [sic], y aun si son originales o traducidos, no puede negárseles que reúnen a la novedad del pensamiento la exactitud y gracia en las descripciones, y la delicadeza y finura de la crítica' (Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *Panorama matritense. Cuadros de costumbres de la capital, observado y descritos por un Curioso Parlante*, 3 vols (Madrid: Imprenta de Repullés, 1835-38), I (1835), p. xi). See also Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, 'Memorias de un setentón', in Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *Obras de Ramón de Mesonero Romanos*, ed. by Carlos Seco Serrano, 5 vols (Madrid: Atlas, 1967), V, pp. 1-247 (p. 187).

[13] In a review of the Spanish translation of the anonymous text *Viajes por mis faldriqueras* (1805) in the journal *Efemérides de España*, there is a brief comment that praises Vaca de Guzmán's work and says that it is comparable in quality to *Gulliver's Travels*: 'Teníamos los *Viajes de Gulliver*, imaginación chistosa, original y llena de filosofía; el viaje al *país de las monas* que no le va en zaga' (*Efemérides de España*, No. 20, 14 June 1805, pp. 265-80 (p. 278)).

[14] José Marchena, 'Discurso sobre la literatura española', in José Marchena, *Obras literarias de D. José Marchena (el abate Marchena), recogidas de manuscritos y raros impresos*, 2 vols (Sevilla: Imprenta de E. Rasco, 1892-96), II (1896), pp. 309-408 (p. 353).

[15] For the representation of the antipodes in Terra Australis, see Alfred Hiatt, '*Terra Australis* and the Idea of the Antipodes', in *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, ed. by Anne M. Scott and others (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 9-44.

development of the satirical and utopian components that structure Vaca de Guzmán's work. As a preliminary observation, it should be noted that the fact that the first two volumes are a translation does not imply a lack of creativity on the part of the author. In fact, as various critics have pointed out, the two translated volumes and the two original ones are strategically adapted to the eighteenth-century Spanish context, and they can be regarded as a rudimentary expression of nineteenth-century *costumbrismo* or literature of manners. According to José Escobar and Anthony Percival, the criticism of social customs is comparable to the criticism of a nation and, in that sense, the *Viajes de Enrique Wanton* are ideologically connected with the essayistic literature of Benito Jerónimo Feijoo or José de Cadalso, as well as with essay periodical writing to be found in José Clavijo y Fajardo's *El Pensador*, and Luis García del Cañuelo and Luis Marcelino Pereira's *El Censor*.[16]

Most imaginary voyages written from the seventeenth century onwards share a homogeneous style and manner of composition, something which is noticeable in the conventions of the genre exploited by Seriman in his *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton* and visible in the Spanish version. In this respect, the *Viajes* are fundamentally influenced by Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*[17] in terms both of the literary elements of the story and the satirical perspective that allows a critical reflection on the validity of cultural, social and political institutions. In fact, a review of the opening volume of the first Spanish translation of the *Viajes del Capitán Lemuel Gulliver* that appeared in the *Memorial Literario* in 1794 compared the English text to the *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*:

> La historia de los viajes del Capitán Lemuel Gulliver es una invectiva de la misma especie que los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las Monas, el viaje a la luna de Cirano de Barbeirac [sic], del Saturnino Micromegas y otros.[18]

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[16] Escobar and Percival, 'An Italo-Spanish Imaginary Voyage', p. 88.

[17] The first Spanish translation of *Gulliver's Travels* was made from a French edition by Ramón Máximo Spartal and published over the period 1793-1800. The announcement of the publication of volume 1 of the text can be found in the periodical *Gaceta de Madrid*, No. 103, 24 December 1793, pp. 1353-68 (p. 1367). The coincidence of Swift's four voyages in *Gulliver's Travels* being supplemented by an additional voyage in the French translation is a curious parallel with Vaca's supplement to Seriman's work. See Philip Deacon, 'La novela inglesa en la España del siglo XVIII: fortuna y adversidades', in *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre novela del siglo XVIII*, ed. by Fernando García Lara (Almería: Universidad de Almería, 1998), pp. 123-39 (p. 133). Although Swift's text was a bestseller in Europe, the extent of its impact on Spanish readers is unknown because of the lack of information about the number of copies that were printed of each of the two Spanish volumes (Eterio Pajares Infante, *La traducción de la novela inglesa del siglo XVIII* (Vitoria, Spain: Portal Education, 2010), p. 382).

[18] *Continuación del Memorial Literario, Instructivo y Curioso de la Corte de Madrid*, February 1794, pp. 161-239 (p. 216).

Swift's emblematic novel is primarily a satire on human nature and social behaviour, precisely targeted through the parodic portrayal of the shortcomings of eighteenth-century English society. It can be said, then, that the ironic and subverted social system presented by Vaca de Guzmán echoes not only the enlightened critical attitude of Spanish thinkers towards their nation, but also that of Swift towards England and Western culture.

In a similar way to *Gulliver's Travels*, the story of the *Viajes* begins with a biographical description of Enrique Wanton's family circumstances and life situation. Enrique is an Englishman who, like Lemuel Gulliver, was destined to enter a profession he is not truly interested in, which makes him feel extremely unhappy in his home circumstances. In the attempt to escape from a reality that does not satisfy him, Enrique decides to abandon his homeland and put out to sea on an adventure voyage to the East Indies, during which he meets another young Englishman, a merchant called Roberto who was on a business trip on his father's behalf. A close friendship develops between the two young men, and the relationship of this kind of Cervantine duo consists of that of a master and his pupil. Indeed, after their shipwreck, the imaginary travel account turns into a *Bildungsroman* in which Enrique's instinctive apprehension of the new reality encountered is led by the enlightened guidance of the practical and knowledgeable Roberto. The only belongings salvaged by the two friends are their firearms and some books, elements that symbolise the irruption of Western civilisation into the society they will make contact with. After reaching the shore of a land that they identify as the mysterious region of the southern hemisphere known as Terra Australis, the castaways live on the seashore for several months. However, their fortune changes the day that they accidentally arrive in the country of the monkeys, which is a satirical representation of the peculiarities of the lifestyle of European — Spanish, for the purpose of Vaca de Guzmán's translation — aristocrats and intellectuals. From this moment on, the narration makes it clear that the rational or logical conventions of a consensual worldview are ironically inverted. The two young travellers are treated as exotic and ridiculous creatures in a world dominated by inferior beings:

> ¡Qué bueno era entonces ver a dos hombres nacidos en el país más culto de la Europa, que es por cierto la parte del mundo más cultivada incomparablemente que las demás; qué buena vista, repito, dos hombres sirviendo de materia de juguete a unos animales, que por el contrario, en la común estimación son los más viles y despreciables del universo! Aprendan con este nuestro ejemplo aquellos soberbios genios, de los que no se dignan bajar la cerviz en presencia de aquellos a quienes el cielo ha concedido un estado de vida más lleno de riquezas y honores; aprendan estos a

conformarse de una vez con el orden en el mundo establecido, que es el nervio y basa de la sociedad.[19]

This last sentence not only reaffirms the parodic or, in Bakhtinian terms, carnivalesque nature of the subsequent story, but also makes the axiomatic statement that the pretension to alter the traditional order of social roles and hierarchies should not be pursued. Although this initial principle is not an obstacle to the inclusion of utopian features in the conception of Simiópolis (the capital of the country of the monkeys), it can be argued that, in line with Swift's anthropological perspective, the *Viajes* presuppose the existence of a superior reason as unrealistic. In his letter to Alexander Pope of 29 September 1725, Swift confesses:

> I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities; and all my love is toward individuals [...]. But principally I hate and detest that animal called man [...]. I have got materials toward a treatise, proving the falsity of that definition *animal rationale*, and to shew it should be only *rationis capax*. Upon this great foundation of misanthropy, [...] the whole building of my travels is erected.[20]

By offering a new definition of man not as a rational animal (*animal rationale*), but rather as an animal capable of reason (*rationis capax*), Swift attributes a utopian element to the concept of rationality itself and problematises the value of an abstract understanding of man, as opposed to the concrete crystallisation of the concept in 'individuals'.[21] This critical approach to the teleological justification of mankind can be seen as related to the paradoxical supremacy of a utopian community over its inhabitants for its own sake. In turn, the relegation of individualism in favour of a collective consciousness entails a degree of fuzziness in the way identity is determined.

The confrontation between civilisation and barbarism is constantly referred to by Enrique and Roberto when stating that they have the privilege of being endowed with reason, which is precisely why the monkeys do not trust them. Nevertheless, Roberto

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[19] Zaccaria Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas*, trans. by [Gutierre] Joaquín [Vaca] de Guzmán y Manrique, 2 vols, I (Alcalá: Imprenta de María García Briones, 1769), p. 36.

[20] Jonathan Swift, 'To Mr Pope', in Jonathan Swift, *Epistolary Correspondence. Letters from September 1725 to May 1732* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1824), pp. 3-6 (p. 4).

[21] This standpoint is close to Kant's view of enlightenment in his famous essay 'Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?' (1784). See Immanuel Kant, 'An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment', in Immanuel Kant, *Political Writings*, ed. by Hans Reiss and trans. by H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 54-60.

ironically recognises that the apes[22] also possess the ability to reason and that both species[23] can benefit from the exchange of knowledge and experiences:

> podremos agradarnos unos a otros; porque vosotros, participándonos todo lo bueno y brillante que en estas provincias se goza, conquistaréis en nosotros dos sinceros panegiristas, y os quedaremos muy agradecidos; y nosotros, comunicándoos nuestros conocimientos y todo lo mejor que se practica en la Europa, no seremos de poco provecho a estas provincias, añadiendo a las perfecciones de estos países las maravillas del nuestro.[24]

According to the two Englishmen, the monkeys are aware of their rational condition and fear their potentially dangerous actions: 'Sus confabulaciones [...] proceden del miedo que han concebido de nosotros por habernos demostrado dotados de razón'.[25] In order to minimise the threat that the visitors pose, the monkey-people decide to imprison them. Although the two friends are welcomed at the beginning, the morning after their arrival they awake to find themselves bound in chains in a stable. The monkeys had apparently put a sleep-inducing substance in the drinks offered to Enrique and Roberto. It is obvious that this scene is based on the similar reception experienced by Gulliver in Lilliput.[26] In fact, the monkeys can be compared with the Houyhnhnms or rational talking horses, encountered by Gulliver in his fourth voyage, while the humanoid Yahoos, who are the slaves of the Houyhnhnms, are comparable to Enrique and Roberto. In the same way that the two Englishmen try to be accepted into the world of the monkeys in order to be safe, Gulliver makes every effort to be like the Houyhnhnms, but they see no difference between him and the Yahoos, and sentence him to exile.[27]

If the power of Gulliver lies in his physical superiority over the Lilliputians, the dominant position of the two European travellers resides in their rational faculties and their possession of firearms with which to defend themselves in case their lives are in danger. However, like Gulliver, they do not want to take advantage of their favourable situation, not only because the end of their imprisonment would mean the collapse of the pivotal fictional event in the story, but also because their escape would be

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[22] The terms 'monkey' ('mono') and 'ape' ('simio') are used interchangeably throughout the translated text, including Vaca de Guzmán's continuation.

[23] It should be pointed out that Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, in his monumental work *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (1749-88), formulated a nomenclature for monkeys and apes as part of his definition of species. Buffon rejected any possible lineage between apes and humans.

[24] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, pp. 77-78.

[25] Ibid., p. 37.

[26] Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, edited by Claude Rawson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 17.

[27] Ibid., pp. 205-57.

interpreted as antagonistic to their rational nature. As Roberto explains, as long as they keep together, protected by the wisdom of their friendship, they can remain in captivity without compromising their dignity or their humanity:

> ¿Porque estemos en una caballeriza; porque nos sujeten ridículas monas; porque al pie nos rodeen estas cadenas, hemos perdido por esto el ser hombres? No, amigo; pues aún podemos obrar con entendimiento, y nos es conforme a razón vivir unidos, y gozar del placer de la amistad.[28]

Therefore, not only the act of reasoning in itself, but the knowledge resulting from human interaction prevents Enrique and Roberto from being deprived of their civilised qualities. The importance given to friendship in the *Viajes* reveals the fact that the literary eighteenth century was more intensely concerned with the matter than any previous or subsequent historical period.[29] Friendship and the pursuit of happiness were basic ideals promoted by Enlightenment thinking because they are two motors for human development.[30]

What is relevant to the question of rationality in Vaca de Guzmán's text is the attribution of a superior reason to the two English visitors over that of the monkeys. Since the hierarchical roles between humans and animals have been exchanged, the monkeys are provided with a level of reasoning presumably equivalent to human rationality, but far from giving up their rational condition, Enrique and Roberto are supposed to be vested with a superior rationality. Even in his *Suplemento*, Vaca de Guzmán makes Enrique affirm his superiority and the amusing distraction that the monkeys represent to him: 'como me consideraba de una clase en todo superior, solo me servían de diversión y pasatiempo las demostraciones [of the monkeys] que presenciaba'.[31] This fictional characteristic may be a direct influence of Gabriel de Foigny, who in *La Terre Australe connue* (1676) attributes an extraordinary reasoning ability to his hermaphrodites, the inhabitants of Foigny's austral utopia. In fact, the ideological influence of Foigny's novel has also been noted in the themes and motifs of *Gulliver's Travels*.[32]

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[28] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, p. 42.

[29] See Frederick Gerson, *L'amitié au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: La Pensée Universelle, 1974).

[30] See Anthony Pagden, *The Enlightenment: And Why It Still Matters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 199-203.

[31] [Gutierre] Joaquín [Vaca] de Guzmán y Manrique, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1778), p. 16. The Sancha edition would seem to be the earliest available of volume 3, since no copies are known of the 1771 first edition.

[32] David Fausett, *Images of the Antipodes in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Stereotyping* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), p. 49.

A negative aspect of the presumed benefits of a superior reason is the potential risk of dehumanisation implied in any social system that is ruled by a perfect rationality. Unlike Foigny's Australians who constitute a kind of anti-society governed by a debilitating rationalism and relentless deism, the two English friends do not lack desires or passions; nevertheless, they mould their actions according to the dictates of reason and those of God. The universalising principles of their philosophical doctrine seem to be contained in a book entitled *Ensayos del Señor de Montaña*, an apparent reference to the *Essais* (1580) of Michel de Montaigne,[33] which furnishes Enrique and Roberto with the necessary knowledge to tackle their difficult situation in a place governed by animals:

> La continuación en la lectura que habíamos hecho Roberto y yo [Enrique] en el Señor de Montaña, único libro que tuvimos en la prisión, y alivio de aquellas desgracias, me había despertado la atención a las cosas naturales, y particularmente a las que pertenecen a las acciones de las bestias.[34]

Enrique's cognitive journey comprises, then, not only Roberto's teachings, but also the practical implementation of the wisdom enshrined in a book with an arguably sceptical orientation. The parable-type stories of 'el Señor de Montaña' are meant to instruct and inspire both young men to act in the right way in order to eventually dominate the monkeys and force them to accept their inferiority. The reference to Montaigne can be associated with the fact that his essays focused on the criticism of human behaviour from a sceptical perspective. His essay 'Des cannibales' (1580) is especially applicable to the situation of Enrique and Roberto in that both characters represent the values of the Western world in confrontation with a new civilisation, which in Montaigne's text, already referred to in Chapter 1, turns out to be a utopian characterisation of the New World as an unspoiled space where Europeans could turn their dreams into reality.

The spiritual or religious component is inevitably present in the *Viajes*, as in other Spanish imaginary voyage or utopian accounts published in the eighteenth century. However, in this text in particular, religion acts as a vehicle to ensure the consolidation of the civilising process. Enrique, who has received religious inspiration from Roberto, explains how religion and rationality work together against the uselessness of passions and delusions:

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[33] Montaigne was usually referred to as 'Señor de la Montaña' in Spain, especially by Francisco de Quevedo, who was one of the first readers and admirers of the French philosopher in seventeenth-century Spain.
[34] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, p. 98.

los proyectos contrarios a los preceptos de la religión de cuando en cuando se ponían delante de mis desesperados pensamientos; mas en llegando la pasión a ciertos grados, presto desvanece todos los sentimientos juiciosos, y reincide en los primeros delirios; así se mezclaban mis desesperadas resoluciones y las reflexiones piadosas que iluminaban mi alma en las llamaradas de la razón.[35]

It is interesting to observe the interrelation between spiritual and rational reflections as if they were two sides of the same coin. The application of reason to religion refers to a deistic perspective, but it is the civilising effect of religion that must be associated with its rational attributes. In this sense, it is important to remember that the term 'civilisation' first appeared in 1756 in *L'ami des hommes ou traité de la population* by Victor de Riqueti, Marquis de Mirabeau. According to Mirabeau's vision, religion is the impulse for civilisation because it restrains humanity from vain pleasures: 'La Religion est sans contredit le premier et le plus utile frein de l'humanité: c'est le premier ressort de la civilisation'.[36] Considering the formative and pedagogical function of religion, the spiritual realm can certainly be understood as a fundamental supporting tool for the success of civilisation's progress. As Enrique comments on Roberto's good qualities, the practice of religious virtue surpasses and justifies the others: 'Roberto [...] unía a sus muchas virtudes aquella sin la cual no son más que vanidad las otras, esto es, la de la religión'.[37]

In spite of the fact that there is no explicit mention of the Christian religion, the use of expressions such as 'Providencia', 'Altísimo' and 'Dios' would appear to link the text to the precepts of Christianity, even though such terms also seem perfectly compatible with a deistic outlook. The attitude of the castaways/travellers in commending their lives to God resembles an important element of the traditional narrative of the Spanish conquest of America.[38] Nevertheless, along with a providentialist interpretation of their experiences, Enrique and Roberto acknowledge the intervention of nature in the course of their vicissitudes:

Sea, pues, que por efecto natural debió finalizarse la tempestad; sea que Dios apiadado de nuestra calamidad, y estrechando nuestras oraciones, quisiese oírlas; en poco tiempo cesó absolutamente el dicho viento, y miramos con placer quietas las olas, y sereno el cielo.[39]

[35] Ibid., p. 29.
[36] Marquis de Mirabeau [Victor de Riqueti], *L'ami des hommes ou traité de la population* (Avignon: n.p., 1756), p. 136.
[37] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, p. 19.
[38] See Beatriz Pastor, *Discurso narrativo de la conquista de América: ensayo* (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1983).
[39] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, p. 19.

The reconciliation between the laws of nature and divine law leads Enrique to accept that tolerance is an indispensable civic value when it comes to understanding other customs and ways of living. In other words, different or inferior forms of civilisation must be respected as they are all a creation of God:

> Yo enteramente me había puesto en manos de la Providencia [...], admirando sus operaciones para con las infinitas criaturas de innumerables especies que se hallan esparcidas sobre la tierra. Cuando llegábamos a cualquier país de aquellos en donde son las costumbres tan diversas de las nuestras, y en cuyos pueblos parecen los hombres como de especie diferente de nosotros, ya por el color y configuración del cuerpo, ya por el modo de pensar y pasar la vida; no caía yo en la culpa de aquella vergonzosa e injusta maravilla [...], y que es efecto de una ciega y ambiciosa ignorancia: de aquí es que sabía compadecerme de los yerros que hallaba cerca de las leyes de la humanidad; y sin violencia alababa aquellas costumbres y obras que veía conformes a la razón: huía la necia temeridad de apellidar bárbaro y extravagante a un pueblo, o porque seguía máximas discordes de las nuestras; o porque desterrados el lujo y superfluidades, vivía en una natural simplicidad; o porque los usos, vestidos, mantenimientos, habitaciones y otras cosas semejantes me parecían nuevas.[40]

This extensive quotation is key to the thematic and ideological framework of Vaca de Guzmán's translation: the statement that unfamiliar cultures or peoples should not be misjudged on the basis that they are perceived as new and different. Unknown customs and mental attitudes cannot be labelled barbaric as they are a product of divine Providence or natural laws. To corroborate his assertion, Enrique resorts to a philosophical or anthropological explanation according to which the importance of otherness in defining self-identity and the abolition of self-love are the essential principles to be followed in the eradication of sociological misconceptions:

> no se llega a tal término sin un atento estudio de sí mismo y de los demás: para adquirir esta indiferencia filosófica, no se necesita más que suspender los juicios que produce el amor propio; consistiendo este adelantamiento en deshacerse de aquellas preocupaciones [...] que no tienen otro principio que una temeraria ambición, mediante la cual solo aprobamos las cosas que dicen alguna relación con las nuestras, y desaprobamos las que no la tienen.[41]

However, as Paul Ricœur states in his essay about universal civilisation and national cultures, when we discover that there are several cultures instead of just one and, therefore, when we foresee the end of a kind of cultural monopoly, we feel

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[40] Ibid., pp. 16-17.
[41] Ibid., p. 17.

overwhelmed by a subtle danger that threatens us. We ourselves are an Other among others, and this discovery is never a harmless experience; it rather entails an undesirable process of disillusionment. Thus, the French philosopher logically argues that 'Il n'est pas aisé de rester soi-même et de pratiquer la tolérance à l'égard des autres civilisations; [...] la découverte de la pluralité des cultures n'est jamais un exercice inoffensif'.[42] While this approach provides a sociological critique of cultural encounter, the satirical viewpoint of Vaca de Guzmán's text prevents the English characters from upsetting themselves with the thought that their cultural predominance may be affected by a plurality of civilisations. The superiority of their cultural status is reasserted throughout the entire narration. Ricœur's concept of a universal civilisation originated from the illusion that European culture was a superior and universal one is worth bringing up here:

> la rencontre des autres traditions culturelles est une épreuve grave et en un sense absolument neuve pour la culture européenne. Le fait que la civilisation universelle ait procédé pendant longtemps du foyer européen a entretenu l'illusion que la culture européenne était, de fait et de droit, une culture universelle. L'avance prise sur les autres civilisations semblait fournir la vérification expérimentale de ce postulat.[43]

Ultimately, the philosophical strategy proposed by the *Viajes* relies on the hypothesis that human differences are neutralised when civilisation or humanity is thought of as a universal phenomenon. As Escobar and Percival indicate in this regard,

> travellers of the eighteenth century saw things in universal terms. Beneath the surface differences in habits and customs from country to country, they found in human nature a common denominator. Everything in humanity is different but deep down everything is the same.[44]

In the introductory preface to the first volume of the text, Enrique — presented as the author of the book — implies that he has been a traveller of the world and that his reliable observations enable him to testify that customs are basically similar in their essence, although they vary in the ways of putting them into practice: 'He visto al mundo, le he observado y le he conocido; generalmente son las costumbres semejantes en lo esencial, solo varían en el modo'.[45] His travel experience gives him the authority

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[42] Paul Ricœur, 'Civilisation universelle et cultures nationales', in Paul Ricœur, *Histoire et vérité* (Paris: Seuil, 1964), pp. 274-88 (pp. 277-78).
[43] Ibid., p. 277.
[44] Escobar and Percival, 'An Italo-Spanish Imaginary Voyage', p. 89.
[45] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, p. xi.

to open his European readership's eyes and present the land of the monkeys as a convincing proof that unknown or remote communities do not have to be savage or irrational by definition:

> se podría creer que los países que la naturaleza separó enteramente de nuestro continente, y en los que yo he sido el primer hombre que puso el pie, debieran variar en lo que mira a las costumbres por encontrarse poblados de habitadores que siempre hemos tenido por faltos de razón y entendimiento. [...] Pero mis aventuras me han desengañado, [...] he visto que en todo lugar [...] la naturaleza viciada inclina a obrar lo peor, y que estamos generalmente engañados en el modo de juzgar. El país de las monas, que se tuvo hasta ahora por un ente imaginario, es la prueba que confirma esta verdad.[46]

Misjudgement and disillusionment are the leitmotifs that pervade the *Viajes* and, thanks to Enrique's discovery enterprise, the land of the monkeys transcends its fictional reality to become the irrefutable proof that civilisation expresses itself in various forms throughout the world. Enrique's appraisal of a 'universal civilisation' must derive from Roberto's cosmopolitan worldview, which is expressly pointed out in the text when Roberto defends his theory of the 'citizen of the world':[47]

> El hombre [...] debe considerarse ciudadano del mundo, y no es razón encarcele sus propios afectos en los estrechos términos de una ciudad y de su familia. Nosotros [...], que habitamos sobre la tierra, somos todos hijos de un solo padre, que es Dios; por esto, todos los hombres son hermanos; y cualquier lugar es su patria para aquel que se considera como es en sí, esto es, hombre. [...] La divina bondad no ha limitado sus beneficencias a sola nuestra patria; en todas partes las ha difundido, y a todos los vivientes ha suministrado con abundancia los dones necesarios para la vida, y mil placeres que la hagan deleitable.[48]

It follows from this passage that a cosmopolitan citizen is not only one who believes in a global civil society, but also someone who advocates a common and egalitarian humanity based on the idea of a homogeneous religious community in which all men are members of a single family. A universal citizen, then, is one who sees mankind as a spiritual and physical homeland because they share their condition as men in the first place. Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos correctly interprets the aforementioned passage in

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[46] Ibid.

[47] In 1760, the Anglo-Irish writer Oliver Goldsmith published a series of essays in the journal *The Public Ledger* under the title of *Chinese Letters*. These essays were later collected as *The Citizen of the World* in 1762. It could be thought that this work had some influence on Vaca de Guzmán's text.

[48] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, pp. 8-9.

terms of a utopian project and also stresses the presence of a deistic influence due to the emphasis placed on natural order rather than on the social one:

> La influencia deísta es manifiesta en estas palabras [Roberto's words], que se muestran partidarias de unas relaciones naturales, antes que socializadas y mediatizadas por la familia y la estructura social urbana. En cualquier caso, estas palabras son, a la vez, el reflejo utópico de un proyecto social de igualdad entre todos los hombres.[49]

Even though the notion of a universal community is utopian in itself, the problematic aspect of such an ideal concept resides in conceiving global civilisation not as universal, but rather as uniform. The promotion of a perfectly homogenised civilisation belittles any kind of progress that can be achieved by so-called uncivilised peoples. Brett Bowden highlights this argument when thinking of cosmopolitanism as a form of dystopia:

> an element of danger is inherent in the very idea of a cosmopolitan, globalized, peaceful international society. While this end might sound desirable and the general intent admirable, the pursuit of a "realistic utopia" has very real implications for those peoples and societies that do not measure up or conform to the norm.[50]

Despite the fact that the *Viajes* appeal to the premise that all nations are analogous in terms of the divine nature of their habits, the thorny question of a superior civilisation is concealed by the satirical intention of the author. In the prologue, Vaca de Guzmán defines his translated text as a sharp satire aimed at ridiculing the vices that affect all nations: 'La historia del país de las monas que ofrezco, trasladada del idioma italiano al español, es una aguda sátira que, mezclada de morales documentos, ridiculiza los vicios de que todas las naciones abundan'.[51] In fact, it could be claimed that the depiction of nations as a universal civilisation functions as a narrative strategy to justify the fact that the translation of the Italian original is applicable to the Spanish context: 'Vertió el autor [Seriman] las sales de esta obra con destino a Italia; pero como la mayor parte de los hombres adolece de una misma enfermedad, pueden casi todas surtir su efecto en España'.[52] The fact that the point of convergence that unifies all nations is a very negative one — the idea that most humans suffer from the same follies

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[49] Álvarez Barrientos, 'Sobre utopías y viajes imaginarios', p. 136.
[50] Brett Bowden, *The Empire of Civilization: The Evolution of an Imperial Idea* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 99.
[51] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, p. iii.
[52] Ibid.

— restates the ironic configuration of the text. However, Vaca de Guzmán makes sure that the reader is aware that certain linguistic adjustments have been made to the Italian text in order for the translation to be intelligible to the Spanish audience — in the same way that the Italian translator omitted some expressions of the fictitious English original:

> El curioso que haga cotejo entre la obra y la traducción hallará una u otra cosa omitida, y acaso alguna página entera; porque si el traductor italiano por contemporizar separó (según dice) del original inglés muchas expresiones que no podría tolerar el genio de su nación, a nuestro delicado paladar desazonarían, tal vez, otras que él dejó esparcidas.[53]

Although the Spanish version has frequently been regarded as a satire, its ascription to a specific genre turns out to be problematic. The most accurate description of the text could be an imaginary travel account tinged with utopian, novelistic and satirical elements. Nonetheless, Álvarez Barrientos leans towards the opinion that the *Viajes* is a novel by virtue of the narrative evolution of both Enrique and Roberto: 'Roberto y Enrique cambian a lo largo de la novela, y esto, la evolución de los caracteres, era uno de los presupuestos que se pedía a la narrativa de la época'.[54] In other earlier utopian texts, the visitor barely interacts with the inhabitants of the territory to be explored, and he does not take an active part in their socio-political system. He is a mere observer or witness and, as a result, his way of thinking does not change or evolve in the context of the story. The passive role of the visitor in the utopian country is then not applicable to Enrique or Roberto. Álvarez Barrientos's interpretation is in accord with the fact that Vaca de Guzmán's work can be seen as a *Bildungsroman* or novel of education in which Enrique goes through a process of learning and personal evolution. However, bearing in mind its affiliation with *Gulliver's Travels*, it would be more correct to think of the *Viajes* as a satirical imaginary voyage with a secondary utopian undercurrent.

As a matter of fact, Seriman's *Viaggi* and the several editions of Vaca de Guzmán's translation are included in Philip Gove's list of imaginary voyages, as well as in other catalogues of travel literature. Gove draws attention to the remarks made in 1878 by the Danish scholar Julius Paludan, who finds Seriman's text intolerably prolix and commonplace, especially the moral reflections of the first volume, but he also believes that the romantic element predominates strongly over the satirical. Another

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[53] Ibid., pp. v-vi.
[54] Álvarez Barrientos, 'Sobre utopías y viajes imaginarios', pp. 140-41.

comment featured is the one made in 1825 by the French bookseller and publisher Louis-Gabriel Michaud, for whom the *Viaggi* is the best and only philosophical novel written in Italian: 'l'auteur du meilleur et peut-être du seul roman philosophique que possèdent les Italiens'.[55]

What must be emphasised at this point is that the intellectual discussion about the concept of civilisation in the *Viajes* is meant to be focused on the criticism of social customs, not on political structures. As José Escobar explains, the verbs *civiliser* (to civilise) and *polir* (to polish) have been treated as synonyms since their appearance in the French dictionaries of the seventeenth century.[56] The refinement of manners is of course susceptible to being reinforced by the intervention of religion in social life, as Mirabeau posits: 'elle [religion] nous prêche et nous rappelle sans cesse la confraternité, adoucit notre cœur, éleve notre esprit'.[57] After all, *civiliser*, *polir* and *adoucir* are conceived as interrelated actions. In the Enlightenment period, then, the new meaning of civilisation was closely related to a refinement of social behaviour:

> La acción de refinar y mejorar las costumbres de un pueblo se entiende [...] como progreso de la moral social, expresión ideológica de una nueva moralidad ilustrada y revolucionaria. Es una acción moral dirigida al perfeccionamiento de la sociedad civil a lo largo del desarrollo histórico de la humanidad. [...] Es decir que el concepto dieciochesco de *civilisation* se construye sobre la base semántica establecida por las virtudes civiles propias de la nueva sociedad burguesa.[58]

Before giving examples of the customs satirised in the *Viajes*, it is worth mentioning that the topic of Terra Australis Incognita does not act as a backdrop to the development of the story. It is a mere excuse to introduce the idea of a world turned upside down, which is the necessary backdrop for social criticism. After their shipwreck, the initial geographical observations that Roberto and Enrique make are carried out in conformity with modern practical methods and lead them to suppose that they have reached the antipodes in Terra Australis, but the purpose of their explorations does not transcend into the fictional domain of their experiences. As Suzanne Kiernan points out, 'Seriman's book [...] has nothing at all to do with actual antipodean travel

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[55] Philip Babcock Gove, *The Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction* (London: Holland Press, 1961), p. 316.
[56] José Escobar, 'Más sobre los orígenes de *civilizar* y *civilización* en la España del siglo XVIII', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 33 (1984), 88-114 (p. 89). See also 'The Defense of Civilization' in Pagden, pp. 204-46.
[57] Mirabeau, p. 136.
[58] Escobar, pp. 90-91.

and exploration in the South Pacific'.[59] This kind of incoherence may be due to the fact that, at the time in which Seriman was writing his story, the southern hemisphere had emerged from classical myth and mythical geography and could scarcely be thought of any longer as *incognita*. In any case, Seriman's work combines two themes that appear together in other imaginary voyages of the Enlightenment period: the fictional location of Terra Australis Incognita and the arrival of travellers in a republic of apes or other animals. To give a couple of relevant examples of this thematic tradition, we should mention *Songes philosophiques* (1746) by Jean Baptiste de Boyer — a clear forerunner of the *Viaggi* — and *La découverte australe par un homme-volant* (1781) by Rétif de la Bretonne. As is the case with the writing of Aesopic fables during the Enlightenment period, the objective behind the use of animals to criticise social behaviour involves a didactic intention with regard to the culture and society of the time.

Another noteworthy factor is the peculiar satirical technique employed in the *Viajes*. Vaca de Guzmán, naturally, reappropriates Seriman's narrative technique, which consists of a game of identity and difference, that is, a world where the alienation of the Other is the condition required to make a subtle satirical instrument work. A strange and ironic reciprocity connects visitors and natives. As Kiernan asserts regarding the Italian version, 'In their manners, fashions, and social organization, the apes who are the dominant race in these Antipodes are recognizable as Seriman's compatriots'.[60] That is to say, the circumstances of humans and apes are exactly the same in their respective ontological contexts, but this is precisely the reason why they reject each other. While Enrique and Roberto take an estranged view of their simian counterparts, the apes similarly regard them as monstrous. Their human appearance excites derision, fear and contempt. In a sense, the encounter between the two species replicates the typical response of Europeans to the primitive in the long age of exploration. In line with this view, Escobar and Percival formulate the concept of 'satirical perspectivism' to explain Enrique's ingenuousness in the face of scenes and happenings that are repeatedly presented as if they were extravagant. Confronted with what seems to be strange to him, Enrique is warned by Roberto not to be surprised by follies that are as likely to be found in the country of the monkeys as anywhere else in the world:

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[59] Suzanne Kiernan, 'The Exotic and the Normative in *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle Terre Australi Incognite* by Zaccaria Seriman', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 26 (2002), 58-77 (p. 61).
[60] Ibid.

> La perspectiva satírica de los *Viajes de Enrique Wanton* surge de la asombrada ingenuidad de Enrique que contempla las escenas de costumbres y lo que ocurre normalmente como si fueran raras y extravagantes al verlas representadas por actores extraños que invierten la normalidad. Las acciones habituales de los humanos, al ser ejecutadas por los monos, se ridiculizan. [...] En una sociedad alegóricamente simiesca, los raros son los dos seres humanos que aparecen en ella de no se sabe dónde.[61]

Indeed, Enrique and Roberto acknowledge their hostile role of invaders in a world that parodies their own cultural conventions. However, they remain passive intruders who do not interfere with a reality that could easily be subverted by relying on their presumed superiority because doing so would mean perpetrating an act of uncivilised violence. They need to recover their liberty so urgently that they degrade themselves in trying to imitate their antagonistic compatriots; in fact, their impersonation is so astonishing that they begin to be called 'dos monos del otro mundo'.[62] Roberto and Enrique's plan is to become famous across the simian nation, so that a rich monkey-citizen can be interested in buying them and, as an involuntary consequence, release them not only from their prison, but also from the inhuman treatment received from their provincial and savage captors. They will unfortunately find out that there is no actual difference between the monkeys of the city and those of the provinces.

Following the traditional tactic used by European colonisers, the two visitors — in spite of being primarily prisoners — ingratiate themselves with the monkeys by learning the simian language, in contrast with which the English language is called 'idioma natural'.[63] This also echoes Gulliver's learning of several imaginary languages during his travels. Alleging the ridiculous nature of the language of the monkeys, Enrique excuses himself from not providing a grammatical description of this new language, as all travellers do in every place they visit. However, this can actually refer to the ostentatious erudition of studying foreign grammars and customs:

> Debiera aquí hacer una descripción del idioma de estos naturales, según la costumbre de todos los viajeros; pero tengo muchas causas para omitir esta afectada explicación, y la mayor de ellas es porque no creo se halle persona en Europa que desee aprender la lengua de las monas, que sería un ridiculísimo golpe de erudición.[64]

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[61] Escobar and Percival, 'Viaje imaginario y sátira de costumbres en la España del siglo XVIII', p. 86.
[62] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, p. 53.
[63] Ibid., p. 108.
[64] Ibid., p. 47.

Only when the two Europeans are able to prove to their hosts/captors that they are rational animals — most of all after their acquisition of the simian language — are they released from their detention in the stable and allowed to circulate freely in society, subsequently making their way to the capital, Simiópolis, and ultimately into the social circle of the prime minister. He tells them a long tale about his youthful travels to the kingdom of the parrots and the empire of the frogs, undertaken in the spirit of the Grand Tour and in the company of his tutor and his dancing teacher. In a metanarrative attempt to recreate the immediate circumstances in which Enrique and Roberto find themselves, the moral of the tale is that, when abroad, it is wisest to conform to the customs of the locals if one wants to be socially accepted and ideally obtain some benefits: the tutor in rhetoric learned to parrot so fluently that he was offered a chair in philosophy and the dancing instructor was a success among the frogs. According to the minister, it is of no use to try to impose one's own beliefs and values on a foreign society; it is better to naturally and temporarily adapt oneself to local conditions rather than trying to alter them:

> No os molestaré, señores, contándoos mil particularidades y curiosos acaecimientos de nuestro viaje; basta saber que llegamos a vernos salvos en esta ciudad, bien satisfecha la curiosidad de viajar, y castigada la locura de querer sobresalir en aquellos parajes, en donde la distinción no conduce más que a los peligros y al último exterminio.[65]

In the hope that they will return safely to their homeland, the two Englishmen are certainly aware of the effectiveness of the minister's advice and conform to simian practices, although they seem unnatural and irrational to both of them, who pride themselves on coming from the most civilised nation.

Throughout the four Spanish volumes, a concern with contemporary manners and customs is evident, as well as the programmatic purpose of demonstrating the dangers that an extreme refinement can pose to civil society. This aspect can be noticed in the description that Roberto gives of a rich monkey-lady who has the intention to buy him and Enrique as servants and to whom they have been recommended by Oliva, the female monkey who acts as their master and ally (she is the one who teaches them the simian language and who tells them what they want to know about simian society):

> ¡Oh, cuánto más afortunada sería aquella loca si, en vez de los ricos vestidos y joyas que adornaban su cuerpo, estuviera su espíritu dotado de aquella preciosa luz de razón que excede a todos los dones de la fortuna! Nos

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[65] Ibid., p. 175.

> dijisteis [Oliva] en otra ocasión que esta era una señora de circunstancias, educada con la buena crianza y cultura de la corte y la ciudad; pero si el comercio civil entre vosotros no sirve de más que de aumentar la estupidez en los entendimientos, yo antepongo, sin disputa, vuestras débiles luces a los presumidos conocimientos de estos vuestros insensatos ciudadanos.[66]

Roberto's first impression of the lady was to insult her frivolous and arrogant personality: Oliva's refined friend should be more concerned with the cultivation of her intellectual faculties than with the sophistication of her external appearance, which is reflected in her pretentious clothing and jewellery. Instead of showing off her wealthy apparel, she should brag about the richness of her enlightened knowledge — if only she possessed such a virtue. This passage of the text seems to allude to the Spanish popular saying 'Aunque la mona se vista de seda, mona se queda' ('Although a monkey be dressed in silk, she is still a monkey'), which is included in the *Diccionario de autoridades*.[67] Regardless of whether or not Seriman was aware of this proverb, it is very likely that Vaca de Guzmán knew it well.

The crucial element to be highlighted here is the distinction between urban dwellers — who live in Simiópolis, the capital — and those who live in the country. On the basis of Roberto's argument, the apes of the peripheral regions are negatively influenced and corrupted by the monkey-people of the metropolis. Thus, the internal trade of customs and values is not beneficial at all, which proves the degenerating effect of allegedly more civilised manners on a space predominantly ruled by a natural consciousness. In turn, the deplorable cultural state of the urban centre is the result of the preference for the application of foreign knowledge in the field of the arts and sciences. The disdain for the local potential and the doubt about the possibility to generate better and more valuable material and intellectual capital lead simian society to its self-destruction:

> Se ha introducido entre los Simiopolitanos el fanatismo de no dar estimación sino a las cosas que vienen de lejos. Los profesores de las ciencias, que se aprenden en esta ciudad, no tienen mérito; para que sean estimados, es necesario que vengan de países extranjeros, y a proporción de la distancia de nuestra patria crece la reputación que de ellos se forma: no se cree poder hallar artífices excelentes sino fuera de estos dominios; lo propio se entiende de músicos, pintores y de todos aquellos que se emplean en cualquier ciencia, o arte liberal o mecánico. Esta necedad se extiende a todas las cosas; [...] el dinero sale del estado, que por consiguiente se va

[66] Ibid., p. 65.
[67] *Diccionario de autoridades*, IV, p. 594.

empobreciendo; y entretanto los forasteros se ríen y triunfan de nuestra ignorancia.[68]

Taking into account the fact that the land of the apes is the satirised version of Spanish (or Venetian, in the original) society, the indiscriminate assimilation of foreign habits referred to in the passage above alludes to the unnecessary influence from other apparently superior European countries, and from England in particular.

There are a few episodes in Vaca de Guzmán's text that directly establish the parallel between Spanish/English (European in the end) customs and their parodic reflection, such as the episode of Madama Betónica, who praises not only the similarities between European and ape-like women, but also the fact that the plebeians follow the customs and fashion of the nobles, who must always be a social model for them:

> Mucho me agrada, añadió Madama, que las mujeres tengan el exquisito gusto de las monas, y no desapruebo la conducta de la plebe, que sigue las ideas de la nobleza; pues esta debe ser siempre el modelo de las operaciones de aquella.[69]

In view of Enrique's bewilderment at the nonsensical reproduction of the same vain customs in England and the nation of the monkeys, Madama Betónica explains that it is perfectly logical that the same rational and praiseworthy customs are put into practice in different countries, even without having news of their existence among each other, because rational thinking is a universal and innate faculty:

> aquel uso debe creerse sabio y racional, que es generalmente abrazado por todas las naciones, y no pudiera ciertamente haberse puesto en la cabeza a las señoras de vuestro país el imitarnos en tan útil invento, sin conocernos, si la naturaleza, la verdad y la razón no las hubiera suministrado la idea.[70]

Enrique, of course, disapproves of what Madama Betónica means by 'rational'. Actually, the definition becomes complicated when Enrique notes that European women pierce their ears to wear earrings, which the female monkeys do not do; they do wear earrings, but they do not alter their bodies for the sake of beauty because 'aún no las había podido persuadir la vanidad a que se agujereasen su propia carne para parecer

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[68] Zaccaria Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas*, trans. by [Gutierre] Joaquín [Vaca] de Guzmán y Manrique, 2 vols, II (Madrid: Imprenta de Pantaleón Aznar, 1771), pp. 152-53.
[69] Ibid., p. 158.
[70] Ibid., pp. 158-59.

más bellas'.[71] This European custom, then, could be seen as a retrogressive attack against civilisation, which swaps the roles between monkeys and humans, and makes the latter look like barbarians. At the same time, since Enrique adds that the European custom of ear piercing resembles the practice of nose piercing by Indian women in order to wear precious metals, this anecdote confirms Madama Betónica's 'theory' that 'rational' customs are universal. However, Europeans judge those Oriental women to be savages without realising that they carry out the same practice, which is incisively condemned by Enrique, who complains about their inability to recognise themselves in other cultures: '¡Oh, qué fácil es desaprobar y escarnecer en otros nuestros mismos defectos, y dar título de bárbaras a aquellas propias costumbres que entre nosotros llamamos civilización y política!'.[72] It needs to be pointed out that Vaca de Guzmán translates the Italian word 'coltura'[73] as 'civilización',[74] not as 'cultura'.

The satire of the coffee house can be regarded as another important criticised custom of eighteenth-century Europe. From Enrique's perspective, the coffee house is presented as an enigmatic place frequented by a great variety of monkeys. Coffee ('aquel amargo y negro licor')[75] makes Enrique feel nauseated, and he later learns that it is a popular drink among the monkeys, who gather at the coffee house to basically waste their time in fruitless conversations: 'En estos lugares se enlazan algunas amistades, se tratan negocios de entidad, y suceden muchísimas extravagancias'.[76] The institution of the coffee house as a regular place of meeting was a literary theme that generally appeared in the eighteenth-century Spanish press, although it features even more prominently in the English essay-periodicals of the early eighteenth century.[77]

Thus, the criticism of customs is one of the ideological means of expression by which the enlightened intellectual minority in Spain fulfilled its ambition of reforming the ways of life of a society that claimed to be sunk in a state of national decadence. The new concept of civilisation based on customs and manners is essential to the structure of the *Viajes*, whose multiple reprints and wide circulation imply its

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[71] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, p. 59.
[72] Ibid., pp. 59-60.
[73] Zaccaria Seriman, *Delli viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle terre australi*, 4 vols (London: Tommaso Brewman, 1772), I, p. 66.
[74] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, p. 60.
[75] Ibid., p. 134.
[76] Ibid., p. 133.
[77] For the subject of English coffee houses and their link to periodicals, see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), pp. 34-40.

popularity and favourable reception among Spanish readers of the period.[78] While Donald White and Philip Gove describe five editions of Vaca de Guzmán's work between 1769 and 1831,[79] José Montesinos adds an edition published in 1846 — which is also recorded by Francisco Aguilar Piñal[80] — and a later one in 1871.[81] Not only did the two translated volumes benefit from a positive reception, but the two-volume sequel created by Vaca de Guzmán also received a notable response from readers, which turned the work into an important Spanish bestseller.[82]

**The Contribution of the *Suplemento***

Although the conventional date of the first edition of the *Suplemento* has been that of 1778, printed by Antonio de Sancha in Madrid, there is material evidence that volume 4 (the second part of the supplement) was first published in 1771, although the name of the printer is not given on the title page.[83] Catalogues of libraries in Madrid, Zaragoza, Oviedo, Tarragona and Pamplona record the 1771 edition of volume 4, but copies of volume 3 published in the same year have not so far been located. However, it can be assumed that both volumes were printed at the same time, possibly by Sancha. What needs to be stated is that Vaca de Guzmán's work was complete before 1771, when volumes 2, 3 and 4 were published. In fact, censorship documents consulted by Álvarez Barrientos at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid indicate that the two translated volumes were written by 1768,[84] which would clearly link Vaca de Guzmán's text with the satirical social thrust of works of the period such as *El Pensador*, the influential literary periodical of the 1760s.

Furthermore, it can be argued that the author seemed to be in control of his text, deciding who should print it and making it clear right until 1785 that the bookshop of Bernardo Alberá sold it, possibly exclusively. A relevant point that would support this view is that Vaca de Guzmán presumably owned the plates that were used to provide engravings in the later editions and made them available to each printer. These illustrations, produced by the Spanish engraver José Patiño, represent scenes from the

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[78] The *Gaceta de Madrid* advertised the publication of volume 1 in No. 32, 8 August 1769, pp. 257-64 (p. 264), volume 2 in No. 44, 29 October 1771, pp. 371-82 (p. 382), volume 3 in No. 9, 3 March 1778, pp. 77-88 (p. 88) and volume 4 in No. 35, 30 April 1779, pp. 293-300 (p. 300).

[79] White, pp. 141-49; Gove, pp. 314-15.

[80] Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII*, 10 vols (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1981-2001), VIII (1995), pp. 237-38.

[81] José F. Montesinos, *Introducción a una historia de la novela en España en el siglo XIX* (Valencia: Castalia, 1972), p. 246.

[82] Apart from the multiple Spanish editions, Seriman's first volume was translated into Portuguese and published in Lisbon in 1799. It seems that the *Viaggi* were not translated into other major languages.

[83] Only information about the bookshop is provided: 'se hallará toda la obra en casa de Bernardo Alberá'.

[84] Álvarez Barrientos, 'Sobre utopías y viajes imaginarios', p. 134.

narrative and present humanised simians dressed in eighteenth-century clothes, but they are not as numerous as the plates that appeared in the Italian version (more than thirty in some editions); in fact, the two volumes of the Spanish supplement have only two engravings each, but they illustrate significant moments in the story.

Vaca de Guzmán boasts about the success of his translation at the beginning of his *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas*, a work of his own authorship. It was the reception of his two-volume translation of Seriman's text that encouraged him to compose the sequel to the Italian author's *Viaggi* in two more volumes:[85]

> El favor que hizo el público a mi traducción del primero y segundo tomo de los Viajes de Wanton al País de las Monas, y las continuas instancias de mis amigos estrecharon de modo a mi reconocimiento que no he perdonado trabajo ni solicitud alguna dentro y fuera de España para el logro de la prosecución de la obra que quedaba pendiente.[86]

The Spanish author disregards the continuation to the story of the land of the apes written equally in two volumes by Seriman, which consists of Enrique's visit to the land of the dog-headed people, and instead substitutes his own satire of the customs and manners of Spain for Seriman's alternative story. The author's friends — Monsieur Riregüet (an anagram of Gutierre) and Doctor Boicocéfalo ('cabeza de vaca' in Greek), that is, the fictional splitting of Gutierre Vaca de Guzmán into two characters — defend the publication of his story claiming that the Italian author was not able to get a copy of Enrique's manuscript describing the continuation of his travels to the land of the apes, but instead he found a manuscript with Enrique's adventures in the country of the dogs:

> el tercero y cuarto tomo de la referida obra no son la prosecución de los Viajes de Wanton al País de las Monas; [...] los manuscritos y borradores

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[85] It is interesting to note that, in a comparable case, the French philosopher Denis Diderot wrote his *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* inspired by Louis Antoine de Bougainville's *Voyage autour du monde* (1771). Diderot's text was written in 1772, but officially and posthumously published in 1796. The full title is *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 this philosophical dialogue, often read as a primitive utopian text because of its description of Tahiti as a 'natural' society, Diderot emphasises the necessity of eradicating all actions contrary to moral principles by means of exile and slavery: 'Nous avons des vieilles dissolues qui sortent la nuit sans leur voile noir et reçoivent des hommes lorsqu'il ne peut rien résulter de leur approche; si elles sont reconnues ou surprises, l'exil au nord de l'île ou l'esclavage est leur châtiment' (Denis Diderot, *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (Rosny-sous-Bois: Bréal, 2002), p. 72). Diderot questions not only the goodness of nature, but also the very concept of nature, which he defines as a referent in a state subject to constant change. This Heraclitean view of the natural world releases human nature from being judged as intrinsically good or bad and, consequently, it is deemed as incongruous with any policy of moralising.
[86] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero*, p. iii.

nuestros son los originales, [...] tal cual los has trabajado, debes darlos al público en agradecimiento del favor con que te distingue.[87]

Combining historical facts and literary fiction, Vaca de Guzmán, in the introduction to his third volume, makes reference not only to the anonymous publication of the Italian original, but also to the peculiarity that his sequel to the *Viaggi* is equally based on a (fictional) manuscript of Enrique himself, called *Apuntaciones y borradores pertenecientes a mis Viajes al País de las Monas*, and to the fact that his two *Suplementos* were finished before he was informed of the (real) existence of the other two Italian volumes, published in 1764 and entitled *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle terre incognite australi, ed ai regni delle scimmie, e dei cinocefali, nuovamente tradotti da un manoscritto inglese*. However, as Vaca de Guzmán argues, this unexpected discovery is no reason for him not to publish his own text.

To support his argument of the convenience of dismissing Seriman's satire about the realm of the cynocephali, the Spanish author goes into the detailed and complex explanation that the Italian continuation suffers from some incongruities, which is not the case with his Spanish version since it is based on 'el verdadero original, escrito de mano del mismo viajero, aun en los propios borradores y apuntaciones que tenía prevenidos para poner en limpio y que, impedido por algún accidente, no pudo ejecutar'.[88] The fictional strategy of writing following the primary source of Enrique's travels destroys Seriman's strategy of the found original English manuscript: 'Es cierto que el traductor italiano citado se lisonjea de que su obra está copiada por el original que encontró por acaso en poder de un suizo [...]; pero no tenemos duda de que se engañó miserablemente'.[89] However, irrespective of his advantageous position to offer a more reliable narration, Vaca de Guzmán adopts a cautious attitude towards the possible negative reception of his two new volumes, which explains the use of the word *Suplemento* in the title pages to both of them:

> no he dudado en trabajar en dicha obra con cuanto cuidado he podido, arreglándome lo posible al estilo que en los tomos antecedentes sigue su docto autor, y no alterando en un ápice las noticias de los dichos borradores; pero, por si la delicadeza de los paladares de algunos lectores melindrosos no halla estos tomos con tanta sazón como los anteriores, he usado en el frontispicio de la obra del defensivo de la voz *Suplemento*.[90]

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[87] Ibid., pp. xv-xvi.
[88] Ibid., p. viii.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., p. vi.

Vaca de Guzmán's third and fourth volumes certainly attempt to imitate Seriman's writing style, but it is less easy to claim that they function as a supplement to the other two books. The *Suplemento*'s chapters are normally double the length of the *Viaggi*'s. Vaca de Guzmán's linguistic style is mostly fluent and confident. He uses popular sayings: 'Es el amor ciego',[91] 'Los guapos y el buen vino duran poco, dice un adagio vulgar',[92] 'meter la hoz en mies ajena',[93] 'para que pasen lo blanco por tinto, y compren gato por liebre'.[94] He even appears to use neologisms, such as 'hoidiarista'[95] to describe old people who praise the past and condemn the present time ('hoy día'). Volume 4 seems more fluent in technique than volume 3: whereas volume 4 maintains the constant novelty that a good text requires if it is to maintain the continued attention of the reader, volume 3 can often seem less engaging. The use of dialogue in the text is minimal; rather, the reader is subject to extensive expositions of ideas or principles. Vaca de Guzmán's is an intellectual work, one that draws the reader in. It seems that the author expects the reader to share many of the points of view argued for in the text, but ultimately readers are allowed to form their own judgements. In this sense, Vaca de Guzmán uses a technique that is common to the novel, an aspect that makes the text seem more modern to a reader today.

In line with the connection of the *Viaggi* with the Swiftian tradition, the *Suplemento* includes paratextual references to Spanish satirists in the epigraphs of each volume: the poets Jorge Pitillas, pseudonym of José Gerardo de Hervás (?-1742), and Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola (1559-1613), which implies the relationship of the text to the Spanish satirical tradition. The two previous translated volumes contained epigraphs by Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645) and Juan Gregorio Morillas Osorio (?-1599). However, Vaca de Guzmán also explicitly refers to Thomas More in volume 3, in a letter in which Roberto explains to Enrique that the soul is always free and productive when the body has been confined to prison: 'No adquirió tanto crédito para con patricios y extranjeros el incomparable Thomás Moro entre las felicidades de su libertad como entre los horrores de su prisión'.[96] This would seem to assert that Vaca de Guzmán saw his text as in the utopian generic tradition and was convinced of the importance of reminding the reader of that link. He experiments most effectively with

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[91] Ibid., p. 25.
[92] Ibid., p. 167.
[93] Ibid., p. 224.
[94] [Gutierre] Joaquín [Vaca] de Guzmán y Manrique, *Suplemento, o sea tomo cuarto y último de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1778), p. 23.
[95] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero*, p. 135.
[96] Ibid., p. 191.

the utopian model as he keeps the inherited framework, but his authorial originality is evident in his handling of details. In fact, the Spanish author has the ingenious idea of making Enrique travel around the country of the monkeys allowing him to undergo a variety of experiences, which might be regarded as a modernised idea of utopia. As will be seen below, Enrique's tour reveals that the country is not uniform because different provinces each seem to have their own character, as is evident in their practices. Although Vaca de Guzmán keeps up the pretence of depicting another world at all times, the acute reader can easily apply the social criticism to Spain and perceive possible equivalences. Despite the fact that Enrique's story is originally intended for a reader back home in England, the vision presented in the *Suplemento* can be allowed to reflect back on Spain.

Vaca de Guzmán and Seriman are distinguishable in the way in which the approach to society is treated. Although it is true that the criticism of European customs is a constant throughout the four Spanish volumes, the last two strengthen the critical approach to civilised moral and social codes by portraying the developing friendship between Enrique and Tulipán, the youngest son of Enrique's protector in the land of the apes. Building on Seriman's critical representation of social aspects of the country of the monkeys, Vaca de Guzmán strongly underlines the ethical dimension of simian society through substantial discussion by Enrique of the inhabitants' social behaviour (*costumbres*), while Roberto is presented as being concerned with the political aspects of this society.

Enrique is usually a trustworthy witness, although he can occasionally be led astray by Tulipán. He is an acute and ostensibly reliable observer of many social foibles and always seems concerned to get to the bottom of matters and discover the truth without prejudice, but he maintains his moral focus and makes judgements on the behaviour he witnesses. Although he reveals himself as a constant thinker, his human fallibility is evident in that he can sometimes fall into traps that he regrets having succumbed to in retrospect. As Vaca de Guzmán allows Enrique to be flawed or fallible, he becomes more credible to the reader. The author even allows him to appear to reflect on his own behaviour, in addition to letting Roberto criticise his actions:

> Por más despejadas que posea el hombre las luces de su entendimiento, si le falta la guía de la experiencia, y la docilidad para oír el dictamen del que desinteresado le aconseja, o ciego con las tinieblas de su amor propio, o deslumbrado con el falso brillo de la apariencia de las cosas, irá encadenando errores a errores hasta dar en el último precipicio. Aquel entendimiento, que como diamante sin pulir había yo sacado oscuro de mi

casa, fue poco a poco descubriendo sus fondos a fuerza del continuo trabajo, y cuidado, con que le había ido abrillantando Roberto.[97]

Moreover, the sophisticated personality that Enrique projects can be seen as close to the potential reader, who the author hopes will be influenced by the same set of experiences of life as Enrique has in another country with a somewhat, though not very, different culture.

Although social structures are configured in the text, the Spanish author is more interested in actual behaviour, placing the emphasis on individuals' free choice as to how to behave. In this sense, the author contrasts good behaviour with bad according to the topic he is dealing with. While sometimes the satire is so strong as to stretch credibility, at other times it is clear that Vaca de Guzmán seems to portray genuine first-hand experience and appears to be describing what he sees accurately and without exaggeration. Thus, the *Suplemento* is wide-ranging in the aspects of society that it covers, such as life at court, extravagance (especially luxury spending, which is also present in the provincial capitals that Enrique visits), how the legal system operates, social types (such as *pretendientes* and *petimetres*), how education functions, what activities universities engage in, false beliefs (in the influence of eclipses or in ghosts), social gatherings (or *tertulias*), the behaviour of a nobility obsessed with rank and privilege, noble ancestry, idleness and hard work, among other characteristics. This survey of a social system as it evolves results in a detailed picture of the new society explored by Enrique. The reader is not informed that specific socio-political structures are in existence as a scenario for human action as is the case in *Sinapia*. Vaca de Guzmán describes a society that seems to have changed over time and has now reached the stage of development that his text carefully describes:

> Yo os diré, Enrique, respondió Roberto, lo que siento acerca de ese asunto: he tenido curiosidad de investigar cuidadosamente el estado que en estas provincias tuvieron en otros tiempos las ciencias y, comparándole con el que hoy día tienen, he hallado que no es mucha la diferencia; si nuevamente se han hecho algunos útiles descubrimientos, de los más se debe la luz a lo que dejaron escrito los antiguos.[98]

The satirical construction of the land of the apes comprises a metropolitan, a cosmopolitan and a parochial outlook. The systematic rupture between the centre and the periphery in the simian country is especially depicted in the character of Tulipán, a

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[97] Ibid., p. 25.
[98] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

young monkey-apprentice and son of one of the principal citizens, who sheltered Roberto and Enrique in his palace after they were released from their imprisonment. While Seriman's third and fourth volumes concentrate on life in Simiópolis, Vaca de Guzmán's continuation deals with the journey undertaken by Enrique and Tulipán along the roads of various regions of the country. The relationship between Enrique and Tulipán reproduces not only the 'didactic friendship' between the former and Roberto, but also the leitmotif of travel as a cognitive and educational instrument. However, it is Enrique who benefits most from this new instructional journey. Tulipán is the tool used to improve Enrique's observations of the Simiopolitans because he can witness their natural interaction with his young friend; that is why, in order to fully succeed in his role of anthropological observer, Enrique takes advantage of his friendship and of the fact that the young monkey confides in and completely depends on him:

> sin su amistad y compañía no podría yo tener un conocimiento tan exacto; él ha sido el único medio de mi instrucción en este punto; [...] para lograr mis intentos no podía menos de irme estrechando en su amistad, y para esta intimidad era fuerza seguirle y acompañarle adonde violentamente he sido muchas veces conducido; él me ha fiado enteramente su corazón; nada sabe ya emprender, ni aun dar un paso sin mí.[99]

According to Escobar and Percival, Tulipán is a representative figure of a Simiopolitan young man corresponding to what the Spanish satirical writers of the eighteenth century called the *petimetre* (a word derived from the French expression *petit maître*). The concept suggests 'the aping of foreign ways typical of these characters, their vain superficial enslavement to the dictates of fashion and their complete lack of moral depth'.[100] In Enrique's words, these members of the aristocracy can be characterised as follows:

> no son buenos para otra cosa que para ir de estrado en estrado trayendo y llevando chismes con otros como ellos; para andar de baile en baile, donde sueltan los diques a su desenfreno; para marchar por esas calles con el mayor atolondramiento; y en fin para aprender y ejecutar con gran estudio cuantas gesticulaciones ven a los extranjeros, [...] haciendo en todo un increíble esfuerzo para diferenciarse del resto de sus compatriotas.[101]

Therefore, *petimetres* strive to copy foreign behaviour because they seek to differentiate themselves from the masses and their own compatriots. For *petimetres*,

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[99] Ibid., pp. 29-30.
[100] Escobar and Percival, 'An Italo-Spanish Imaginary Voyage', p. 90.
[101] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero*, p. 29.

becoming civilised entails abandoning ancient and uncouth customs in order to acquire the refinement of modern manners. In a social and historical context, rusticity is identified with old Spain in contrast to the social sophistication of modern Europe. As Escobar and Percival conclude,

> if we set the comparison in the broad panorama of eighteenth-century Spain, we can see in the affected attitude of the *petimetres* a frivolous caricature of a deeper problem posed in Enlightenment Spain: the pressing need on the part of the enlightened few of finding remedies for Spain's backwardness in regard to more developed countries.[102]

The satire of *petimetres* is complemented by the satire of the *cortejo* phenomenon, a well-known eighteenth-century custom among men of high society that consisted in paying court to a married woman.[103] In the simian language, this practice is called 'mutuo obsequio',[104] and it is a significant activity in which the young Simiopolitans engage. Enrique identifies this social custom as the chief activity of Tulipán's idle pursuits. The young ape usually visits the Marquesa de la Mielga in the absence of her husband:

> Una de sus más preferidas visitas, o por decir lo más cierto, la principal, era a la Marquesa de la Mielga, joven hermosa, pero boba; rica, pero presumida; bien nacida, pero mal criada; estaba casada con un caballero mono, juicioso, prudente y arreglado.[105]

Enrique is surprised at the mismatched qualities between the Marquesa and her noble husband, but this kind of marriage seems to respond to the philosophical discussion about effective marriages contained in the second volume of the *Viajes*. In Roberto's view, since love, the greatest irrational passion, is not the most suitable basis for marriage, the monkey-fathers are in charge of a rational selection of the best husbands for their daughters:

> Nuestros monos, reflexionando los inconvenientes que suele producir una mala elección sugerida por la pasión únicamente, [...] quisieron hacerse árbitros de los verdaderos intereses de sus hijas, eligiendo aquellos partidos que [...] juzgan ser los más útiles: así pues, el que estos vínculos no se formen por el amor, sino por la razón, que es una guía más iluminada y segura, no veo deba ser motivo de tanta extrañeza.[106]

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[102] Escobar and Percival, 'An Italo-Spanish Imaginary Voyage', p. 91.
[103] See Carmen Martín Gaite, *Usos amorosos del XVIII en España* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España, 1972).
[104] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero*, p. 12.
[105] Ibid., p. 13.
[106] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, II, pp. 184-85.

It can be deduced, then, that the satire of the *cortejo* custom and *petimetres* is a representation of a more profound eighteenth-century problem resulting from the change in values from a traditionalist to a modern Spain.

Vaca de Guzmán's interest in social behaviour links to the use of reason and even, in some measure, to Enlightenment thought. Reason is the touchstone for behaviour, and behaviour can be enlightened. Through the speech of a young monkey, it is argued that even animal behaviour is rational in that it is mediated by a choice between good and bad consequences:

> es necesario concluir que si las acciones de las bestias de temor, de gozo, de amor, de reconocimiento, y de las demás pasiones, de que parece son agitadas, provienen de conocimiento, que tienen de su enemigo, de su bien, de su compañía, de su bien-hechor, o de cosas semejantes, yo puedo inferir [...] que raciocinan. ¿Qué otra cosa es sino raciocinar, en el concurso de varias ideas comparar el tiempo presente con el pasado; reflexionar sobre sus actos; e inferir varias consecuencias? y ¿qué otra cosa ejecutan las bestias, si obran con conocimiento, o llámese instinto?[107]

Enlightenment is mentioned several times in the *Suplemento* in the forms of 'ilustrar', 'ilustrado' and 'ilustración'. There is even a direct reference to the Enlightenment period: 'no hay ciencia ni arte en que [the monkeys] no hayan puesto la pluma con notable felicidad en el día; por lo que con razón llaman muchos al presente el siglo ilustrado'.[108] In his interpretation of Seriman's text, Vaca de Guzmán translates 'illuminati'[109] by 'iluminados', as was common before the 1770s: '[the three sons of Señor Haya] fundaban sus opiniones en las comunes preocupaciones del país, o en la autoridad de aquellos que pasaban por iluminados o doctos'.[110]

The cultivation of the sciences is another important aspect in the kingdom of the apes. There is a province called Polymathía that is exclusively dedicated to the teaching of areas of knowledge such as philosophy, law, medicine, grammar and rhetoric of the simian language. This city is also referred to as 'Estudio General' and 'Ciudad de las letras', but it is thought that the learning of impractical theories and principles does not turn out to be useful for the progress of society:

> ¡Cuánto tiempo pierde la juventud en la averiguación de semejantes fruslerías! y ¡qué útiles fueran sus luces al resto de los mortales si despreciadas estas pedanterías y puerilidades, entrasen a ocupar su lugar las

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[107] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero*, pp. 228-29.
[108] Ibid., p. 50.
[109] Seriman, *Delli viaggi di Enrico Wanton*, I, p. 112.
[110] Seriman, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton*, I, p. 104.

ideas de una lógica sin sofisterías, de una física fundada en seguras
experiencias, y últimamente de unos conocimientos y principios en todas las
ciencias y facultades purgados de errores, pasatiempos y ridiculeces![111]

The absence of an effective practical implementation of the sciences studied does not
fit the parameters of the utopian model, but it also emphasises the Manichean
perspective that permeates the *Suplemento*. Thus, Enrique realises that it is necessary to
differentiate between authentic and artificial learned men because the latter lead astray
easily deceived individuals:

> Allí [Polymathía] trabé amistad con algunos (pocos) sabios con cuyas luces
> pude separar la alquimia del oro, esto es, los verdaderamente tales de los
> que lo son solo en la apariencia; [...] estos eran tontos incurables; otros
> hinchados, y soberbios atraían a su ignorancia a mil incautos que se dejaban
> guiar de su necedad y su orgullo.[112]

Since reason is made the criterion for judging behaviour, religious principles are
not evoked as a measure in such respect. In fact, no mention of religious worship is
made in the *Suplemento*. God is very occasionally referred to, but usually in deistic
terms. Thus, a notable absence in Vaca de Guzmán's Simiópolis is organised religion;
no mention is made of clerics or of formal Church activity. There are various references
to divine Providence made by Enrique, but almost in terms of the deistic conception of
a supreme being:

> la Providencia, que no solo en las especies, como algunos caprichosa y
> erradamente defienden, sino también en el más ínfimo individuo se interesa,
> destinándolos a sus altos designios, iba proporcionando los medios para el
> encadenamiento de sucesos ya prósperos, ya adversos [...] que había de
> experimentar en la carrera de mis años.[113]

There is also a mention of the spirituality that Roberto was endowed with by Seriman:
'encomendámonos muy de veras en manos de la Divina Providencia con todo el fervor
y devoción que respiraba la religiosidad del corazón de Roberto'.[114] However, leaving
aside the beliefs of the two visitors, a generalised religious orientation does not exist in
the nation of the monkeys. In this respect, Vaca de Guzmán would seem to be
following in the footsteps of Thomas More.

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[111] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero*, p. 234.
[112] Ibid., p. 236.
[113] Ibid., pp. 65-66.
[114] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo cuarto y último*, p. 178.

Appropriating Seriman's narrative style and subject matter, the Spanish author introduces in his two original volumes a new perspective in which the refined life of the capital is contrasted with the crude life of the provinces. Not for nothing does Enrique's patron in this new set of adventures describe Simiópolis, in a remarkable image, as an insatiable entity — in fact, a whale — that simultaneously appropriates and annihilates the marginal sectors of the simian nation to enhance its power:

> Simiópolis, aquella insaciable ballena que en el gran mar que forman los pueblos de este continente todo lo devora, todo se lo traga, después que nos apura el dinero ya en contribuciones, ya en préstamos, ya en moños para nuestras antojadizas monas.[115]

The governmental system of the monkeys is, then, an unequal society in which the poorest are the most oppressed.

In Chapter VIII of the third volume, Vaca de Guzmán, by means of the philosophical reflections of Señor Moral, gives a long description of the socio-political system of the nation of the monkeys, in which the author includes a clear allusion to the oppressive political order. The initial structure of the simian republic complies with the traditional elements of a utopian society to a great extent, but Señor Moral's description progressively shows the cultural decadence of a rootless nation, which constitutes a kind of anti-utopia: 'De la abundancia pasó la nación al tedio del trabajo; del tedio al ocio; patrocinó a este el jefe principal, y quedó el país aletargado'.[116] An important factor in the decline of Simiópolis was the uneven division of land and labour, which opposes one of the basic principles of a utopian system. The resulting inequality provoked poverty and social oppression: 'enriqueciéndose unos más que otros, y por tanto, quedando entre sí subordinados'.[117]

In the same way, the allocation of *señoríos* to certain individuals as a reward from the king for helping in the restoration of the provinces had detrimental effects on the equal prosperity of every citizen in the nation. Although public recognition for good actions promotes the production of further good actions, some *señores* use their power in their own interests instead of contributing to the happiness of the people under their authority:

> ¿aquel Señor [...] que no ayuda a los necesitados; que no piensa, sino cómo ha de exigir tributos [...]; que con sus gruesas rentas en casi nada ayuda a su

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[115] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero*, p. 202.
[116] Ibid., p. 96.
[117] Ibid., p. 94.

> Soberano contra los enemigos [...]; que no emplea su persona en servicio del Príncipe y del Reino; y que es un vicioso disipador de aquellas contribuciones que para tan diversos fines le concedió el Jefe general [...], os parece que no puede ser reputado poco menos que como un traidor contra la patria, pues por su parte se esfuerza a arruinarla?[118]

The *señoríos* was a major issue concerning privilege and a constant topic of complaint by eighteenth-century social reformers in Spain such as Jovellanos.[119] However, there are good and bad *señores* according to Vaca de Guzmán, which implies that the structure seems not to matter as much as the attitude of the individual. This perspective is quite modern as it reflects the individuality of humans. Despite the ethical dimension involved in the choice of personal behaviour and its social implications, the country of the monkeys is characterised by a social immobility that prevents the lower classes from climbing higher up the social ladder, in which it is the masses who keep the other social classes functioning:

> aquella clase de gente que se tiene por incivil y grosera; pero que en la sustancia es el nervio del Estado, el fundamento de las artes y el comercio, y a quien debe el Príncipe su subsistencia, los poderosos su descanso, su lujo y sus relumbrones, las capitales su brillantez; por último, en el cuerpo místico de la República, así como el Soberano tiene las veces de la cabeza, y las milicias togada y armada la de los brazos; esta clase ejerce la del estómago, oficina desde donde se fomentan todos los miembros, y se les da vigor para que puedan cumplir con las funciones de su cargo.[120]

In relation to the metaphorical representation of society as a human body in the last part of this passage, Claude Morange points out that Enlightenment thinkers often resorted to such a metaphor, which in turn supported the idea of resignation to a social status assigned by divine Providence:

> Une grande partie des malheurs de l'homme vient de ce qu'il ne sait pas rester à la place que lui a assignée la Providence, dans la hiérarchie sociale ou dans l'univers. Les *ilustrados* usent et abusent de la métaphore du corps social à l'appui de cette thèse.[121]

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[118] Ibid., p. 100.

[119] See Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, 'Discurso sobre la necesidad de unir al estudio de la legislación el de nuestra historia y antigüedades', in Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Obras publicadas e inéditas de Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos*, ed. by Cándido Nocedal, 5 vols (Madrid: Atlas, 1952-63), I (1963), pp. 288-98 (p. 294). On the *régimen señorial*, see also Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, 'El ocaso del régimen señorial en la España del siglo XVIII', in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Hechos y figuras del siglo XVIII español* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España, 1973), pp. 1-62.

[120] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero*, pp. 194-95.

[121] Morange, p. 107.

To further comment on Morange's observation, it could be said that it is precisely the dissatisfaction with one's social position that leads to the utopian desire for a better society with equal opportunities for happier citizens.

A controversial perspective about the notion of civilisation is implied in the custom of tiger-fighting (equivalent to a Spanish bullfight) in the city of Fastuaria — a place invented by Vaca de Guzmán and identifiable as a parodic version of Seville, according to Escobar and Percival.[122] Although it represents an expression of barbarous behaviour, Enrique attends a tiger-fight, but in accord with his policy of avoiding misjudgements, prefers not to judge the appropriateness of such a foreign tradition. However, he admires the bravery of the contestants:

> omitiendo, porque esto no me toca, el que sean buenas o sean malas estas funciones, y que tales juegos se deban tener por efecto de valor o de barbaridad, en lo que únicamente yo también me afirmo [...] es en que estos juegos son unas chanzas muy pesadas de parte de los monos para los tigres y de parte de los tigres para los monos.[123]

Another public spectacle that is criticised as barbarian is a show of acrobatics observed by Enrique in the city of Eschenobacia. In *Gulliver's Travels*, the danger involved in performing acts to entertain the emperor and gain favour at the English court, such as rope dancing, is highly reprehensible.[124] From a similar point of view, Enrique condemns the fact that the audience of this kind of spectacles enjoys the performance only because of the risk involved in the dangerous acts of the acrobats:

> no eran sus habilidades la causa de mi admiración, sino el que ni ellos las tenían por admirables, ni los circunstantes las celebraban, sino al paso que entraba a la parte el peligro de perder sus vidas [...]. De este modo dan a entender estos miserables con cuánta facilidad se puede arriesgar públicamente la vida en un ejercicio tan inútil como indecente, y monstruoso en algunas aptitudes; y que no hay destreza, placer y diversión donde no hay riesgo de muerte.[125]

The irrational nature of these uncivilised acts unveils the inhumane and unsympathetic instincts of the monkeys, a characteristic which conflicts with Enrique's values.

In his journey across the provinces of the land of the apes, Enrique meets many members of the simian aristocracy, who are often referred to in negative terms. In fact, hereditary nobility is strongly questioned in a dialogue between Tulipán and the mayor

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[122] Escobar and Percival, 'An Italo-Spanish Imaginary Voyage', p. 92.
[123] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo cuarto y último*, p. 131.
[124] Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, pp. 33-34.
[125] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo cuarto y último*, pp. 153-54.

for the nobility ('Alcalde del Estado noble'), a role labelled in the same way as in Spain. Although both characters recognise the established tradition of the *nobleza de sangre*, the Alcalde argues that an inherited status of nobility ('nobleza natural o heredada') can be maintained only through the practice of virtuous actions ('nobleza personal') in favour of the community:

> Poseer un sujeto la nobleza con perfección comprendo yo que es proceder de raza ilustre y conservarla con acciones generosas que entren en el interés y comercio del público [...]; así es que yo mejor quisiera, no habiendo de poseerla en todo el grado de su perfección, tener la personal sin la natural, que esta sin aquella: pero no tiene duda que la natural o heredada es un camino que conduce rectamente a la personal [...], siendo innegable que toda nobleza de sangre, por antigua que sea, tuvo su principio de la personal.[126]

During the eighteenth century, the criticism of hereditary nobility was a recurring topic in Spain. The theme was treated in searing terms in *El Censor*, especially in the utopian account of the Ayparchontes, which appeared in this periodical and will be analysed in the next chapter.

The anti-utopia that the country of the monkeys has principally signified for Enrique starts to turn into a potential utopia when he arrives in Polypiticon, a city in the southern part of the country — and identifiable as Cádiz, according to Escobar and Percival, because this monkey-city is portrayed as a prosperous bourgeois centre.[127] Unexpectedly enough, the character who welcomes Tulipán and Enrique on behalf of Polypiticon's most distinguished class, called Señor Plátano, is not a nobleman as in the previous cities that they have visited, but an influential and captivating merchant ('comerciante poderoso y de un corazón muy franco').[128] When Señor Plátano offers a splendid banquet in his house, Enrique has the opportunity to reassess the aristocratic conceptions about business and businessmen that he has picked up in Simiópolis:

> Mucho me alegré de haber presenciado este banquete, en que pude desimpresionarme de algunas de las necias ideas que tienen y oí varias veces en Simiópolis acerca del comercio y de los individuos a él dedicados en este y otros puertos de aquellos dominios. Estos son unos sujetos [...] criados en el seno de la abundancia, que jamás vieron el rostro a la necesidad y, por tanto, con mucha dificultad pueden dar entrada a pensamientos ruines y villanos, por lo común hijos de la pobreza.[129]

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[126] Ibid., p. 44.
[127] Escobar and Percival, 'An Italo-Spanish Imaginary Voyage', p. 92.
[128] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo cuarto y último*, p. 115.
[129] Ibid., p. 117.

It is the existence of such a wealthy and unpretentious lifestyle in a bourgeois setting that makes Enrique think of the possibility for the country of the monkeys to be a utopian society. Enrique had criticised aristocrats' unproductive luxurious life, but the monkey-businessman convinces him that a life of luxury enjoyed by rich merchants like him, who have made their wealth thanks to their own industry, is actually beneficial to the country, as it contributes to the creation of jobs and the circulation of money: 'ellos eran los que tenían el dinero del reino, adquirido a fuerza de su industria y de los peligros a que se exponían continuamente'.[130]

In addition to this revelation, it is significant that before leaving the land of the apes to return to England, Enrique is exposed to a discussion between Señor Brusco and Señor Camueso about the confrontation between Simiópolis and a city that is supposed to be its antagonistic version, called Micópolis. While Camueso describes the place as an ideal world, Brusco thinks that it is a copy of the simian republic:

> Encendiéronse en la altercación el famoso Moni-Mico [Camueso], que sostenía que en Micópolis todo era bueno, todo agradable, y todo embeleso de los sentidos; y el cerrado Anti-micancio Brusco, que aseguraba que allí nada había siquiera mediano, nada que no fuese desagradable, y nada que pudiera servir de halago o atractivo, a no ser lo que habían llevado o imitado de Simiópolis.[131]

Thus, a constant interaction of opposing reflections in a context of utopian and dystopian tension can be identified in Vaca de Guzmán's *Suplemento*. The variety of urban spaces and their respective inhabitants and social customs turn this text into a significant satirical portrayal of Spanish society in the reign of Carlos III.

**Conclusion**

Having examined the *Viajes de Enrique Wanton* as a whole in the present analysis, it is clear that the continuation written by Vaca de Guzmán differs significantly from the translation of Seriman's story in both the literary and ideological aspects. Not only is the prose of the Spanish author more sophisticated, yet dense, but his narration adopts a more socio-critical perspective, as opposed to Seriman's strongly philosophical and

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[130] Ibid., p. 118. This viewpoint can be related to Bernard Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees: Or Private Vices, Public Benefits* (1714), which conceives of luxury and other vices as being necessary to public prosperity and welfare. For the debate on luxury in Spain, see Hans-Joachim Lope, '¿Mal moral o necesidad económica? La polémica acerca del lujo en la Ilustración española', in *La secularización de la cultura española en el Siglo de las Luces: actas del Congreso de Wolfenbüttel*, ed. by Manfred Tietz and Dietrich Briesemeister (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), pp. 129-50. See also Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[131] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo cuarto y último*, p. 162.

anthropological approach — not in vain did the Italian writer translate Alexander Pope's poem *An Essay on Man*.

In the light of the substantial tradition of satirical imaginary travel accounts, the *Viajes* serve as a corrective contribution aimed at making Spanish people aware of the increasing decline in their social behaviour and practices, something that is reflected in the superficiality of their questionable civilised customs. In this regard, Vaca de Guzmán's satire seeks to condemn the practice of cosmopolitan habits that may hamper the construction of a Spanish identity. However, far from being mocking or insulting, his satire claims to be 'alma de la rectitud y freno de los vicios'.[132]

The country of the monkeys functions as a kind of expiatory mirror in which the whole of European society can recognise its own irrational vices. Given his potential intention of avoiding censorship, the Spanish author offers a satirical representation of the ideological conflict generated by the unrestrained circulation of local and foreign social conventions, some of which are considered to be contentious. As a result of an involuntary exile caused by their desire to experience other cultures, Roberto and Enrique travel through villages and cities letting their own stereotypical beliefs be challenged while trying to interpret manners and opinions in the spirit of a critical reformism guided by reason, one typical of Enlightenment social thought.

Vaca de Guzmán's satirical and didactic objectives do not prevent his story from developing a utopian vision as a counterpart to Enrique's observations of the simian republic. The land of the apes is not a dystopia because there are positive and negative aspects that the visitors observe and comment on; in this respect, the author obliges the reader of the text to judge the behaviour portrayed. Overall, the work shows the flexibility of the utopian model, which builds on the interplay between utopia and dystopia in the satire of English society presented by Jonathan Swift in *Gulliver's Travels*. The typical characteristics of the genre are present to make sure that the reader understands the idea that the main model is More's *Utopia,* but the variations are so great both in literary and social terms that Vaca de Guzmán is able to reveal himself as a literary experimenter with a strong satirical bent. Due to the detailed development of narrative elements and characters, the text can be seen as close to the novel format, but there are also similarities with the moral, essay-periodical focus of the 1760s, which, of course, ultimately derives from the English tradition.

Finally, the fact that the work went through multiple editions over a period of seventy years and that various prominent figures in the literary world of the early

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[132] Vaca de Guzmán, *Suplemento, o sea tomo tercero*, p. 55.

nineteenth century frequently referred to the *Viajes de Enrique Wanton* reveals how the work captured the imagination of the reading audience. Since the story seemed to reflect Spanish society and behaviour, albeit from a satirical perspective, it struck a chord with readers who no doubt engaged with the unifying feature of a narrator whose voyage of discovery is recounted in the text, just as an earlier set of readers elsewhere in Europe had reacted to Swift's imaginary voyages as related in *Gulliver's Travels*.

Chapter 6

Utopianism in the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes'
and Related Periodical Texts of the 1780s

A Spanish utopian text first published in 1784-85, which will be referred to here as the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes',[1] joins *Sinapia* and the *Viajes de Enrique Wanton* in the use of the imaginary southern continent, or *Terra Australis Incognita*, as the setting for its utopian story. Unlike Seriman's more novelistic work, the utopia of the Ayparchontes is fundamentally the depiction of an alternative political and religious system, which relates it to the measured reformist programme of *Sinapia*. More importantly, what distinguishes this anonymous utopian account from the texts analysed in chapters 4 and 5 is its inclusion in the pages of *El Censor*, the most combative periodical of late eighteenth-century Spain.[2]

Without having a specific title, the story of the Ayparchontes is split between three non-consecutive *discursos* in the journal, of which the first two (Discurso 61 and Discurso 63) were published in 1784, and the final one (Discurso 75) in 1785, after a break resulting from a clash with the state censorship system of the Consejo de Castilla. As is the case with many of the *discursos* that comprise *El Censor*, the author of this utopian narrative is unfortunately unknown. Leaving aside the intractable issue of the authorship, the purpose of this chapter is to examine the significance of the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes' within the Spanish utopian tradition and explore its relationship with other literary texts and publications of the period. However, before dealing with the text in question, some background details concerning the importance and impact of *El Censor* as well as its use of literary devices in some of its essays are required.

**Radicalism and the Literary Imagination in *El Censor***

*El Censor* appeared for the first time in Madrid in 1781 and continued to publish weekly, though with two substantial suspensions, until its final closure by the Consejo de Castilla in 1787. Modelled to some degree on *The Spectator* — an English daily paper founded and edited by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, which lasted from 1711 to 1714 — the Spanish publication comprised 167 serious and satirical *discursos* that criticised a wide variety of aspects of Spanish life and institutions, which makes it

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[1] See the justification in footnote 6 of the Introduction.
[2] See the chapter entitled 'La seconde génération de "spectateurs": 1. *El Censor*', in Guinard, *La presse espagnole de 1737 à 1791*, pp. 291-323.

an outstanding example of Spanish Enlightenment writing. The editors, Luis García del Cañuelo and Luis Marcelino Pereira, were lawyers (*abogados de los Consejos Reales*) who, from the launch of the journal, showed themselves cautious in revealing their identities and those of their collaborators, perhaps due to potential hostility generated by the frankness with which their publication tackled features of Spanish society.[3]

In relation to the focus and openness that firmly characterised *El Censor*, even after its first two suspensions (1781 and 1784),[4] Juan Sempere y Guarinos, in volume 4 (1787) of his *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III*, highlights the unprecedented critical nature of the periodical in comparison with previous ones, such as *El Pensador*:[5] 'Su autor no ha mudado de tono en los posteriores [discursos] a la prohibición. La misma entereza, la misma libertad se observa ahora en ellos que en sus principios'.[6] What turns out to be somewhat unexpected is the fact that, despite publications such as *El Censor* being subject to censorship, a 1785 *Real Orden* supported their objectives: 'contribuyen en gran manera a difundir en el público muchas verdades o ideas útiles, y a combatir por medio de la crítica honesta los errores y preocupaciones que estorban el adelantamiento en varios ramos'.[7]

Although the editors used pseudonyms (Luis Castrigo and Mariano de Heredia) to keep their anonymity when signing official documentation, the Spanish authorities were aware of who the persons responsible for the daring publication were.[8] However, the varied writing styles of the *discursos* suggest a collaborative work between the editors and other authors, a suggestion first put forward by Alberto Gil Novales: 'en la redacción de *El Censor* le ayudaron [referring to Cañuelo] varias personas'.[9] According to José Miguel Caso González, the conjecture about the multiple authorship follows from the fact that the reports of the censors make reference to the stylistic changes from one essay to the next. Hypothesising further, Caso González believes that the intellectual circle around the Countess of Montijo was involved in the writing of *El Censor*. What cannot be denied is that articles known to come from the pens of Gaspar

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[3] Elsa García-Pandavenes, '*El Censor* (1781-1787): A Study of an Essay Periodical of the Spanish Enlightenment' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1970), p. 2.

[4] José Miguel Caso González, '*El Censor*, ¿periódico de Carlos III?', in *El Censor*, ed. by José Miguel Caso González (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, Instituto Feijoo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, 1989), pp. 776-99 (pp. 779-80).

[5] See the quotation referred to in footnote 63 of Chapter 3 of this thesis.

[6] Sempere y Guarinos, IV (1787), p. 191.

[7] Quoted in Philip Deacon, '*El Censor* y la crisis de las Luces en España: el *Diálogo crítico-político* de Joaquín Medrano de Sandoval', *Estudios de Historia Social*, 52-53 (1990), 131-40 (p. 135).

[8] Caso González, '*El Censor*, ¿periódico de Carlos III?', p. 788.

[9] Alberto Gil Novales, 'Para los amigos de Cañuelo', *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, 229 (1969), 291-323 (p. 197).

de Jovellanos, Félix María Samaniego and Juan Meléndez Valdés appeared anonymously in its pages. The most significant objective of this group of enlightened thinkers was to change the mentality and practices of Spaniards.[10]

Irrespective of the names behind individual *discursos*, what is certain is that Cañuelo and Pereira were well respected among the Spanish intellectual elite. Their bold spirit and example inspired the appearance of other periodicals such as *El Apologista Universal* (1786-88) by the Augustinian monk Pedro Centeno, *El Corresponsal del Censor* (1786-88) by Manuel Rubín de Celis and *El Observador* (1787-90) by José Marchena. And it is significant that a pamphlet was published defending the aims of *El Censor*, namely the *Diálogo crítico-político sobre si conviene desengañar al público de sus errores y preocupaciones, y si los que son capaces de ello arriesgarán algo en hacerlo* (1786) by Joaquín Medrano de Sandoval, a text endorsing the critical vision of the periodical about religion-related issues in Spain.[11]

Various fictional resources, such as utopian frameworks, may have been used by *El Censor* in order to avoid problems with the censorship system, of which the periodical was repeatedly a victim, but it is also legitimate to probe such a narrative impulse in relation to the publication of utopian fictions and imaginary travel literature throughout the Enlightenment period as techniques for stimulating thought about social and political change. Interestingly enough, this view is supported by the fact that, after the final governmental suspension of *El Censor* in 1787, Cañuelo started work on a text called *Viaje al mundo inteligible*, but the introduction to that text was censored because of its attempt to discredit the foundations of the sciences in trying to establish a new metaphysics.[12] As a result, the author was unable to finish the work.

Contrary to the assumption that utopias or dreams deal with illusions, the anonymous voice of *El Censor* claims that the content of the periodical conforms to the precepts of reason as the only means to carry out an effective critical examination of Spanish society. In Discurso 1, the narrator introduces himself as a martyr to reason: 'todo lo que se aparta un poco de la razón me lastima, el más pequeño extravío de la regla y del orden me causa un tedio mortal'.[13] Nevertheless, far from being limited to the criticism of social customs, *El Censor* sought to question many aspects of the

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[10] José Miguel Caso González, 'La crítica religiosa de *El Censor* y el grupo ilustrado de la Condesa de Montijo', in *La Ilustración en España y Alemania*, ed. by Reyes Mate and Friedrich Niewöhner (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1989), pp. 175-88 (p. 185).

[11] See Deacon, '*El Censor* y la crisis de las Luces en España'. The pamphlet was reprinted in Barcelona by the Imprenta de Sastres in 1793.

[12] Caso González, '*El Censor*, ¿periódico de Carlos III?', pp. 790-91.

[13] *El Censor*, I [1781]: 'Discurso I', pp. 17-28 (p. 22).

existing socio-political system. This is precisely the purpose of the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes', as the analysis below will demonstrate.

In accordance with the literary trends of the time, *El Censor* also includes, alongside the utopia of the Ayparchontes (1784-1785), five *discursos* (89, 90, 101, 106 and 107) about the dystopian life in a place called Cosmosia (1786) and two dreams that comprise Discurso 50 (1783) and Discurso 161 (1787). Other literary generic forms such as apocryphal letters or dialogues are the vehicle for conveying a strong reformist attitude towards the political status quo. By appealing to the didactic function of fiction in Discurso 161, the author praises the ability to dream methodically, a talent shared by the enlightened members of his family. Being called a dreamer is no longer an insulting epithet, but a goal to achieve: 'este título se ha hecho de un tiempo a esta parte tan glorioso, que en vez de temerle como antes, pienso ya hacer cuanto esté de mi parte para merecerle'.[14] Dreams and the power of the imagination can be used as a constructive force to effectively question the socio-political system and offer a more rational and just state of affairs. The Enlightenment utopia appropriates the intellectual function of the dream, but uses it to portray a better everyday world instead of distorting or escaping from the conventional restraints of society.[15] In this respect, the utopian approach aims at exploring and understanding better the mechanisms underlying socio-political processes.

**The Current State of Research on the Text**

Although *El Censor* has received important scholarly attention, little has been written in detail about the Ayparchontes utopia. A brief political analysis of the text has been carried out by Antonio Elorza, who assumes that the author is Luis García del Cañuelo, one of the editors of the periodical. Elorza highlights not only the constant reference to the Spanish institutions as the reality that has been reformed in the land of the Ayparchontes, but also the radical reform process in the social and religious organisation of eighteenth-century Spanish society:

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[14] *El Censor*, VIII [1787]: 'Discurso CLXI', pp. 565-79 (p. 566).

[15] This conceptualisation brings up the meaning behind Francisco de Goya's Capricho 43: 'El sueño de la razón produce monstruos' (1797-1798). As many of the suggested manuscript explanations for the images in the *Caprichos*, 'El sueño de la razón produce monstruos' can be read as a proclamation of Goya's adherence to the values of the Enlightenment. According to the manuscript explaining the subtext of the aquatint, Goya believed that imagination should never be completely abandoned in favour of reason because imagination alone produces impossible monsters, but united with reason, it is the mother of the arts: 'La fantasía, abandonada de la razón, produce monstruos imposibles; unida con ella es madre de las artes y origen de las maravillas'. For Goya, art is the result of the combination of reason and imagination (Edith Helman, *Trasmundo de Goya* (Madrid: Alianza, 1983), p. 221).

> Conscientes del carácter conflictivo e inarmónico de la nueva sociedad, los utopistas ilustrados intentan frenarla en un momento dado de su desarrollo (la medianía razonable de la pequeña propiedad en Cañuelo) o suprimir las contradicciones mediante una dialéctica ideal [...] que enlaza al pensamiento socialista con las utopías del Renacimiento. Este sesgo ideológico es patente en los aspectos sociales de la utopía de los Ayparcontes [sic], mientras que los religiosos son, ante todo, una forma más o menos encubierta de abordar duramente una realidad que resultaba difícil afrontar.[16]

In the same vein, Francisco Sánchez-Blanco emphasises the fact that the structure of social classes presented in the text is specifically based on the achievements of each member of society:

> En el discurso número LXI comienza la parábola o alegoría del reino de los *ayparchontes*, que proseguirá en discursos posteriores. Aquí, el autor presenta una alternativa al sistema aristocrático que impera en España. En la sociedad de los *ayparchontes*, nobles, plebeyos e infames lo son por hechos propios [...] y los plebeyos tienen abierta la puerta a las más altas dignidades.[17]

In a longer, though less penetrating, article, María Dolores Gimeno Puyol suggests that the radical perspective of the utopian account of *El Censor* was restrained by the censorial activity of the Spanish Inquisition and the reactionary reception of the reform programme by the Spanish nobility and clergy:

> This reformist programme must have seemed too advanced to the majority of Spanish noblemen and clergy, who were highly conservative and tied to their enormous privileges, therefore *El Censor* could only give an exotic example of a faraway country under a utopian disguise and written by an unknown traveller.[18]

## The Narrative Techniques of the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes'

The narrative framework that links the three parts of the utopia of the Ayparchontes[19] is complex in terms of the interaction between the voice of the traveller (or the

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[16] Elorza, *La ideología liberal en la Ilustración española*, p. 222.

[17] Sánchez-Blanco, *El absolutismo y las Luces en el reinado de Carlos III*, p. 325.

[18] María Dolores Gimeno Puyol, '*Viaje al país de los Ayparchontes*: The Limits of a Spanish Utopia in the Eighteenth Century', in *Trans/Forming Utopia: The 'Small Thin Story'*, ed. by Elizabeth Russell (Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 175-86 (p. 183).

[19] The text of the three *discursos* constituting the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes' that will be used in this chapter is the facsimile version of the original edition of *El Censor* made by José Miguel Caso González and published in 1989 (*El Censor*, III [1784]: 'Discurso LXI', pp. 225-39, 'Discurso LXIII', pp. 257-70; IV [1785]: 'Discurso LXXV', pp. 131-50). Gimeno Puyol republished the text in 2014 along with two other Spanish utopian works, but it is little more than a transcription of the text, with almost no critical analysis of the society of the Ayparchontes (María Dolores Gimeno Puyol, *Tres utopías ilustradas: 'Viaje al país de los Ayparchontes', 'La isla, La utopía de Zenit'*, Clásicos Hispánicos, 44, <http://www.clasicoshispanicos.com>, 2014).

anonymous author of the manuscript containing the utopian story), the voice of the fictional editor of the traveller's story (who assumes the role of *el censor*) and the potential readership of this particular episode of *El Censor*. In Discurso 61, the editor claims that he bought the manuscript from a bookseller in the Spanish court in 1781. However, the fact that the description of such an interesting unexplored country, as the land of the Ayparchontes appears to be, has been unpublished until then makes him believe that the story is only fiction, which is reinforced by the fact that the author/traveller does not specify the exact geographical location of the country described. By expressing two incompatible points of view, the editor provokes the reader to think and decide for him or herself.

The manuscript, in fact, contains the description of several nations visited by the traveller, but the editor decides to reproduce only the most relevant parts of the account concerning the country of the Ayparchontes. At the end of Discurso 61, the editor justifies the interruption of his transcription by stating that the story is long and that it will be continued in a future *discurso*. This break allows the narration to introduce an amusing anecdote at the beginning of Discurso 63: an anxious reader goes to a bookshop that sold the works of the supposed editor to buy the continuation of the story, but the customer becomes angry when he realises that Discurso 62 does not continue the story. The editor happens to be in the bookshop when this scene occurs and decides to publish the rest of the text that same week, motivated not so much by the reader's complaint but by the interest of the ideas expressed in the manuscript.

Finally, in Discurso 75, published a year after the appearance of Discurso 61, the editor announces that he is going to copy another passage of the manuscript, without giving any details of the nature or the relevance of the section to be transcribed. The omission of a narrative context in which to present the new passage can be understood as a neutral way to address the tricky topic of religion that is going to be treated in this final instalment. When considered in retrospect, it is clear that those responsible for the publication of *El Censor* could not have foreseen such a large gap in time between the publication of the first two instalments of the story of the Ayparchontes and the concluding one. For that, one has to place the blame with the Consejo de Castilla for suspending the appearance of the journal after Discurso 67, giving rise to a wait of seventeen months before allowing the publication of Discurso 68 and the final sequence of issues. However, it is noteworthy that the periodical was allowed to continue and that the editors felt emboldened to publish the final part of the

Ayparchontes utopia, which happened to be the most ambitious component of the whole story because of its questioning of the powers and privileges of the Church.

**The System of Meritocracy**

In Discurso 61, having recourse to the standard utopian image of the shipwrecked traveller in the mysterious southern region, the author introduces the description of the nation of the Ayparchontes, whose monarchical system has many similarities with Spain, according to the editor of the story who assumes the role of *el censor*. Since the narrative technique is that of the found manuscript, the account is therefore filtered for the reader through the perspective and judgements of the editor. The simplicity with which the author presents the description of the country implies its authenticity, but the fact that such an important discovery has remained unknown for so long makes the editor doubt whether the story is true: 'La simplicidad con que está escrita inclina al que la lee a tenerla por una relación verdadera. Pero el no haberse divulgado la noticia de un descubrimiento tan importante induce una vehemente sospecha de que no sea sino una ficción'.[20]

Despite the supposed shortcomings of the manuscript, the journal editor gives a brief summary of the nature of the piece of text that he is going to transcribe, material that he considers worthy of interest to his readers: 'Es una descripción moral y política de las tierras australes incógnitas'.[21] In both social and political terms, the objectives of the description of the country of the Ayparchontes are similar to those of *Sinapia*. In fact, both imaginary nations can be seen as different versions of Spain, even though their utopian territories correspond to random and arbitrary places. In addition to the uncertainty about the plausibility of the narration contained in the found manuscripts, the fictional and anonymous editors of both utopian accounts stress the fact that the societies depicted are capable of awakening the curiosity of their readership because of a close resemblance to the reality of Spain: in the same way as the author of the utopia of the Ayparchontes who seeks to capture the attention of his potential readers ('forma una monarquía en el fondo bastantemente parecida a la nuestra. Copiaré aquí un pasaje de esta descripción que acaso no será indigno de la atención de mis lectores'),[22] *Sinapia*'s author aspires to get the attention of his compatriots ('me vinieron a las manos

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[20] *El Censor*, III, 'Discurso LXI', pp. 225-26.
[21] Ibid., p. 225.
[22] Ibid., p. 226.

algunos apuntamientos [...] en que se da noticia de cierta república que [...] no me ha parecido indigna de la curiosidad de mis paisanos').[23]

Using a Socratic dialogue technique, the fictional author ('el Autor') of the manuscript, who is the unnamed Western traveller or visitor, and Zeblitz, an enlightened native of the land of the Ayparchontes, initiate a question-and-answer conversation about the differences between the social structure of the unnamed nation of the shipwrecked traveller and that of the remote southern country, which is defined as a vast empire. Zeblitz's community is divided into three social classes: 'Todos los habitantes de aquel vasto imperio están [...] comprendidos en tres clases: o son nobles, o plebeyos, o infames'.[24] Each class corresponds to specific criteria, with the nobility being the most cultivated group, thanks to which the society of the Ayparchontes is characterised as 'sumamente culta'.[25]

In opposition to the recovery of the idyllic concept of the good savage in the project of a utopian society, the Ayparchontes' world is a highly civilised reality in which the pristine and virtuous nature of primitive man has no functionality at all. The category of infamous citizens comprises the lawbreakers who commit the most serious crimes, but are nevertheless supposed to have a certain level of education. Since such a marginalised status is always acquired by one's actions in the society of the Ayparchontes, the condition of infamy is not inherited by the descendants of the criminals. Furthermore, convicts can redeem their infamy by doing useful jobs such as working as hangmen or soldiers. They are so eager to amend their contemptible behaviour that their service to the patriotic cause results in a rise of the nation's splendour: 'es tal el ardor que inspira [...] el deseo de salir del abatimiento en que se hallan que no se lee en los anales de aquel imperio acción gloriosa ni batalla señalada en que no hayan tenido la principal parte'.[26] In other words, the infamous inhabitants, once rehabilitated, are, to a great extent, partly responsible for the magnificence of this utopian empire. The attribution of a key role to the lowest stratum of their society reveals the advanced state of civilisation that dominates the ideal monarchy of the Ayparchontes.

The explanation of the most inferior class's constitution is the preamble to the argument that meritocracy is the only valid and fair system to determine the belonging of individuals to a particular social group. Social position must be based on merit rather

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[23] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 69.
[24] *El Censor*, III, 'Discurso LXI', p. 226.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid., p. 228.

than on inheritance.[27] Thus, the possibility of social mobility is always present in the formation of any class, especially that of nobles and plebeians. Zeblitz explains that meritorious acts are the only measure used to assign a profession to a plebeian over a noble:

> Los empleos [...] y las dignidades no deben darse al mérito presunto, sino al acreditado. Y hallándose este en igual grado en un noble y un plebeyo, no debe ser preferido aquel sino este que por necesidad tuvo menos facilidad y mayores estorbos que vencer para adquirirlo.[28]

The fact that a plebeian faces more difficulties in getting an appropriate job gives their efforts more weight and credit. Because a concrete difference between nobles and plebeians is not seen in terms of work skills, the common people have access to the same positions to which members of the nobility aspire.

Plebeians are basically artisans, farmers or merchants, and all these occupations are compatible with the rank of aristocracy. For its part, the nobility is divided into six levels, each of which corresponds to a specific degree of merit that is not inherited but awarded according to the type of occupation performed, a system that has certain logical limitations: a first-class nobleman will necessarily have second-class children and third-class grandchildren, and so on. In consequence, some descendants of nobles are born with the status of plebeians. Noblewomen change their condition depending on the social rank of their husbands, a feature that denotes the patriarchal character of the Ayparchontes' society. In any case, the possibility of getting a job in a competitive environment is the only way to ascend socially. However, it is possible to reach a higher social status through special privileges granted by the prince in return for exceptional services rendered. This, nevertheless, bears a great resemblance to the situation in Spain and other European monarchies. Those rewarded with access to the highest level of society benefit from exclusive civil prerogatives.

Compared with the functioning of the social hierarchy in his country — Spain, presumably — the Western traveller finds the Ayparchontes' system very strange and, in his turn, Zeblitz is surprised at the illogical and unjust hereditary principles of the nobility in the traveller's homeland: 'no podía comprender la razón porque esta ha de

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[27] For a detailed discussion of the critical treatment of the nobility in eighteenth-century Spanish poetry, see Elena de Lorenzo Álvarez, 'La polémica sobre el lujo y *el noble inútil*', in Elena de Lorenzo Álvarez, *Nuevos mundos poéticos: la poesía filosófica de la Ilustración* (Oviedo: Instituto Feijoo de Estudios del siglo XVIII, 2002), pp. 289-368.
[28] *El Censor*, III, 'Discurso LXI', pp. 228-29.

subir de punto a proporción que se aparta de su origen'.[29] By basing his viewpoint on a detailed argumentation, Zeblitz rejects the premise that the descendants of an honourable and hardworking nobleman are automatically entitled to enjoy the same prestigious reputation, even though they may be very distant relatives of the original benefactor. It should not be assumed that all the members of a noble family must be virtuous and, therefore, worthy of recognition. In contrast with this ideology surrounding the policies of the nobility in the traveller's country, the Ayparchontes' social doctrine first prioritises the advantages of the original nobleman and, secondly, those of his close relatives: 'La razón pues y la justicia [...] quieren que el bienhechor, al contrario de lo que sucede entre vosotros, goce mayor parte de la recompensa que sus venideros, y de estos mayor los más próximos que los más apartados'.[30] In spite of his sharp criticism of such an incoherent system,[31] Zeblitz acknowledges that it can act as an incentive for citizens to try to reach the highest positions in order to pass on privileges to their offspring.

What equates the conception of aristocracy in both Zeblitz's and the visitor's society is the existence of the nobility as a political support to the Crown, and hence as a kind of necessary component. However, the nobility is not an essential piece in the machinery of the Ayparchontes' monarchy because the aristocrats see themselves as not being required to contribute to the progress of society since they will always keep the same social status and fortune without making any effort:

> ¿Querrá afanarse, y tomar sobre sí los cuidados que aquella [a good education] exige, un padre que sabe que los suyos [his children], cualquiera que sea su conducta, y por más que sean un peso inútil de la sociedad,

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[29] Ibid., p. 232.

[30] Ibid., p. 234.

[31] The theme of an irrational hereditary nobility is a recurring issue in José de Cadalso's *Cartas marruecas*, published originally after the author's death, in 1789, in the periodical *Correo de Madrid (o de los ciegos)*. By displaying a refined satirical technique, the Spanish author subscribes to the idea of a renovation of the nobility's education by which noblemen are obliged to undertake specialised studies with the objective of being suitably prepared to fill the highest positions in the army, civil administration and government. Social classes are structured in agreement with the natural order, and nobody should try to break that pre-established harmony. In trying to explain what hereditary nobility is, the Christian Spaniard Nuño humorously tells the Moroccan Gazel about the problematic imbalance created in terms of how the meritorious title of nobleman is received: 'Nobleza hereditaria es la vanidad que yo fundo en que, ochocientos años antes de mi nacimiento, muriese uno que se llamó como yo me llamo y fue hombre de provecho, aunque yo sea inútil para todo' (José de Cadalso, *Cartas marruecas. Noches lúgubres*, ed. by Emilio Martínez Mata (Barcelona: Crítica, 2008), p. 55). Cadalso presents an educational method to instruct Spain's idle elite, so that these well-educated people will succeed within the superficial system of manners imposed by society. He also debates issues such as virtue, moderation and human misery, as well as the dilemma faced by the virtuous man (*el hombre de bien*), who is confronted with social evils.

gozarán y dejarán a sus descendientes la misma hacienda y la misma o aun mayor nobleza que la que él disfruta?[32]

On the contrary, plebeians are the ones who are most encouraged to progress. In the traveller's opinion, idleness may be associated with the majority of noblemen, but they are still an important part of socio-political life. They act as a link or intermediary between the prince and the plebeians,[33] and they also serve as an instrument of resistance against despotism:

> los más de nuestros nobles parten toda su vida, como hacía un europeo bastante célebre llamado *la Fontaine*,[34] la mitad en dormir bien y la otra en no hacer nada. Mas no por eso dejan de ser muy útiles a la sociedad. La perpetuidad en la nobleza es una cosa, en el sentir de nuestros políticos, tan esencial en una monarquía que yo no sé cómo sin ella subsiste la vuestra [the Ayparchontes' monarchy]. La nobleza es una cadena que une la plebe con el soberano, y al mismo tiempo que es el más firme apoyo del trono, es una barrera la más fuerte contra el despotismo.[35]

Merit and virtue are the sole determinants of social success and influence. As Carlos III laid down in 1775 in law 21, book 6, title 1 of the *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España*,

> En las consultas que hiciere la Cámara sobre mercedes de títulos de Castilla, tendrá presente haber reparado en algunas que los pretendientes fundan su mérito en su nobleza y alianzas, o en las de sus antepasados, sin probar ni alegar méritos propios ni servicios personales; y que no tengo por conveniente se hagan dignos de tan alta distinción de títulos de Castilla los que no me hayan servido por sus personas y al público.[36]

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[32] *El Censor*, III, 'Discurso LXI', pp. 236-37.

[33] The characterisation of the nobility as an intermediary force in the monarchical system was pointed out by Montesquieu in *De l'esprit des lois* (1748): 'Le pouvoir intermédiaire subordonné le plus naturel est celui de la noblesse. Elle entre en quelque façon dans l'essence de la monarchie, dont la maxime fondamentale est point de monarque, point de noblesse; point de noblesse, point de monarque' (Baron de Montesquieu [Charles-Louis de Secondat], *De l'esprit des lois*, 6 vols (Paris: Lebigre Frères, 1834), I, p. 46).

[34] Apparently the French fabulist Jean de La Fontaine (1621-95) was known for enjoying a restful life. He spent much of his childhood observing the animal world, which later gave him the inspiration for his fables. For twenty years, he lived in perfect tranquillity under the patronage of Marguerite Hessein, Madame de La Sablière. La Fontaine's primitiveness and laziness were actually harshly criticised by his protector: 'Madame de la Sablière at one time discharged her whole establishment whilst La Fontaine was residing in her house. "What?" said somebody, "have you kept none?" "None," replied the lady, "except *mes trois bêtes* — my cat, my dog, and La Fontaine." Such was her idea of his thoughtless and more than childish simplicity' (Mary Shelley, *Lives of the most eminent French writers*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1840), I, pp. 183-84).

[35] *El Censor*, III, 'Discurso LXI', pp. 238-39.

[36] *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España*, III (1805), p. 6. See also Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Carlos III y la España de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Alianza, 1989), p. 122.

Carlos III's reformist agenda certainly sought to dignify some occupations of the masses, allowing plebeians to occupy municipal posts. As stated in a *Real Cédula* of 1783 (law 8, book 8, title 23 of the *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España*):

> Declaro que no solo el oficio de curtidor, sino también las demás artes y oficios de herrero, sastre, zapatero, carpintero y otros a este modo son honestos y honrados: que el uso de ellos no envilece la familia ni la persona del que los ejerce; ni la inhabilita para obtener los empleos municipales de la República [...]; y que tampoco han de perjudicar la artes y oficios para el goce y prerrogativas de la hidalguía.[37]

The same statute confirms the assignation of social distinctions to the lowest classes based on personal achievement:

> mi Consejo, cuando hallare que en tres generaciones de padre, hijo y nieto ha ejercitado y sigue ejercitando una familia el comercio o las fábricas con adelantamientos notables y de utilidad al Estado, me propondrá [...] la distinción que podrá concederse al que se supiere y justificare ser director o cabeza de la tal familia que promueve y conserva su aplicación, sin exceptuar la concesión o privilegio de nobleza, si le considerase acreedor por la calidad de los adelantamientos del comercio o fábricas.[38]

It can be said, then, that the socio-juridical norms of the land of the Ayparchontes are a utopian improvement of the legal measures contained in some of the reforms of Carlos III. This ideological interconnection turns the fictitious monarchy of the Ayparchontes into a more advanced version of the existing Spanish socio-political system.

**The Social Legislation**

The subsequent Discurso 63 deals with the implementation of a legal framework to control the power of the nobility. Reaffirming the implicit postulate of Discurso 61, the epigraph for the new Discurso is a verse from one of Juvenal's satires that reads: 'Nobilitas sola est, atque unica, virtus. [...] La virtud es la única nobleza',[39] a maxim that equates social rank to a virtuous status, fostering the empowerment of disadvantaged groups through the practice of fine actions because virtue is the only true

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[37] *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España*, IV (1805), p. 182.
[38] Ibid., p. 183.
[39] *El Censor*, III, 'Discurso LXIII', p. 257.

nobility. [40] In this sense, the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes' echoes *Utopia*'s understanding of virtue, a concept that was commented on earlier in this thesis.

Zeblitz warns the traveller that appropriate legislation applicable to both plebeians and aristocrats is necessary in order to avoid undesirable outcomes resulting from civic idleness and to allocate capable citizens to state positions. Nobility is hereditary in both Zeblitz and the visitor's reality, but the presence of vices and the incompetence of people who form the nation's workforce are the two main factors that differentiate the essence of that social class in their respective societies. In Zeblitz's view:

> renovándose de este modo la nobleza en las mismas familias, viene a ser tan fija como puede serlo entre vosotros [the traveller and his compatriots]. Pero con una gran diferencia, es a saber, que entre vosotros no es posible que deje de andar acompañada por la mayor parte de la ociosidad, y de todos los vicios que de esta por necesidad resultan, cuando entre nosotros apenas puede darse que se separe del trabajo y del mérito. Otra diferencia no menos notable es que o las dignidades entre vosotros se han de dar a sujetos indignos e incapaces de desempeñar sus funciones, cuales deben ser [...] vuestros nobles por la mayor parte, o dándose a plebeyos de mérito, es menester que el número de vuestros nobles se aumente cada día prodigiosamente. [41]

Zeblitz's perspective demonstrates the constant confrontation between a 'we' (*nosotros*) and a 'you' (*vosotros*), emphasising the better administration of the same parallel social model by the Ayparchontes. The apparent didactic dialogue that constitutes the utopian story is rather an instructive account of the efficiency of the Ayparchontes' system and of how that system has been distorted by governmental practices in the visitor's country. In this regard, Ismael Piñera Tarque highlights the narrative counterpoint of the two characters' thoughts and the inability of the fictional author/traveller to refute Zeblitz's arguments:

> en la confrontación entre el Autor y el sabio nativo Zeblitz, éste parece imponerse sobre el primero, quien no encuentra oposición a sus argumentos sobre la idoneidad del mundo Ayparchonte y sus críticas al sistema europeo, pese a que le parezcan discutibles. [42]

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[40] For an overview of attitudes towards an ineffective nobility in Spain, see the chapter 'Les décevantes classes dirigeantes', in Jean Sarrailh, *L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), pp. 75-99. See also the chapter 'El estamento nobiliario', in Domínguez Ortiz, *Las clases privilegiadas en la España del Antiguo Régimen*, pp. 17-197.

[41] *El Censor*, III, 'Discurso LXIII', pp. 263-64.

[42] Piñera Tarque, p. 157.

In view of the failure to formulate counterarguments or impose his judgements over those of his instructor-friend, the foreign traveller ironically hopes that European politicians will prove the pointlessness of Zeblitz's utopian vision of society:

> Estas son las razones con que mi amigo Zeblitz me hacía callar. No las creo yo capaces de reducir del mismo modo al silencio nuestros políticos de Europa. Y a no ser que tal vez merezcan su desprecio, espero al contrario que ya que yo no he podido, no faltará entre ellos quien haga manifiesta su futilidad. Tendré en ello una particular complacencia; y aun el deseo de verlo verificado ha sido lo que me ha movido a referirlas con alguna más extensión de la que sería necesaria.[43]

Such a frustrated dialogue acts as a textual strategy, but it is also an indicator of the author's discomfort with his social reality. According to Zeblitz, two serious consequences derive from the careless administrative programme that the author vainly tries to defend: the oppression of the masses and the disrepute of the nobility. The discrediting of the elite class derives from the fact that every citizen is virtually capable of acquiring a noble rank. That is, nobility becomes common, and this popularisation may lead to its progressive decline as a symbol of social and personal importance and value. In contrast with this scenario, the Ayparchontes' utopian society strives to reduce the permanence of noble families as a way to avoid potential corruption, although noblemen are always highly regarded. By using again the linguistic play of *nosotros* versus *vosotros*, Zeblitz states:

> Entre nosotros podrá extinguirse o disminuirse la nobleza de una casa, pero los nobles en general se conservan siempre en un mismo grado de estimación. Pero entre vosotros no pudiendo salir la nobleza de la familia en que una vez entró, e introduciéndose cada día en otras nuevas, no puede menos de hacerse despreciable por su vulgaridad.[44]

Antonio Elorza's critical synthesis of the three utopian *discursos* underscores the transformative intention of the story of the Ayparchontes regarding the socio-political redefinition of the aristocracy: 'la descripción de la sociedad en los Ayparchontes muestra una cierta estratificación en que el *status* adquirido prevalece sobre el adscrito. Sin desaparecer, la nobleza se ve relativizada, transformada, terminando por ser accesible para todo ciudadano'.[45] Seen in this light, the utopia of the Ayparchontes is a clear condemnation of the drawbacks of a useless nobility based on an absurd longing

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[43] *El Censor*, III, 'Discurso LXIII', p. 270.
[44] Ibid., pp. 264-65.
[45] Elorza, *La ideología liberal en la Ilustración española*, p. 223.

for power, especially economic power. In the European world, society itself is the dangerous agent that leads to the incongruous accumulation of wealth and the empowerment of the aristocratic class, while at the same time it stimulates the loss of social exclusivity of the elite by democratising access to the benefits of the upper classes. The utopia of the Ayparchontes, then, adopts a critical attitude that differs from the satirical angle that often defines the standpoint of *El Censor*. Instead of concealing social criticism by means of irony, the editor transcribes a story that gradually develops into a doctrinal attack on the mismanagement of Spain's rulers.

**The Religious Organisation**

As a complement to the description of the Ayparchontes' utopian social system, Discurso 75 sets out the complex structure of their religious system. With a gap for the original readers of seventeen months after the beginning of the story, and unlike the other two *discursos* in which dialogue is the narrative vehicle, this last essay is a direct narration from the fictional author's point of view. The introductory outline is intended to be a favourable overview of the Ayparchontes' religion:

> Los Ayparchontes son en extremo amantes de su religión que, si se ha de dar fe a sus historias, conservan desde la más remota antigüedad. Aunque se ven en ella muchas prácticas y creencias supersticiosas, no se hallan aquellas monstruosidades que en la de casi todos los pueblos entre los cuales no ha rayado la luz de la revelación.[46]

Since the author does not say 'revelación divina', this supposes a certain ambiguity that could allow the reader to imagine that the narrator is referring to another form of enlightenment. Moreover, the judgement that many of their religious practices were superstitious but not excessively irrational neutralises the impression of a barbarous nation expressed, at the beginning of Discurso 63, by the impatient reader who was expecting the continuation of the story:

> ¡Pues no es bueno que después de haberme tenido ocho días enteros con la mayor impaciencia del mundo [...] solo por ver si el Bachiller de Zeblitz tenía aún que responder a la solidísima objeción hecha contra el ridículo sistema de nobleza de aquellos bárbaros, se nos venga ahora el Señor Censor tratando una materia totalmente inconexa![47]

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[46] *El Censor*, IV, 'Discurso LXXV', pp. 131-32.
[47] *El Censor*, III, 'Discurso LXIII', p. 258.

Not only does the author not perceive the Ayparchontes as an uncivilised people, but he also attributes to them a firm adherence to rational morality, even though their belief system is not a true religion because for him it is clear that Catholicism is the only acceptable faith: 'por lo que toca a la moral, es bastantemente conforme a los dictámenes de la razón. En una palabra, entre todas las falsas religiones, no creo haya otra menos extravagante'.[48] This remark seems to have been designed to appease the Inquisition's censors.

The Ayparchontes' Church has a pyramidal hierarchy in which the base consists of ministers called *Zymbloyes*. Each *Zymbloy*, helped by two assistants, runs a temple that corresponds to one hundred families. For every two or three hundred *Zymbloyes*, there is a *Tuleytz* who is responsible for observing their behaviour and the carrying out of their duties. The *Tuleytzes* are in charge of the education of young seminarians and are helped by twenty or thirty *Zymleytzes*, advisors elected from among the oldest and wisest *Zymbloyes*. The highest authority is represented by a *Kastuleytz*, whose task is to supervise the conduct of the *Tuleytzes*. He is a supreme *Tuleytz* and the greatest priest of the nation. Within this hierarchy, the different levels have obvious equivalences in the Catholic Church in Spain.

In the Ayparchontes' Church, all priests are called *Tosbloyes*. They have very specific functions within society: they direct religious ceremonies, offer sacrifices and act as persuasive arbitrators between litigious citizens, especially in religious matters. They may punish a citizen with exclusion from religious gatherings, but this penalty does not mean the loss of civil rights. In general, then, they instruct, persuade and admonish. *Tosbloyes* do not have administrative jurisdiction or special privileges in the political sphere, in clear contrast to Spain. Rather, they are subject to all social obligations provided that these are compatible with their ministry. They are not allowed to obtain civil employment or accept donations — which could be interpreted as an attack on the clergy occupying positions in universities in Europe, as well as on Church mendicant orders — because the government gives them sufficient income to maintain a basic, though frugal, existence. Moreover, to become a *Tosbloy*, one must give up one's personal fortune. As to the situation in eighteenth-century Spain, the state allowed the Church to collect tithes as well as own and inherit property such as land and buildings, which both brought in income in the form of rent.

With regard to economic matters in the ethical code of the Ayparchontes' Church, it has to be emphasised that the Spanish Church was a most powerful economic

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[48] *El Censor*, IV, 'Discurso LXXV', p. 132.

institution in the eighteenth century until the process of disentailment began in 1798. The wealth of the eighteenth-century Spanish Church rested on a complex variety of resources such as legacies, donations, income from agricultural property and land tenure in urban areas.[49] However, this material prosperity was fragmented in its distribution: 'Revenues produced by real estate, the tithe, *censos*, and other sources can be classified as Church income, but this simply means the accumulated income of a multitude of ecclesiastical institutions — bishoprics, monasteries, convents, and charitable and pious associations'.[50] The frugality prevailing in the religious system of the Ayparchontes can be thus interpreted as an indirect critical judgement on the wealth of the Spanish Church.[51]

Naturally, the author/visitor finds the Ayparchontes' ecclesiastical legislation very strange and inadmissible:

> Mis lectores concebirán fácilmente cuán extraño se me haría este sistema; y sobre todo, cuán admirable me parecía esta contraposición entre la opinión pública y la ley; y un sacerdocio sobre falso, tan poco protegido por la autoridad pública, y por otra parte tan venerado de todos los ciudadanos en particular.[52]

Contrary to the belief of the traveller that this religious system restricts or neglects the status of the Church, Zeblitz asserts that, through the elaborate organisation of the clergy, the government shows absolute respect for the Church and its members. The state protects the integrity of the Church's moral authority by keeping it away from privileges and richness. Otherwise, luxury and material comfort would attract worldly and avaricious people who, in turn, would corrupt those who want to dedicate their lives to the priesthood:

> El lujo, la avaricia y toda suerte de desórdenes se introducirían entre los que le profesasen; y aquellos mismos que no con otro fin entrasen en él que la felicidad de su espíritu serían bien presto corrompidos ya por el ejemplo de los demás, ya por la virtud casi irresistible de las riquezas y la opulencia.[53]

This passage reflects the author's opinion of the effects of the fiscal situation of the Church in Spain. What is implicitly criticised are those intending to make a career in the Church who are attracted to ecclesiastical service by Church wealth and social

[49] Callahan, pp. 38-42.
[50] Ibid., p. 43.
[51] For criticism of the eighteenth-century Spanish Church, see the chapter 'La pensée religieuse: I. Le procès de l'Église', in Sarrailh, *L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*, pp. 613-61.
[52] *El Censor*, IV, 'Discurso LXXV', pp. 137-38.
[53] Ibid., p. 140.

status rather than for spiritual reasons. Zeblitz corroborates the disastrous consequences that a religious system corrupted by opulence can cause when he describes the situation that prevailed during a 'dark' period of the Ayparchontes' history: 'En unos tiempos en que la luz que había iluminado a los primeros siglos de nuestra monarquía se había del todo oscurecido'.[54] This terrible period could be understood as the history of the Spanish Church after the coming of the Habsburg dynasty. However, Zeblitz adds that a good king finally came to the throne and restored religion to its primitive state and purity. The portrayal of the king in question may be interpreted as a reference to Carlos III, who realises the importance of the situation of the priesthood: 'Es muy justo, solía él decir, que quien sirve al santuario viva de él: que viva, pero no en el deleite, no en el fausto y la opulencia'.[55] The allusion to a dark moment in Spanish history can be regarded in terms of a contrast with the metaphor of light in the Enlightenment period.

*El Censor* disapproves of the fact that the Church, via subsidiary institutions such as the Inquisition, exerts control over Enlightenment thought in Spain because that would imply the development of an ideology contrary to the promotion of the arts and sciences, in spite of the intellectual formation of priests: 'no gozan en lo político la más leve prerrogativa o preeminencia. Están sujetos a todas las cargas de la sociedad compatibles con su ministerio. No pueden obtener empleo ni dignidad civil'.[56] As Francisco Sánchez-Blanco argues, 'La reforma del clero con que simpatiza *El Censor* consiste en que los sacerdotes se dediquen a predicar bien, abandonen los asuntos mundanos y no anatematicen a los que buscan la verdad, tachándoles de ateos e impíos'.[57] In fact, the reformist nature of Discurso 75 caused the text to be prohibited by the Inquisition, which was not the case with Discurso 61 or Discurso 63.[58] The desire to reform the clergy and the censorship role that this position entails would validate the hypothesis of José Miguel Caso González that *El Censor* was in some measure supported by Carlos III, especially since it is known that Cañuelo received a pension from the King beginning at approximately the time when the publication of the periodical started.[59] Because Carlos III could have planned to implement reforms in the Church, encouraging the project of *El Censor* would have been in accord with his beliefs. Caso González speculates that the periodical was produced in hitherto unclear

[54] Ibid., p. 141.
[55] Ibid., p. 147.
[56] Ibid., pp. 136-37.
[57] Sánchez-Blanco, *El absolutismo y las Luces en el reinado de Carlos III*, p. 342.
[58] *Índice último de los libros prohibidos y mandados expurgar: para todos los reinos y señoríos del católico rey de las Españas, el señor Don Carlos IV* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio de Sancha, 1790; facsimile edition, Valencia: Librerías París-Valencia, 1997), p. 50.
[59] Gil Novales, p. 205.

circumstances in which a pool of anonymous writers was committed to supporting the plans of the monarch:

> Todo lleva a suponer que nuestro periódico estaba programado, dirigido y redactado por un grupo de ilustrados [...] que ocupaban puestos de relieve en las instituciones de gobierno, y que, si no fue impulsado ni protegido por órganos oficiales, fue una iniciativa de Carlos III, o una iniciativa ajena patrocinada por el Rey.[60]

Aspects such as the absence of Church wealth and the return to the original impoverished state of its priesthood led Richard Herr to indicate that 'Cañuelo was echoing the arguments of the Jansenist clergy, who were friends of the Enlightenment and partisans of reform of the Church by royal order'.[61] Nevertheless, as Caso González claims, the definition of Jansenism and its imputation of heresy were unclear and, consequently, it cannot be established whether the utopian principles of the Ayparchontes' religion refer to the acceptance of the Jansenist perspective: 'no puedo utilizar palabras como *jansenismo*, que nos lleva a determinados y concretos problemas. Creo que se trata más bien de *ilustrados* que están sacando las consecuencias de su mentalidad ilustrada en cuanto a problemas de orden religioso'.[62]

In his article on *El Censor*, the French scholar Paul-Jacques Guinard summed up the critical attitude towards the Spanish Church, as set out in various essays of the periodical, in the following way:

> Ce que Pereyra et Cañuelo — ou leurs collaborateurs occultes — fustigent, c'est, dans une perspective économique, la richesse de l'Église, propriétaire [...] de nombreuses et vastes mainmortes [...]. Dans une perspective politique, ils rêvent d'un état où, conformément aux conceptions régalistes en honneur parmi les "ilustrados", l'Église exercerait son pouvoir, qui est purement spirituel, sans porter atteinte aux prérogatives des autorités civiles. Sur le plan spirituel, ils se montrent [...] fort prudents en ce qui concerne la doctrine, mais ils reprochent au clergé son manque de vocation, son pharisaïsme, son incompétence, née de son ignorance. Ils lui reprochent également de faire régner l'obscurantisme et l'esprit d'intolérance chez les fidèles, d'encourager ceux-ci à les pratiques superstitieuses, et de transmettre des traditions sans fondement, des récits de faux miracles qu'aucun chrétien raisonnable et respectueux de sa religion ne saurait accepter.[63]

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[60] Caso González, '*El Censor*, ¿periódico de Carlos III?', p. 797.
[61] Herr, p. 186.
[62] Caso González, '*El Censor*, ¿periódico de Carlos III?', p. 796.
[63] Paul-Jacques Guinard, 'Remarques sur une grande revue espagnole du XVIIIe siècle: *El Censor* (1781-1787)', *Les Langues Néo-Latines*, 212 (1975), 90-105 (pp. 101-02).

A crucial element that permeates the utopian vision of the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes' is the application of rational criteria to the reform of social institutions. The importance of rational practices is a constant in eighteenth-century Spanish utopian texts, but in the case of the utopian monarchy of the Ayparchontes, the interest in social and spiritual transformation is principally focused on a theoretical reformulation of society and not reflected in a correlative spatial organisation, which is a key aspect in the ideal constitution of Sinapia for example. What matters most here is not a sophisticated urban plan, but a social organisation based on rewarding individual work and a genuinely spiritual Church. Thus, another contrast with the tradition of Spanish utopias is that the series of utopian *discursos* of *El Censor* are openly emphatic about the unavoidable necessity of both the nobility and the Church as supporting elements of the socio-political regime, as long as they are both subject to rational regulation. In this sense, *El Censor* did not intend to put forward a revolutionary model but to reform the existing one by delineating a positive feasible utopian alternative. As Guinard notes, 'Il ne propose aucunement le rêve d'une société parfaite et radicalement autre. Ce n'est en fait, malgré le respect des certaines conventions, qu'un projet de réformes, bien plus qu'une utopie au sens primitif'.[64]

The idea of giving a reformed new shape to an existing system may be in accordance with the fact that the name *Ayparchontes* may derive from the Greek word *huparchontón*, the plural imperative of the verb *huparchó*, which means 'to begin'.[65] The etymology of the name of this utopian community could refer, then, to an exhortation to renew society. However, according to Sánchez-Blanco, the word *Ayparchontes* does not exist in Greek, but would mean 'those who do not exert power'.[66] In this context of linguistic interpretations, the name of the sage Zeblitz is claimed by Francisco Uzcanga Meinecke to have been inspired by Karl Abraham von Zedlitz, an enlightened minister of Frederick II of Prussia and Kant's protector.[67] This possible origin of the native's name would reinforce his rational character, which is also evident in the logical structure of his dialogue with the traveller.

## Utopia and Dystopia in *El Censor*

The utopia of the Ayparchontes can be read in parallel with the subsequent dystopia of the Cosmosians, which is the story of another imaginary community, published in 1786

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[64] Guinard, 'Les utopies en Espagne au XVIIIe siècle', p. 178.
[65] Uzcanga Meinecke, p. 158.
[66] Sánchez-Blanco, *El absolutismo y las Luces en el reinado de Carlos III*, p. 325.
[67] Uzcanga Meinecke, p. 159.

in five *discursos*: 89, 90, 101, 106 and 107. On this occasion, the *discursos* consist of several letters provided by a French gazetteer and, as in the previous utopian narration, the metatextual narrative voice acts as the editor of those letters describing the nation of Cosmosia, letters written by a traveller called Mr. Ennous. The letters are annotated with comments by both the French gazetteer and the editor.

In spite of being a dystopian, chaotic place, Cosmosia is ideologically connected to the land of the Ayparchontes in terms of the exaltation of the moral code that must be obeyed. The social disorder and unhappiness of the Cosmosians are a consequence of their reluctance to put into practice the faculties of reason and freedom given to them by their creator:[68] '¡Cuán grande no será este desorden! ¡Cuán grande no será esta infelicidad! Y he aquí a qué abismo conduce a los Cosmosianos el no uso de los medios con que su Criador les ha dotado para vivir ordenados y felices'.[69] Their distorted judgement prevents them from distinguishing between good and evil and, as a result, Cosmosians reveal an excessive ambition for frivolous goods. Ultimately, their barbarous existence is caused by their ignorance of God's universal rules:

> este Dios es absolutamente desconocido de los Cosmosianos. Creen de él mil absurdos tan impíos y escandalosos, como inconcebibles: lo confunden con sus propias obras, y o niegan su existencia o la creen inútil, sustituyendo en lugar de ella, y creyendo mil divinidades manifiestamente quiméricas.[70]

However, their ignorance of a supreme being is acquired, not innate. In other words, they recognise the depravity of their actions, but do not want to abandon their state of deception and falseness, which equates to a life of unlimited material possessions. The Cosmosians' moral world is corrupted due to their self-deception and their will to deceive others: 'No quieren entender porque no quieren obrar bien. Ni les basta el engañarse todos a sí mismos: han menester también engañar a los demás'.[71]

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[68] It is relevant to observe that the dystopian Cosmosia of *El Censor* had a precedent in Benito Jerónimo Feijoo's 'El gran magisterio de la experiencia' (1733), Discurso 11 in volume 5 of his *Teatro crítico universal, o discursos varios en todo género de materias para desengaño de errores comunes*. Feijoo's essay starts with a metaphorical story aimed at proving that experience and experimentation are the only way to get to the knowledge of the truth. Taking the form of a fable, the episode narrates how the kingdom of Cosmosia — an allegory of the world — is affected by the rivalry between two powerful women: Solidina, who personifies the method of experience; and Idearia, the embodiment of thinking based on reason. The story is a clear criticism of the weakness of Aristotelianism as opposed to the favourable reception of the Baconian method, which is symbolised by Solidina's reintegration into society after her exile from Cosmosia. Although the Cosmosia of Feijoo is not the moral representation of a specific community as is the case in *El Censor*, both Cosmosias insinuate the need to restore a sensible state of things that positively results in a desirable social set-up.

[69] *El Censor*, IV [1786]: 'Discurso LXXXIX', pp. 155-84 (p. 182).

[70] Ibid., p. 178.

[71] *El Censor*, IV [1786]: 'Discurso XC', pp. 385-408 (pp. 406-07).

Everything in Cosmosia is chaos and anarchy. Although the theological and philosophical attack supposed by this dystopia can be regarded as a direct response to the moral state of the Spanish Church at the time, Cosmosia's spiritual decadence is basically the result of the perversion of the natural law. As Sánchez-Blanco sees it: 'Lo de las "leyes del Hacedor" es un eufemismo para aludir al Derecho natural. Estamos ante una nación que no respeta ni el orden natural ni el cristiano'.[72] As a matter of fact, *El Censor* as a whole advocates the constitution of a social organisation based on the imitation of the basic rules of nature. The scourge of social inequality in Cosmosia is grounded in the effects of an artificial social superiority, generated by the hellish lifestyle of Cosmosians: 'esta superioridad o elevación [...] no es natural, sino facticia: es un efecto de las monstruosidades que se han formado a causa de la turbación del orden establecido por el Autor del mundo moral'.[73]

Only a state of superiority coming from the will of God or the law of nature can be beneficial: 'Si la elevación o superioridad de aquellos [the Cosmosians] fuese obra suya [God's work], no podría dejar de serles a estos ventajosa, útil, y aun dulce, al mismo tiempo que justísima'.[74] A paradigmatic example of natural superiority is the vertical relationship between the prince and his vassals, but his power becomes futile when it comes to doing good to the masses because he is unable to overcome their universal error. To simplify the philosophical content behind the calamity that condemns this dystopian society, it can be inferred that the inhabitants of Cosmosia do not follow any laws because they are unaware of the existence of God, the true author and legislator of the moral law. In this sense, José Portillo Valdés opposes the cursed land of Cosmosia to the blessed land of the Ayparchontes, but connects both settings through the common purpose of reinterpreting the bases of the Spanish monarchy from a natural and moral delineation of Catholicism: 'desde Cosmosia o desde la tierra de los Ayparchontes, [...] *El Censor* estaba acercando al lector ilustrado a una reinterpretación del orden interno de la monarquía desde una concepción moral católica en sintonía con la que entendía natural y divina'.[75]

Another paradoxical aspect of thematic convergence between the moral disorder of Cosmosia and the social order of the land of the Ayparchontes is the veneration of a hereditary system of wealth and privileges. Although the nobility does not exist as a

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[72] Sánchez-Blanco, *El absolutismo y las Luces en el reinado de Carlos III*, p. 340.
[73] *El Censor*, V [1786]: 'Discurso CVII', pp. 715-37 (pp. 717-18).
[74] Ibid., p. 716.
[75] José M. Portillo Valdés, 'Los límites de la monarquía. Catecismo de estado y constitución política en España a finales del siglo XVIII', *Quaderni Fiorentini*, 25 (1996), 183-263 (p. 209).

class in their world, the Cosmosians encourage injustice and inequality by creating insurmountable differences among citizens. What turns out to be striking about the way social hierarchy works in Cosmosia is that power is not measured by how many material things a citizen owns, but by the arbitrary value that the rich decide to give to those acquired properties. Therefore, social inequality is infinite and illegitimate because those who unlawfully hold power set the criteria for social standards according to their own interests:

> Ni la riqueza es aquí adquisible ni la pobreza evitable por otras vías que la de la casualidad, o la del capricho de los ricos. [...] Así, aquí no puede ser un hombre rico sin perjuicio de los demás; y el pobre puede ser pobre a pesar de cuanto haga en beneficio de todos. Y esta es la causa de la enorme desigualdad [...] que no eleva a los unos ni los perfecciona sino en cuanto degrada e imperfecciona a los otros.[76]

Since fate is the only force that rules this dystopian reality, Cosmosia is certainly an atheist nation. As partisans of atheism and opponents of the plan of salvation, the Cosmosians live indifferent to the system of virtue and merit that governs the country of the Ayparchontes.

## Utopian Echoes and Critical Debates in the Eighteenth-Century Spanish Press

Beyond the fact that both imaginary societies — Cosmosia and the land of the Ayparchontes — may have been thought up by the same anonymous author, it should be pointed out that the story of another utopian society was conceived in reaction to the description of Cosmosia and appeared in letters 20 and 21 of *El Corresponsal del Censor* in 1787. The letters are signed by Ramón Harnero (the pen name of Manuel Rubín de Celis), a fictional correspondent who maintains an epistolary communication with the also fictional author(s) of *El Censor*. The circumstances of the arrival in the utopian place are again favoured by a storm that causes a vessel to be thrown against an island, an unnamed and glorious island diametrically opposed to Cosmosia: 'no puede lograrse en este mundo gloria mayor que la de vivir y morir en una isla tan diametralmente opuesta a la Cosmosia'.[77]

What is interesting to note about this ideal community is its respect for religion and the law. The religious doctrine of its inhabitants is free of superstition, the major symptom of false religions disapproved of by *El Censor*. Irrational beliefs only produce

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[76] *El Censor*, V, 'Discurso CVII', p. 725.
[77] Manuel Rubín de Celis, *El Corresponsal del Censor*, ed. by Klaus-Dieter Ertler, Renate Hodab and Inmaculada Urzainqui (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2009), p. 175.

fearful and unconfident citizens: 'Jamás se les habla de agoreros ni de agüeros; tampoco de sueños, de horóscopos, ni de días aciagos; y así nunca tienen temor a cosa alguna'.[78] As to the application of the law, their legal system echoes the rules contemplated by the Ayparchontes in terms of maximising the growth of society through the arduous and difficult work that can be performed by convicts: 'la ley no inventó los suplicios sino por el bien de la sociedad'.[79] In this respect, both Cosmosia and the monarchy of the Ayparchontes share points of convergence with *Utopia*'s conception of lawbreakers as useful manpower for society.

The ethical parameters in the utopian island are strictly based on the code of nature, and the rank of nobility is merely a personal achievement. Noble status can be obtained by fulfilling one of the following activities: fighting against the enemies of the nation, inventing something useful or pursuing a career in the liberal arts. Talented citizens are protected by the government and are expected to instruct their fellow citizens in how to preserve traditional virtues. Hard work and personal merit are the only way to succeed and become better citizens: 'Entre ellos no se conocen otros padrinos que la justicia o el mérito'.[80] It is important to specify the Enlightenment idea that individual virtue is only valuable insofar as it produces positive effects in other community members. In this regard, Caso González points out that 'No es [...] el conjunto de buenas cualidades lo que hace virtuoso al hombre, sino, como sostiene Voltaire [...], el que esas buenas cualidades actúen con relación al prójimo'.[81] In order to intensify the collective commitment to achieving an ideal society, the islanders publish a monthly gazette reporting reprehensible actions that have happened in the island and that must be avoided. In this way, Harnero contrasts the pleasurable purpose that underlies the Spanish gazettes with the moral objective of the utopian newspapers: 'la gaceta, que por lo común no sirve en nuestro país más que para diversión de gente desocupada, es en este un fuerte estímulo para adquirir y mantener las buenas costumbres, y un freno que impide abandonarse al vicio'.[82]

According to the analysis of this utopian account made by José Mariluz Urquijo, the legal and judicial system of the islanders copies the reformist proposals included in the official regulations of the Spanish government. For example, the prohibition to question or interpret the rules replicates the prescriptions regarding the non-

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[78] Ibid., p. 167.
[79] Ibid., p. 170.
[80] Ibid., p. 173.
[81] José Miguel Caso González, 'Introducción', in José de Cadalso, *Cartas marruecas*, ed. by José Miguel Caso González (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2007), pp. 11-28 (p. 25).
[82] Rubín de Celis, p. 172.

examination of the laws of the Indies, in case a hermeneutical perspective provokes an incorrect interpretation or perceptions not in accord with reason:

> En ninguna otra parte mejor que en el país de Utopía podía compartirse esa tan generalizada como utópica creencia dieciochesca en que las leyes racionales no necesitaban del auxilio del intérprete y de que la labor de éste constituía casi una ofensa a la majestad del legislador.[83]

The utopian narration of *El Corresponsal del Censor*, to an extent similar to the dystopia of Cosmosia and the utopia of the Ayparchontes, transcends the fictional subtext and is interwoven with real referents: 'La lectura de estas páginas produce la impresión de estar frente a textos de algún penalista de la época y no de literatura de ficción'.[84] In the same vein, the debate about the impossible elimination of hereditary nobility was an urgent topic for Spanish Enlightenment writers, apart from the treatment of the discussion in utopian fictions. As Caso González argues,

> Virtud y servicio a la comunidad van a ser los dos ejes sobre los que se sostengan en adelante los privilegios. Y todo ello significa que los nobles han de recibir una educación adecuada. Aquí es donde va a estar el meollo de la crítica ilustrada a la nobleza, que encontramos como tópico generalizado en unos y otros.[85]

Especially in the land of the Ayparchontes, the possessions and privileges of the Spanish nobility are seen as a real threat to the social and economic development of the country.

It is also important to mention Discurso 65 of *El Censor*, a letter written by a Moroccan citizen, who describes his Spanish visit to his compatriot and addressee Abu-Taleb. The Discurso was published in 1784 and was undoubtedly inspired by the visit of the ambassador of Morocco, Sidi Hamet Al Ghazzali, to Spain in 1766. Both this historical event and the literary model of Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721) were the source of inspiration for the *Cartas marruecas*[86] and the fictional letter of *El Censor*.[87] In an attempt to criticise the traditional Spanish insistence in employing erroneous political strategies, Discurso 65 of *El Censor* reproaches the Spanish

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[83] José M. Mariluz Urquijo, 'Una utopía jurídica española del siglo XVIII', *Revista de Historia del Derecho*, 9 (1981), 303-33, (p. 318).
[84] Ibid., p. 321.
[85] Caso González, 'Introducción', p. 24.
[86] Cadalso submitted the manuscript of the *Cartas marruecas* to the Consejo de Castilla in 1774 in order to obtain a printing licence, which suggests that the text was finished in the mid-1770s (Nigel Glendinning, *Vida y obra de Cadalso* (Madrid: Gredos, 1962), p. 137).
[87] Uzcanga Meinecke, p. 167.

administration for not having a coherent legal system, which results in the lack of a consistent form of government. The Moroccan visitor explains to Abu-Taleb that all social classes are blended together with the head of the state, but that this sublime situation is probably the cause of the existence of an undefined legislation and political system:

> Ve tú ahora, mi querido Abu-Taleb, unidas todas las clases de este Estado entre sí y con su cabeza, con un vínculo tan dulce como el del amor y que el temor seguramente no es el principio que le hace *obrar* [...]. ¿Mas qué dirías si no obstante esto te hiciese ver que este príncipe tan bueno ni es un monarca, ni mucho menos un déspota, ni que este gobierno es lo que los europeos llaman aristocrático, ni democrático, ni de otra de aquellas especies de gobierno mixto de que tú tienes idea? En todas ellas, y en cualquiera, es esencial una potestad de hacer leyes, por las cuales hayan de decidirse todas las contiendas de los particulares. Y ésta en España ni se halla en el pueblo, [...] ni en los nobles, ni en el príncipe; en una palabra, falta absolutamente.[88]

Besides the paternalistic relationship between the prince and his subjects, what stands out as atypical about the political set-up in Spain, according to the observer, is the amorphous government plan that ignores the tripartite classification of government models delineated by Aristotle in his *Politics*: monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. Rejecting Aristotle's classification, Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* of 1748 distinguished three types of government: monarchy, republic and despotism. Aristotle leaned towards a mixed government, specifically the combination of democracy and aristocracy. His reflections curiously made reference to the role that virtue played in the character of the members who composed the oligarchy:

> such mixed governments as inclined most to the side of democracy are commonly called republics, while those which incline most to the side of oligarchy are commonly called aristocracies; because birth and education seem to have a natural connection with wealth; [...] therefore, a rich man is confounded with a good one; and as there are only three distinct principles which contend for political authority, virtue, wealth, and numbers (for birth may always be analyzed into hereditary virtue or hereditary wealth), it is plain that if we comprehend under the name of aristocracy all those governments in which virtue forms a constituent element, we must define a republic [...] to be that in which [...] the prerogatives of the few, and the rights and liberties of the many, are duly respected and impartially maintained.[89]

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[88] *El Censor*, III [1784]: 'Discurso LXV', pp. 289-306 (p. 298).
[89] Aristotle, *Politics*, ed. and trans. by John Gillies (London: A. Strahan, T. Cadell Jr and W. Davies, 1797), p. 293.

The Aristotelian conception of moral virtue seems to be the basis for the construction of a utopian Spain where the acquisition of values is needed for social transformation. Aristotelian virtue is always a voluntary and deliberate act. As the utopia of the Ayparchontes proclaims and the dystopia of Cosmosia ignores, virtue, not wealth or arbitrary power, is the cornerstone of an enlightened society in which the happiness and well-being of the people are the ultimate objectives of government. This kind of sociological insight of *El Censor* triggered its participation in the heated attack against Spain's apologists that dominated the periodical press from 1786 until 1788. In the rivalry between apologists and anti-apologists, *El Censor* supported the criticism of the factors that were preventing Spain from joining the mainstream of European intellectual life and thought, such as its moral values, deficient legal system and attachment to scholastic theology. The anti-apologists were categorically opposed to the outdated values defended by the apologists, who also resisted the intellectual work of the nation's enlightened thinkers.[90] The open conflict between the two groups had its origins in France in 1782 when Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers published an article about Spain in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*. In his entry, Masson describes Spain as a backward and ignorant nation whose government is weak and whose clergy is tyrannical.[91] The decline and decadence of the arts and sciences in Spain are also sharply criticised. Masson's rhetorical question was famously repudiated by Spaniards: 'Mais que doit-on à l'Espagne? Et depuis deux siècles, depuis quatre, depuis dix, qu'a-t-elle fait pour l'Europe?'.[92] This was a question about the cultural resources of the Spanish nation and the extent of their contribution to European culture, which caused discomfort to many Spaniards.

Among the diverse reactions to the French geographer's polemical article, one that is particularly significant is the *Oración apologética por la España y su mérito literario* (1786) by Juan Pablo Forner, a text whose publication was subsidised by the government. Although *El Censor* includes in its *discursos* explicit replies to Masson's negative evaluation of Spain's potential, it is Discurso 165 that constitutes the emblematic response to the French writer and the Spanish apologists. Printed in 1787 and presented as a parody of Forner's text, the 'Oración apologética por el África y su mérito literario' tries to eradicate the excessive and unfounded optimism that only

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[90] García-Pandavenes, '*El Censor* (1781-1787)', pp. 269-71.

[91] See Clorinda Donato and Ricardo López, eds, *Enlightenment Spain and the Encyclopédie Méthodique* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015).

[92] Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers, *Encyclopédie méthodique: géographie moderne* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1782), p. 565.

hampers the ability of Spain to judge its achievements in a rational way.[93] What is worth noting in this Discurso is the appeal to the moral dimension, again stating that Spain's adversities reside in the absence of an institutionalised system of social values and moral or religious convictions. Under an ironic gaze, the flattering supporter of the African nation complains about the misinterpretation concerning the spiritual but civilised and rational ruling principles of his people:

> La moral, la divina ciencia del hombre, la doctrina de su orden, de su fin, de su felicidad, la que une a la más noble de las criaturas con su próvido y liberal Criador, no ha sido entre nosotros todavía contaminada con aquellas legislaciones absurdas que hacen al hombre o brutal, o impío, o ridículo.[94]

The tension between the artificial laws of the state and the natural ones of God brings about a barbarian image of religion: 'la ciencia de la religión no es de este siglo, y precisamente han de pasar por bárbaras aquellas naciones en que se ha consumido más tiempo, más atención y más papel en hablar de Dios y de sus inefables fines'.[95] A theological exploration of religious practices tends to be overlooked in this ideological confrontation.

## Conclusion

In the light of the text of Cosmosia and the one contained in *El Corresponsal del Censor* that in some measure contextualise the immediate concerns raised by the three *discursos* of the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes', it can be said that this utopian account is an indicator of a specific and more controversial critique of eighteenth-century Spanish society. Published in the most radical periodical of Spanish Enlightenment thought and accessible to a wide range of readers, the account of the monarchy of the Ayparchontes is an invitation to rethink the internal system and dynamics of two key features of Spanish society: hereditary nobility and a wealthy Church. In spite of not claiming to be a revolutionary model, the Ayparchontes' utopian order suggests the advantageous effects of adequate social integration in which all the members of different social groups — priests, nobles or plebeians — contribute to the progress of society, led by the enlightened legislation of a king.

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[93] For a critical analysis of the clash between Forner and *El Censor*, see Philip Deacon, 'Señas de identidad de Juan Pablo Forner: una aproximación a las *Demostraciones palmarias*', in *Juan Pablo Forner y su época (1756-1797)*, ed. by Jesús Cañas Murillo and Miguel Ángel Lama (Mérida, Spain: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 1998), pp. 379-99.
[94] *El Censor*, VIII [1787]: 'Discurso CLXV', pp. 629-60 (p. 640).
[95] Ibid., p. 641.

The threat of censorship that hangs over *El Censor* stimulates the cautious narrative approach of the utopia of the Ayparchontes in addressing issues related to the Spanish Church. In order to show an apparent detachment from the revealing system of the utopian monarchy described in the found manuscript, the fictional editor of the story emphatically reiterates his impartial selection of the passages that he considers to be of interest to his readership. This circumspect attitude is evidently a strategy to minimise the critical intervention of the editor of *El Censor* in favour of a convenient involvement of the reader, whose role is essential to the fulfilment of the text. The appeal to the audience's reaction is certainly represented by the enthusiasm of the eager reader described in Discurso 63. Given its inclusion in a reformist periodical, the account of the Ayparchontes, then, provides the Spanish utopian tradition with a more significant and dynamic image of the readership of utopian fiction. A favourable reception by the public would ultimately be a vehicle of legitimation for the critical position of *El Censor*. However, as will be seen especially in Chapter 8, the boundaries between utopian and reformist schemes should be seen as separable in terms of the context in which these projects are created and the extent to which their applicability is planned.

By putting the utopia of the Ayparchontes in dialogue with other texts of the period, it is possible to observe a widespread concern about both the incongruity of the hereditary privileges of the aristocracy and the existence of a wealthy Church. In contrast with the dystopian society of Cosmosia or as the source of inspiration for Rubín de Celis's utopian island, the literary depiction of institutional problems in *El Censor* responds to a kind of collective discussion about the tarnished reputation of Spain. The inactivity and unproductiveness that a hereditary nobility entails are particularly condemned considering the rational vision of progress promoted by Enlightenment thinking.

Thus, social and spiritual realisation based on merit and personal effort is imperative to ensuring the building of a flourishing society and a prosperous economy. However, the reformist programme proposed in the utopia of the Ayparchontes must have appeared too radical to be acceptable in a highly conservative society where the majority of Spanish noblemen and clergy opposed any diminution in their wealth or extensive privileges. Despite the chimerical application of their empire's idealistic structure to the existing order of things in Spain, *El Censor*'s utopian story aims to show that the Ayparchontes' social and religious organisation, based on a meritocratic ideology and moral foundations for official institutions, can be seen as an alternative

and superior system to the Spanish one. This alternative form of social and religious organisation would provoke its readership to radically question the existing political, social and religious system of Spain.

Chapter 7

Anti-Enlightenment Perspectives in the *Monarquía columbina*

The publication of the short utopian text *Tratado sobre la monarquía columbina* in 1790, in volume 30 of the Madrid periodical *Semanario Erudito*,[1] coincided with the almost contemporaneous appearance of other utopian texts in the Spanish press, such as the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes' in *El Censor*, as seen in the previous chapter, and the brief untitled utopias of *El Corresponsal del Censor* and the *Correo de Madrid*,[2] both published in 1787. What the *Monarquía columbina* shares with these other utopian narratives is the explicit division of the story into thematic sections, but unlike them, the development of the plot is not fragmented into episodes presented in subsequent issues of the periodical.

Although the text originally appeared as an anonymous work in the publication edited by Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor — which is also the case of the utopian writings included in other periodicals — the authorship was made known by the Spanish scholar Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, to whose attention the news of the publication of the same text in the *Revista Calasancia* in 1895 was subsequently brought by Francisco Aguilar Piñal. The journal, belonging to the religious order of the Escolapians, presents the account as *Monarquía columbina. Su gobierno y causa de su ruina*, the work of Father Andrés Merino de Jesucristo, himself an Escolapian, whose non-religious name was Manuel Antonio Merino Irigoyen (1730-87).[3] This title, which may be that of the manuscript transcribed, certainly announces the theme and unhappy ending of the story. The present chapter will demonstrate that a utopian perspective threatened by the imminent imposition of a destabilising force characterises the fiction of the *Monarquía columbina*, a text described by Álvarez de Miranda as an anti-Enlightenment utopia, possibly composed by Merino near the date of his death in 1787.

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[1] See the full reference in footnote 8 of the Introduction to this thesis. The thirty-four volumes of the periodical appeared in Madrid between 1787 and 1791. Its principal focus was the dissemination of previously unpublished historical writings, few of which were literary in character. See Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *La prensa española en el siglo XVIII: diarios, revistas y pronósticos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978), p. 35, and, for an overview of the periodical, Guinard, *La presse espagnole de 1737 à 1791*, pp. 281-86.

[2] See footnote 12 in the Introduction.

[3] Álvarez de Miranda, 'El Padre Andrés Merino, autor de la *Monarquía columbina*', pp. 20-21. Based on the satirical critique of the Enlightenment as the main focus of the text, Nigel Glendinning attributed the authorship of the *Monarquía* to the Spanish reformer, translator and poet León de Arroyal (1755-1813) (Nigel Glendinning, 'Tendencias liberales en la literatura española a fines del siglo XVIII', *Dieciocho*, 9 (1986), 138-52 (p. 142)).

**Existing Research on the Text**

Almost all the known research on the *Monarquía columbina* has been carried out by Álvarez de Miranda, who found the text in the *Semanario Erudito* and decided to draw attention to the work by re-editing it with an extensive introduction and notes in 1980. After pointing out that the work had more characteristics in common with the novelistic genre or the narrative of imaginary travel than with the utopian genre, Álvarez de Miranda viewed it as a kind of manifesto opposing some basic tenets of Enlightenment thought, particularly those concerning the promotion of scientific knowledge, progress and happiness, which in turn revealed the xenophobic and authoritarian tendency of the then unknown author.[4] Álvarez de Miranda's substantial initial work on the *Monarquía columbina* comprises a transcription of the 1790 *Semanario Erudito* version of the text preceded by a detailed analytical introduction in which he demonstrates that Merino's composition opposes Enlightenment thinking in its attitude to progress and civilisation.

It was not until ten years later that Álvarez de Miranda discovered that Father Andrés Merino was the author of the work, suggesting that the *Monarquía columbina* was composed near the date of Merino's death in 1787. The comparison between the version published in the *Revista Calasancia* and a manuscript of the text found by Álvarez de Miranda in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (MS 17874, fols 143-66)[5] confirms that the word *tratado* was added to the original title by Valladares, the editor of the *Semanario Erudito*. Furthermore, the content of the prologue to the *Monarquía columbina* in the manuscript copy led the scholar to reaffirm the reactionary attitude of Merino towards the objectives of the Spanish *proyectistas* and the civilising purposes of the Enlightenment. Álvarez de Miranda had the intention to offer a definitive edition of the *Monarquía columbina* based on the three sources he was acquainted with, but so far no new edition has been published by him.[6]

Another critic who has examined Merino's writings is Emilio Palacios Fernández, although in many respects he restates Álvarez de Miranda's opinions and findings on the *Monarquía columbina*. However, Palacios Fernández justifies the incompleteness of the utopian text and its ideological depth on the grounds that the limits of the story

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[4] Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, 'Introducción', in *'Tratado sobre la monarquía columbina': una utopía antiilustrada del siglo XVIII*, pp. v-lviii (p. xxxiii).

[5] Álvarez de Miranda, 'El Padre Andrés Merino, autor de la *Monarquía columbina*', p. 20.

[6] Ibid., p. 39. See footnote 5 on page 21 of this article for a full bibliographical reference of the issue of the *Revista Calasancia* in which Merino's work was published.

do not allow such a goal to be achieved.[7] More importantly, he provides a useful and informed biography of Andrés Merino, highlighting his multi-faceted career:

> El pedagogo, el paleógrafo, el lingüista o el novelista, asentó sus bases en sus conocimientos humanísticos, aunque su lectura del mensaje clásico está hecha desde los principios cristianos. Fue intelectual crítico, a veces un poco resentido. [...] El P. Merino no es un hombre de la Ilustración, pero sí un erudito que hizo una aportación interesante a la cultura de nuestro siglo XVIII.[8]

More centred on Merino's narrative manner, Claire Mercier focuses her erudite analysis on the allegorical and fabulistic meaning of the text, emphasising its biblical and satirical connotations. She also studies the work in relation to the tradition of medieval Christian bestiaries and analyses the relationship between the *Monarquía columbina* and the genre of treatises of good government containing ideal representations of monarchical regimes.[9] Some of her arguments will be discussed later in this chapter.

**The Organisational Structure of the Text**

Despite the fact that the word *tratado* seems to be an editorial addition to the author's title, the *Monarquía columbina* certainly aims to offer an accurate description and reflection of the establishment of the republic of doves in four parts or *discursos* that compose a kind of treatise. However, the portrayal of the utopian space and its social system is presented only in the third part of the narrative. The thematic sequence of the four parts of the story is as follows: 1) the voluntary social disintegration of the community of doves, 2) their exodus to the utopian region of the City of the Sun, 3) the establishment of the utopian monarchy of the doves and 4) the social disintegration of their kingdom due to their subjugation by the birds of prey. As Álvarez de Miranda[10] and Palacios Fernández[11] both point out, Merino's text has a cyclical structure because the situation of the doves is the same at the beginning and at the end of the story: their society is destroyed by the power of their enemies. Such a pessimistic perspective implies that the doves are doomed to recurring failure trapped in a cycle of hope and

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[7] Emilio Palacios Fernández, 'El Padre Andrés Merino de Jesucristo y la cultura española del siglo XVIII', *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País*, 47 (1991), 3-42.

[8] Ibid., p. 42.

[9] Claire Mercier, 'De la alegoría de las aves en *Tratado sobre la monarquía columbina*, del padre Andrés Merino de Jesucristo', *Visitas al Patio*, 5 (2011), 103-19.

[10] Álvarez de Miranda, 'Introducción', p. xxxvii.

[11] Palacios Fernández, p. 39.

decline, even though there is a lapse of five hundred years before the eventual demise of the utopian monarchy, as will be seen in the analysis below.

As in *Sinapia*, the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes' or the *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton*, the utopian community is defined as a monarchical system, often referred to as a 'republic', in the classical sense of the term. In the *Monarquía columbina*, however, the need to establish a monarchy emerges in response to the existing state of anarchy that damages the natural innocence and goodness of the doves, who are subject to the evil influence of their immediate enemies, the birds of prey:

> Las causas de formarse esta Monarquía dimanaron de que vivieron antiguamente las palomas sin forma alguna de República, sin formar cuerpo distinto de las demás aves, hasta que el tiempo las hizo conocer los grandes perjuicios que padecía su natural sencillo e inocente con la comunicación y encuentro de tantas aves de rapiña, que nunca se saciaban de su sangre.[12]

As seen in Chapter 5, the use of animals as inhabitants of the utopian space is a technique equally adopted in the republic of monkeys as depicted by Seriman and Vaca de Guzmán. Such a technique obviously echoes the method of eighteenth-century fables, but the image of the birds also has literary and biblical connotations in the *Monarquía columbina*.

The confrontation between good and evil is the leitmotif that permeates the four parts of the text, which are recounted by a third-person narrator, a strategy that serves to underline the quasi-historical aspect of the story. This impersonal narrator remains unidentified and monopolises the authority to speak. However, in order to stress the moral dimension that the subject entails, Merino uses several intercalated speeches directed at the doves by one of their number, Calistomos, whose concerns are addressed in the second *discurso* by the phoenix bird Crisorroa. The longest speech, located near the beginning of the story in the first *discurso*, transmits what Calistomos has to say to the community of doves about the barbaric excesses of the birds of prey. Being the wisest of the doves, Calistomos is a key character who foresees the future of the birds and provides them with spiritual guidance and support throughout the whole process of establishing their long-awaited monarchy. The role of Calistomos will be further examined below.

What should be mentioned at this point is that the moralistic nature of Calistomos's vision and of the text as a whole results in a prevalence of the

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[12] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, p. 3.

development of the historical evolution of the dove society as opposed to the depiction of the political, social and even religious structures of the utopian society in question. The external narrator judges the world of the doves and makes moralising comments on the birds of prey and their way of life, and wishes for a reformed type of society. In this way, Merino can be seen to underplay the traditional potential of a utopian text and instead emphasise its character as a moral tale. The result for the reader is a focus on a developing story in contrast with an examination of social and political structures that is customary in utopian writings. In fact, as will be analysed later, giving the account a pessimistic ending also distances the *Monarquía Columbina* from the traditional utopian model, which usually does not have a conclusive ending, especially not a negative one. The fact that Merino presents Calistomos as, in some measure, a protagonist in the story also replaces the interest of a more traditional utopian account.

## A Distorted Concept of Civilisation

The first *discurso* sets out the idea of founding a utopian colony in an isolated place far from enemies, instead of undertaking a massive exodus that would only bring about a rupture in the community of the birds:

> el retirarse cada una, según la casualidad lo quisiese, a algún lugar desierto y libre de piratas en donde poder vivir con alguna seguridad sería cosa arriesgada [...], y después de esto quedaba esparcido el cuerpo de la nación palomar, el hijo separado del padre, y la madre de las queridas prendas de sus entrañas.[13]

As in *Sinapia*, the nuclear family is seen as both the germ of the nation and the institution that keeps society unified. Nevertheless, the humanisation of the birds is an inconsistency that is present throughout the story, though it is also a way of making clear that the nation of doves serves as an allegorical representation of mankind, and more specifically of an autonomous society striving to preserve its identity in the face of the dangers that intruders (or 'piratas') pose.

In order to determine how to improve their present situation in a space free from the menace of the birds of prey, the doves find shelter in a cave in the middle of a stormy night. The discussion is led by Calistomos, the oldest of the birds, whose gender is actually undetermined 'porque los historiadores están divididos en si era varón o hembra',[14] although the personal pronoun 'él' is used to refer to him in the text. Making

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., p. 8.

use of his eloquence, Calistomos criticises and condemns the fact that the once infamous birds of prey are now regarded as noble, enlightened and civilised ('hidalgas, nobles, ilustres, ilustradas, cultas y civilizadas').[15] The wise dove regrets that such a high status has been distorted and corrupted by the introduction of vices, such as greed and lust, which have been transmitted to the birds by foreign communities:

> todas estas aves que llaman nobles [...] antiguamente eran muy templadas y modestas, vivían contentas con una simple comida, y eran humanas y aplicadas al trabajo para buscar alimento; pero después que se introdujo en ellas la gula y la lujuria, que tomaron del comercio con las avestruces del Asia y comunicación con los papagayos Nordestes y guacamayos de Indias, no bastan a saciar su crueldad y codicia cuantos inocentes pájaros crió el Supremo Hacedor de las cosas.[16]

Similar to the ideological features of Vaca de Guzmán's utopian work, the indiscriminate assimilation of foreign customs or practices is conceived as a negative factor in the social formation of a virtuous country. The reference to the commercial interaction with Asia, the New World and possibly France can be interpreted as an allusion to Spain, especially when taking into account the religious character of this allegorical nation. For many opponents of Enlightenment thinking in Spain, the standard source of the moral corruption of Spanish society derived from France.

As far as the religious or metaphysical framework of the narrative is concerned, Merino, besides expressly mentioning God ('Dios'), also uses expressions such as 'Divina providencia', 'Criador del Universo' or 'Supremo Hacedor'. As shown in the quotation above, the disapproval of a life of excess and debauchery ('se introdujo en ellas la gula y la lujuria') in contrast with a frugal and moderate lifestyle ('antiguamente eran muy templadas y modestas') also reveals the evident Christian affiliation of the author.

After presenting a portrayal of the pernicious power that the birds of prey are trying to impose on the doves, Calistomos proposes the abandonment of their homeland as the only effective way to escape harassment by their enemies. This process of involuntary uprooting is seen as preferable to the extermination of their species. In consequence, the doves will escape to a utopian region, the hyperborean woods, located next to the City of the Sun, an explicit reference to Tommaso Campanella's *La Città del*

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[15] Ibid., p. 4.
[16] Ibid., p. 5.

*Sole* (1623).[17] Calistomos describes the woods as an idyllic and unspoiled country whose government is run by the mythical phoenix bird, from whom the doves will request protection:

> Hay, pues, junto a la Ciudad del Sol unos frondosos bosques, abundantes de cuantas delicias y bienes puede desear nuestra naturaleza. Allí es donde tiene su corte y morada la Reina de las aves, allí donde goza de una tranquila felicidad [...], allí es, en fin, donde todo lo bueno abunda, sin que reine lo malo en parte alguna. A este riquísimo y abundante País es adonde he pensado que debemos pasar, porque allí hasta ahora no entró ni pirata, ni ladrón, ni ladroncillo, ni asesino, ni salteador; porque nuestra Reina la ave Fénix nunca dejó llegar allí ave ninguna de rapiña [...]; allí podremos criar a nuestros hijos en la inocencia y simplicidad. El mal ejemplo no los arrastrará al vicio.[18]

The characterisation of the phoenix as the ruler of the utopian territory emphasises the religious framework of the metaphorical story. As is known, the phoenix has been used as a Christian symbol since the first century, when the myth was related by Saint Clement of Rome in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. The phoenix became a symbol of the resurrection of Christ, but also of Christ himself.[19] Apart from signifying virtue, faith, purity and constancy, the role of the phoenix in the *Monarquía columbina* can be understood as the saviour who is destined to rescue the doves from their suffering and ensure their safety in an imperishable land that symbolises the triumph of eternal life over death. The hyperborean woods are a pure and indestructible place where the new generations of doves will be raised, unaware of the existence of evil, and where the creation of a prosperous republic is possible. According to Calistomos, 'con el auxilio de Dios espero ver nuestra República floreciente y dichosa en los bosques hiperbóreos'.[20]

Continuing with the pseudo-biblical features of the story, the female bird called Polirroa, who attacks and contradicts Calistomos's assertions, can be identified as a version of Judas, as Claire Mercier points out.[21] Described as an arrogant and pretentious bird, Polirroa defends the prestige of the birds of prey and believes that the

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[17] Campanella's work was written in 1602, and a few copies circulated in manuscript for some time. It was first published in 1623 in a Latin translation made by Campanella himself and entitled *Civitas solis*. The first critical edition of the text in Italian was published by Norberto Bobbio in 1941 and based on ten of the eleven manuscripts known at the time (Daniel J. Donno, 'Introduction', in Campanella, *La Città del Sole: Dialogo Poetico/The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*, pp. 1-21 (pp. 19-20)).

[18] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, pp. 7-8.

[19] George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 23.

[20] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, p. 8.

[21] Mercier, pp. 113-14.

so-called innocence of the doves is actually ignorance and rusticity, as opposed to the intelligence and industriousness of their enemies:

> Yo nunca llamaré a nuestra rusticidad y torpeza inocencia, candidez y simplicidad, ni a las aves ágiles, civilizadas, diestras, industriosas y vividoras aves de rapiña, ni piratas, ni ladronas, ni homicidas, antes así como alabo su aplicación a la destreza y agilidad, condeno nuestra flojedad y estupidez.[22]

Polirroa is considered a traitor not only because she strongly rejects the way of thinking of Calistomos — and, as a consequence, of her own species — but also mainly because she is married to one of the opposing birds, a sparrow hawk. Nonetheless, the most important aspect of the dispute resides in the irruption of the recurring topic of civilisation versus barbarism that is frequently treated in utopian fiction.

It is noteworthy that the concept of civilisation is always portrayed negatively in the text and is identified with such features as power and oppression. In this respect, Merino's position seems to reject the conceptual association of the good savage, represented by the doves, with negative notions such as apathy and stupidity. His reaffirmation that the civilising principles associated with the Enlightenment have been perverted by a vain and snobbish attitude is visible when the narrator sarcastically implies a lack of skilfulness in the birds of prey during their return to the cave where the doves had been holding their meeting; instead of trying to block the entrance of the cave to prevent the doves from leaving, a group of owls focuses its efforts on finishing off Polirroa. The desire to satisfy their instinctive needs is stronger than their ability to reflect and act wisely: 'si la codicia de saciar su hambre les hubiera dado lugar a la reflexión, hubieran cerrado la entrada de la cueva y con esto ni rastro de república ni Monarquía hubiera habido de palomas'.[23] Their irrational behaviour deprives them of any attribute of goodness and compassion:

> por ser campesinos y rústicos no se habían dado a aprender varias lenguas, que si hubieran sido civilizados o ciudadanos sin duda hubieran entendido lo que decía Calistomos y hubieran ocupado el paso de la puerta, y allí hubiera sido el sacrificio.[24]

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[22] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, p. 9.
[23] Ibid., p. 10.
[24] Ibid.

In addition to the irony and Christian symbolism employed in this *discurso*, it is inevitable to bring up Plato's allegory of the cave[25] in the sense that the escape of the doves from the dark cave preludes the overcoming of their tribulations and ordeals, and leads to their subsequent journey to the utopian country. In his parable, Plato describes the soul's ascent from illusion to enlightenment, from a false understanding to wisdom. The idea that there are several levels of knowledge between the shadowy world of imagination and the highest truth relates to the gap between the reasoned knowledge of the doves and the supposedly enlightened birds of prey.

The Christian emphasis of the *Monarquía columbina* can also be considered in terms of the ideas appropriated from Campanella's text. Campanella conceived of Christianity as the supreme source of the law and the ultimate aim for which the Spaniards became the actual discoverers of the New World:

> I conclude [...] that Christianity is the true law and that [...] it will become mistress of the world. I also conclude that for this reason the Spaniards discovered the rest of the world so as to unite it all under one law, even though Columbus [...] was its first discoverer. [...] I see, moreover, that we know not what we do but are instruments of God. Thanks to their hunger for gold, the Spaniards go about discovering new countries, but God has a higher end in mind.[26]

It is also significant that Campanella composed a political work called *Monarchia di Spagna* in 1600.[27] This text was written as a form of advice to Felipe III on how to establish a universal monarchy in order to extirpate Protestantism in Europe. Having been written before his imprisonment by the Spanish Inquisition, such a book constituted proof of his innocence and of the unsoundness of the accusation of rebellion made against him.[28]

**A Mythical Utopian Land**

The second *discurso*, which might well have been labelled a chapter, recounts the adversities faced by the doves during their journey to a region adjacent to the City of the Sun. The importance given to the narration of the journey leads Ana Baquero to consider that, while in most utopias the travel process is a simple vehicle to arrive in

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[25] The myth of the cave appears in the dialogue between Socrates and Glaucon in Book VII of *The Republic* (Plato, pp. 193-213).
[26] Campanella, *La Città del Sole: Dialogo Poetico/The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*, p. 121.
[27] See Tommaso Campanella, *A Discourse Touching the Spanish Monarchy*, trans. by Edmund Chilmead (London: Philemon Stephens, 1654).
[28] Germana Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella: The Book and the Body of Nature*, trans. by David L. Marshall (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2010), p. 57.

the ideal place, in the *Monarquía columbina* it injects a note of novelistic tension that is not typical of the utopian genre.[29] Half the initial number of doves that started the journey managed to reach the hyperborean woods, while the other half died as a consequence of the assaults of the birds of prey. This episode, however, certainly resembles the biblical account in which Moses leads the Israelites to the Promised Land of Canaan (Numbers 34: 1-12). Not only the long and arduous exodus across the desert, but also the slaughter of a great number of Israelites as a punishment for their sinful adoration of the Golden Calf (Exodus 32: 1-6) are echoed by the odyssey of the doves. Although the doves are not killed because of morally reprehensible behaviour, their sin consists in doubting the promise of Calistomos that they would get to the dreamlike land. Like Moses, Calistomos struggles to make them recover trust in him:

> Calistomos se vio en mucho peligro, y le costó mucho trabajo el poderlas apaciguar, [...] sentía él que hubiesen desconfiado de su fidelidad, [...] hubieran muerto a Calistomos y dejado su determinación si [...] este generoso palomo no hubiera sabido con sus razones aplacar su indignación.[30]

To stress the redemptive nature of the act of displacement from the homeland, the journey to the hyperborean woods is said to have been made in six days, which of course recalls the creation of the world in the same period of time. Once the doves have arrived at their new destination, they can feel safe and protected from evil. As Calistomos warns them, the birds of prey are a curse throughout the world; the only territory that they are incapable of invading is the empire of the phoenix:

> Que era necedad el pensar que no habían de encontrar muchas aves de rapiña y de muy varias especies antes de llegar a los montes hiperbóreos. Que todo el mundo estaba lleno de ellas. Que la Patria que habían dejado no era la única en donde se criaban. [...] [H]asta entrar en los bosques felices no estaban libres de enemigos.[31]

Having lived oppressed for centuries by the tyranny of the birds of prey, Calistomos offers himself and his people as vassals to Crisorroa, the phoenix bird who acts as the queen of the hyperborean realm. It is at this point that standard features of utopian narrative assume importance again. Crisorroa shows herself as a compassionate

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[29] Ana L. Baquero, 'El viaje y la ficción narrativa española en el s. XVIII', in *Libros de viaje: actas de las Jornadas sobre "Los libros de viaje en el mundo románico", celebradas en Murcia del 27 al 30 de noviembre* de 1995, ed. by Fernando Carmona Fernández and Antonia Martínez Pérez (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1996), pp. 21-29 (p. 28).

[30] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, pp. 11-12.

[31] Ibid., pp. 11-13.

leader and does not accept any form of slavery in her kingdom because that would infringe upon her natural benevolence. In the *Monarquía columbina*, the queen metonymically represents government and is portrayed as a protective and liberal ruler who is particularly prone to loneliness, 'no porque sea enemiga del género humano, sino por no ver las maldades que ejecutan los piratas con los inocentes'.[32] As is the case with the privileged position of the philosopher-king in his role as ruler of the utopian country, Crisorroa is aware of the superior power that she has been given by Providence, but acknowledges that she identifies with the rest of the world in the universal desire to live in peace, without fears or vices:

> el Criador del Universo tuvo sobre mi naturaleza otros designios muy diversos que sobre la vuestra, por lo que todo cuidado empleado en beneficio de mi Real persona y palacio estará muy ajeno de vosotras, a excepción de la inocencia, paz, humanidad y tranquilidad, que son los baluartes que defienden este mi Reino.[33]

It is important to note that although Calistomos represents the patriarchal authority that rules the utopian society, the character of Crisorroa introduces a strong matriarchal component that subverts the gendered view of a male-dominated utopian world. Thus, Merino's text strays from the standard utopian model and contributes a notable feature to the Spanish utopian tradition.

Crisorroa gives the doves full access to the land and the right to delimit their own territory within the country, where they are required to live according to an established set of laws:

> Lo que pedís se os concede sin restricción alguna, porque beneficios con condiciones es verdadera esclavitud. [...] El territorio le elegiréis a vuestro gusto, con toda la extensión que os parezca conveniente; bien entendido que libremente podéis pasearos por todo el Reino que pertenece a mi Patrimonio. En lo demás se os darán por escrito las leyes que debéis observar para vuestra mayor unión y concordia, que serán pocas, claras y breves, porque la multitud de leyes es perjudicial, perturba los pueblos, se observa ninguna y ellas entre sí se complican.[34]

The strict observance of a few specific laws is a fundamental utopian feature that will be developed in the third *discurso* of the *Monarquía columbina*. However, although Crisorroa is presented as a sympathetic ruler, the imposition of her laws on the newly constituted monarchy of doves without input from the majority may result in the

[32] Ibid., pp. 7-8.
[33] Ibid., pp. 14-15.
[34] Ibid.

perception of the utopian system as authoritarian and undemocratic because the laws seem incapable of being questioned. This element would seem to turn Merino's work into a counter-utopia.

## The Utopian System of the Kingdom of the Doves

In order to ensure an organised application of the laws, Calistomos, having been named governor of the doves, divides them into twelve tribes or quarters after choosing a flourishing and fertile valley as the place to establish their own kingdom. However, the division of the land does not promote the notion of private property — a key feature of the utopian tradition — as such an implementation would constitute a grave mistake in the effective founding of the monarchy: 'en habiendo mío y tuyo no puede faltar la discordia. Allí todo se dio por común, nada se reservó ni privilegió'.[35] The division of the doves into twelve tribes clearly echoes the twelve Hebrew tribes of Israel that, after Moses's death, settled in the Promised Land of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua (Genesis 49: 1-28), but it could also allude to the twelve apostles, each of which was meant to rule one of the tribes.

Following the utopian ideal of a rural and egalitarian society, the monarchy of the doves is based on agriculture and their social structure does not contemplate class hierarchies or honorific treatment. The lack of social privileges and distinctions is in accord with their rejection of practices exercised by the community of the birds of prey. In other words, the *Monarquía columbina* advocates the elimination of the concept of nobility, as opposed to the inclination of other Spanish utopias to merely suppress its hereditary character. Furthermore, it is significant to note the construction of Calistomos's monarchy within the boundaries of the phoenix's country, that is to say, the creation of a utopia within another utopia, a system of subordination in which Calistomos's administration depends on Crisorroa's own rules. This parallel configuration of both kingdoms not only implies an indirect form of the process of colonisation prior to the materialisation of the utopian reality, but also entails the disadvantages of building a utopian space in a human (or animal) context in opposition to the perfectly utopian place created by divine intervention. Worldly happiness is always at risk of failing and bringing about the end of the ideal society: 'a la prudencia pertenecía prevenir los malos años y acontecimientos a que está sujeto todo lo humano, por más feliz que sea el estado presente de las cosas'.[36] The supernatural character of

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[35] Ibid., p. 16.
[36] Ibid.

the utopian enterprise is an aspect that the *Monarquía columbina* clearly shares with *Sinapia*.

In spite of the laws being considered unnatural due to their restrictive nature, they must be enforced to avoid misconduct and indiscipline, especially in those whose personality is intrinsically corruptible. An abundance of laws is seen as useless and ineffective, hence the convenience of having a small number of them detailing precise instructions to be put into practice. Although they go against natural laws, the artificial rules imposed by any society are necessary to make its members free.

Being a Christian monarchy, the service to God underlies the sense of freedom in the actions of the doves. A pelican called Argirodoto,[37] one of the ministers of the queen, is put in charge of ensuring compliance with the seven laws ordered by Crisorroa, which are presented as divine commandments to be carefully obeyed:

1) each day will begin with a service to thank God for their existence ('nada se empezará sin que precedan los oficios de religión');[38]

2) all goods will be communal ('no habrá mío ni tuyo')[39] and there will be no titles of distinction in order to prevent discord;

3) if a dove is offended by another's actions, the offender must beg forgiveness on bended knee; otherwise, the offender will be exiled ('pedirá perdón y quedará reconciliada; si repugnase sea desterrada');[40]

4) any act of contempt against parents will be severely punished ('Cualquier desacato contra los padres castíguese con el último suplicio');[41]

5) when a misdemeanour is committed, the parents of the offender are to be punished as well because they have failed to provide their children with a good upbringing and education ('El fraude, dolo, mentira y hurto hacen reos también a los padres del agresor, porque suponen descuido en la educación de los hijos');[42]

6) parents must educate their children in obedience to God's precepts ('Los padres educarán escrupulosamente a sus hijos en las obligaciones para con Dios');[43]

7) there will be no tribunals, judges or lawyers because there will be no lawsuits due to the absence of private land ownership ('todo litigio civil estará muy lejos de vosotras,

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[37] In Merino's text, the concept of the pelican seems to be devoid of its meaning as a Christian symbol representing Christ's self-sacrifice for human salvation, namely the image of the pelican feeding its young with its own blood.

[38] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, p. 17.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid., p. 18.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

por lo que no hay necesidad de Consejos, Tribunales, Jueces, Fiscales ni Abogados [...], quienes por sí solos bastan y sobran para poneros en discordia').[44]

The legislation described is grounded in religion, and the education carried out by parents must instil in children a devotion to God. Each tribe of doves will have only two mediators ('hombres ancianos de piedad y religión')[45] to deal with potential complaints or disputes. While the carrying out of a death sentence can only be authorised by Crisorroa, Calistomos has the power to sentence those found guilty to prison, exile, lashes or public shaming.

Crisorroa's laws only vaguely outline the structural mechanism of the monarchy of the doves and do not cover many aspects of its socio-political system. Similarly, the religious institutions of the doves' utopian society is not specified in the *Monarquía columbina*, a characteristic that distances Merino's text from the narrative tradition of Spanish utopian works in which the concept and organisation of the Church are considerably developed. This thematic absence contrasts with the spiritual and moral dimensions that determine the essence of Merino's utopian account. Such an omission could be interpreted as a way to avoid censorship, but as Álvarez de Miranda explains,

> de la mayor parte de los textos que publicó Valladares en el *Semanario* no quedan noticias [...]. Ante la falta de ellas cabe suponer, pues, que el *Tratado* pasó la censura previa sin problemas, ayudado por la confusión del momento — en que se empezaba a perseguir especialmente la propaganda revolucionaria — y también, probablemente, por su propia ambigüedad ideológica.[46]

With regard to the subjects to be taught, the educational method highlights the cultivation of moral values and respect for the principle of human dignity. Since the training of children is basically religious and spiritual, the study of the secular sciences is relegated in favour of a learning process focused on the duties to God and man. The main goal is to maintain a just and harmonious communal existence, in which mutual respect is the predominant element:

> No aprenderán más ciencias que las de saber discernir claramente las obligaciones para con Dios y las obligaciones para con los hombres; que sepan distinguir el derecho público del privado; qué obligaciones se contraen para con los padres, para con los parientes, para con los amigos, para con los extraños; cuán gran delito sea faltar a la fe pública, aunque sea tratando con enemigos; [...] y, en fin, las demás obligaciones de

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[44] Ibid., pp. 18-19.
[45] Ibid., p. 19.
[46] Álvarez de Miranda, 'Introducción', pp. ix-x.

honestidad y buena crianza que hacen a las gentes amadas de Dios y de los hombres.[47]

The exclusion of scientific knowledge from the educational system of the doves — which is the opposite in, for example, *Sinapia* or *El Evangelio en triunfo,* as will be seen in the next chapter — is an evident denial of the Enlightenment's emphasis on education and for there to be formal education in other areas besides those closely linked to religion. In trying to explain how the *Monarquía columbina* is distinct from the Enlightenment spirit of the reign of Carlos III and of other modern utopias, Álvarez de Miranda argues that the principal dissident gesture of the text against Enlightenment thinking is its radical dismissal of science and the progress that comes with it:

> supone un vivo contraste con la importancia que se concede a la ciencia como motor del progreso — y por ende a la formación científica — en casi todas las utopías, y de manera muy especial en la *Nueva Atlántida* de Bacon. La clara divergencia de nuestro autor se explica aquí por su misma postura de cerrada oposición a los "civilizados" del momento, defensores inequívocos del progreso científico.[48]

Merino's anti-Enlightenment position concerning education and knowledge is also apparent in his epic poem in prose *La mujer feliz, dependiente del mundo y de la fortuna,* published in three volumes in 1786 under the pseudonym of El Filósofo Incógnito. This work is a kind of continuation of *El hombre feliz, independiente del mundo y de la fortuna* (1779) by the Portuguese priest Teodoro de Almeida. Although inspired by Almeida's novel, the originality of Merino's essentially didactic text lies in its ideological and stylistic divergence from the story on which it is based: women become the main characters, and the narrative is addressed to a female audience, which reaffirms Merino's inclination towards the representation of a matriarchal society. As the fictional editor states in his prologue about the author,

> el motivo que tuvo para escribir este poema fue el amor a la humanidad, en especial para con las mujeres, que son las únicas que con su ejemplo, virtud y discreción pueden criar sus hijos con la noble y generosa educación que tuvo la heroína de esta obra, y mujer incomparable en la prudencia y caridad para con los infelices.[49]

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[47] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, p. 18.

[48] Álvarez de Miranda, 'Introducción', p. xxxiii.

[49] El Filósofo Incógnito [Andrés Merino], *La mujer feliz, dependiente del mundo y de la fortuna*, 3 vols (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1789), I, pp. i-ii.

Merino's epic poem tells the story of Sofronia, Countess of Moravia, a widow commonly known by the nickname 'mujer feliz', and of the events that happened in her house in Olmütz while Princess Sophia of Constantinople stayed there as a guest. Sofronia became a model for other women, and her education was an example to follow by Christian girls and young women.

In *La mujer feliz,* Merino launches an attack against the intellectual activities of philosophers who dare to enquire into religious matters that he considers inherently inaccessible to human reason:

> Esta fábula es derechamente contra aquel linaje de hombres que con sola su débil razón quieren averiguar los designios de la Providencia, y escudriñar los impenetrables arcanos de la sabiduría del Eterno. Contra aquellos filósofos que todo lo quieren sujetar a su compás, y que preciados de haber quitado el velo a los inexplicables misterios de la religión, les parece que hubieran podido dar un plan más ordenado en la creación del universo a su Sabio Hacedor, como si la razón humana no fuera ciega para poder indagar y conocer las cosas divinas.[50]

Thus, not only does Merino seem to believe that God is the only source of reason ('Siempre que la razón mande, nos dirigirá al Criador'),[51] but he also distrusts those 'filósofos' who question the existing ordering of the universe and propose reforms. Merino expresses the same rejection of the questioning of political and social structures in the *Monarquía columbina*. Moreover, in line with his support for a non-scientific educational method, he appears to defend the concept of innate ideas as the best source of knowledge and rejects a modern empiricism based on the evidence of the senses:

> Si en vez de lenguas nos enseñaran matemáticas, organizándonos antes la cabeza, esto es, quitándonos los errores de los sentidos, nos acostumbraríamos a pensar sin ayo en las materias científicas, y romperíamos las cadenas con que estamos aprisionados, y que nos hacen infelices.[52]

A more intense criticism of the supposedly frivolous attitudes and affectations adopted in the name of civilisation is displayed in the final *discurso* of the *Monarquía columbina*.

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[50] Ibid., I, p. 132.
[51] Ibid., I, p. 94.
[52] Ibid., II, p. 77.

**From a Utopian to a Dystopian Social Model**

The content of the fourth *discurso* is the narration of what happened to the *Monarquía columbina* five hundred years later when Crisorroa was about to die. During the intervening period, the community of the doves was a genuine utopian society, in which happiness and justice were the foundations of its monarchy: 'Quinientos años vivieron en este estado de felicidad, seguras y libres de todo cuidado, gozando libremente y sin recelo de todos los bienes que ofrecía la abundancia del terreno'.[53] Nevertheless, as the phoenix predicted, the nation of the doves came to an end when the vicious ideology of the birds of prey infiltrated the system of government of their innocent victims, taking advantage of the weakness of their condition and the unavoidable tendency of human nature to be attracted to bad influences, a clear echo of the Christian concept of original sin. From the perspective of the conventions and expectations of utopian discourse, it is puzzling that nothing is recounted of the five hundred years during which the life of the birds in their new environment was peaceful and prospered. It is not known how the ideal society of doves was achieved in the new land after its establishment. In a more conventional utopian narrative, an account of how society functioned during this extensive period of peace and normality would be expected to be described in detail and its merits made evident; however, such a component was clearly not thought to be essential by Merino.

After Calistomos's death, the doves got swept up in the curiosity of knowing other countries and their inhabitants as a result of their own prosperity and desire to broaden their vision of the world: 'la misma continuada prosperidad introdujo en las palomas demasiada lozanía, más libertad y no mediana presunción; de aquí nació la curiosidad de ver Países extraños, tratar gentes diversas y buscar amistades peregrinas'.[54] Thus appears the questionable idea that abundance and success produce arrogance and corruption, thinking which justifies the importance of a solid moral education. Moreover, this aspect leads to the assumption that the obedience to Calistomos was key to the achievement of the utopian monarchy of the doves because once their leader died, they unfortunately decided to establish relations with outside birds, which eventually resulted in their moral decline. The hostility towards the encounters with foreign realities is a manifestation of the degree of xenophobia that defines the perspective of other utopias such as *New Atlantis* or *Sinapia*. In this manner, the isolated state that constitutes the essence of utopia turns into an intolerant and closed-

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[53] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, p. 22.
[54] Ibid., p. 23.

minded mentality, a posture that makes it possible to think of Merino, in Álvarez de Miranda's words, as 'un casticista de la España del XVIII'.[55]

Before dying in accordance with the myth, Crisorroa held a meeting with all the species of birds, in which she rejected the request of the birds of prey to want to live together in harmony with the doves. Their claim was that the imputation of immorality against them was a false accusation and that their only ambition was to protect the doves because their nature was inherently paternalistic. However, the birds of prey managed to convince the group of doves who took over the leadership during the interregnum of the monarchy, that is to say, until Morantia, the new bird born from the ashes of Crisorroa, was able to assume control of the government. The underpinnings of the ruling system subscribed to by the predatory birds totally undermine the tenets of the *Monarquía columbina*:

> los palomos áulicos patrocinaron su petición diciendo que las señoras aves de rapiña eran gente ilustrada y civilizada, que sabían distinguir los derechos de las gentes maravillosamente, que estaban instruidas en el bello gusto de la moda, que las ciencias cultas les eran familiares. Que en una república bien ordenada debía haber jerarquías para premiar los adelantamientos del entendimiento y del valor. Que eran necesarios tribunales de justicia para que el miserable quedase protegido de la violencia de los grandes. Y finalmente, que era justísimo que las palomas no fuesen tan absolutas dueñas de sus vidas y haciendas, y para esto se las debía poner algún freno que reprimiese la natural altivez que produce la libertad.[56]

The ironic, virtually sarcastic tone of this passage reveals that Merino disparages the concepts of enlightenment and civilisation, which in his view entail bad taste in the choice of clothing, a superficial understanding of science, and the judgement of advances in knowledge and improvements of value made exclusively by socially superior individuals. He also seems to condemn the interpretation of natural law (the increasingly important concept of 'derecho de gentes' or *ius gentium*) by the enlightened classes, who used such legislation to protect the poor ('el miserable') from the powerful ('los grandes').[57] The need for the legal protection of all citizens is one of

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[55] Álvarez de Miranda, 'Introducción', p. xxxiv.

[56] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, pp. 25-26.

[57] See the brief overview by Salvador Rus Rufino, 'Evolución de la noción de derecho natural en la Ilustración española', *Cuadernos Dieciochistas,* 2 (2001), 229-59. The theory of natural law was essential to the Enlightenment and stated that certain rights were innate and universally knowable through human reason: 'During the Enlightenment period natural law existed primarily as an alternative system of morality, politics and law — a system that was intended to have the authority of two qualities that were highly prized: universality and rationality' (*The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment*, ed. by John W. Yolton and others (Oxford; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1995), p. 351).

the main reasons to establish a sophisticated system of courts, an anti-utopian element that, according to Merino's thinking, ends up destroying the ideal community of doves. Merino, then, criticises key ideas of those who wished to enlighten Spain, though without, of course, mentioning Spain by name. By reproducing the model of society supported by their enemies, the doves transform their utopian dream into a dystopian nightmare: 'las tribus estaban revueltas y todo en confusión'.[58] This model would appear to be a description of the existing social order in Spain, where the nobility, its privileges and titles were the political basis of society.

Álvarez de Miranda also rightly asserts that the *Monarquía columbina* outlines a concept of happiness contrary to the proposals for achieving public happiness argued for by Enlightenment thinkers. For them, happiness derived in the first instance from economic prosperity, as explained in Chapter 3 above, and it is this aspect that Merino's text criticises:

> Para aliviar, pues, a esta mísera gente se dejó ver otra especie de aves llamadas arpías que publicaron mil proyectos para hacer felices así las tribus de las palomas como el erario, pero al cabo se supo que sólo hacían feliz su buche.[59]

The use of the word 'proyecto' in this passage may explicitly refer to the works of the Spanish *proyectistas*. The narrator immediately points out that 'un palomo bachiller, y que pagó con el pellejo, dijo que la felicidad consistía en destruir tantos tribunales'.[60] This decisive statement implies that happiness simply consists in going back to the original state of government of the doves, in which the supposedly confusing system of laws of the birds of prey did not exist. However, modern political theorists would identify increasing civilisation and the humanitarian treatment of the whole of society with legal systems designed to produce just laws enforced by effective mechanisms of justice. Merino's utopian vision of laws and justice might be considered dangerously ambiguous in that he seems to reject the effectiveness of a just legal system.

Apart from the establishment of an allegedly complex judicial system, the creation of schools, academies ('academias de historia de los tres reinos, natural, mineral y vegetable')[61] and universities was implemented through the appointment of foreign instructors. All the arts and sciences were included in the educational programme of the civilised birds, as well as the adoption of the customs and practices

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[58] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, p. 28.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., pp. 28-29.
[61] Ibid., p. 27.

of other countries: 'se las había de enseñar a bailar y danzar a lo Persa, a peinarse a lo cochino y a vestirse a lo Babilónico'.[62] Each of these three targets would have been familiar to Merino's original readers as allusions to the French influence on prevailing tastes in the Spain of the 1780s. Merino's overtly ironic tone is more emphatic when the decline of the monarchy of the doves is blamed on the taxes that they had to pay to the birds of prey: as the *plebe columbina* rapidly evolved into a *plebe rapiñante*, the payment of taxes became unmanageable. Critics like Jovellanos disapproved of the unjust taxation system in Spain,[63] which was seen as stifling the ability of the labouring poor to improve their situation. This system maintained the upper classes largely exempt from taxation and ensconced in a world of privilege. The additional burden on the agricultural poor of providing for the upkeep of the Church was also seen as unjust, a situation that Merino as a cleric was hardly likely to condemn.

The uncontrollable situation resulted in the disbanding of the community of the doves, which was exactly the reason why they escaped from the domain of their enemies in the first place:

> muchas familias columbinas dejaban sus tribus y se pasaban a Reinos extraños, o se iban a la Corte y se metían o a lacayas, o cocineras, o reposteras, o modistas, o taberneras, etc. pero ni aun así podían dejar de ser aves de rapiña y rapiñadas.[64]

In addition to being unable to extricate themselves from their bad reputation in an effort to start a new life elsewhere ('ni aun así podían dejar de ser aves de rapiña y rapiñadas'), the new exodus of the victimised doves takes them back to the slavery of the previous era.

As a moral of the story, the text concludes with the escape of the doves to the human world and their subsequent oppression by and submission to humans: 'Las palomas, por último, escaparon a las Ciudades de los hombres, y huyendo de unos enemigos dieron en poder de otros peores'.[65] In an attempt to restore the coherence of the narrative, this final sentence refers to the fact that the humanisation of the doves was part of the allegorical sense of the text and that the birds, and human beings by

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[62] Ibid.

[63] In his *Informe en el expediente de ley agraria*, Jovellanos proposed a taxation system in which the tax burden should be proportional to the ability to pay (Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Informe de la sociedad económica de esta corte al real y supremo Consejo de Castilla en el expediente de ley agraria* (Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1795), p. 102).

[64] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, p. 28.

[65] Ibid., p. 29.

extension, are always slaves to the inglorious power of superior social groups. Such a power derives from the distortion of the common attributes of all the birds:

> Ya veis, queridas palomas, que la naturaleza no nos dio armas algunas para nuestra defensa, porque nunca hicimos otro uso de nuestras uñas y pico sino el que es necesario para la vida, que las aves de rapiña uno y otro lo han convertido en aguzadas cuchillas para rasgar y despedazar a todo viviente.[66]

The main criticism of Merino's text ultimately centres on the misuse that the birds of prey make of the advantages of their own natural constitution — especially their beaks and claws — to cause harm to other birds, which is the metaphorical representation of any damaging agent that can disrupt the smooth functioning of a social order.

## The Underlying Connotations of the Text

It can be observed that the utopian viewpoint of the *Monarquía columbina* takes as its starting point the Manichean dichotomy of good and evil, relying on the Christian symbolism of the dove as the image of the Holy Spirit and the message of peace, innocence and purity that this idea implies. Moreover, the 'diaspora' of the doves seems to represent the estrangement of Jesus Christ from his family: 'el hijo separado del padre, y la madre de las queridas prendas de sus entrañas'.[67] However, it equally echoes the search for the Promised Land of the children of Israel as narrated in the Old Testament account. The way the metaphorical use of the doves and the phoenix fits the Christian context appears to have been strategically worked out by Merino. In addition, as was mentioned earlier, the function of the family as a core social institution is key to the successful development of the monarchy of the doves.[68]

Beyond the religious interpretation, the storyline of the *Monarquía columbina* relates to the idea of a remote Golden Age before the Manichean division of the birds into two contending factions:

> Por lo que toca a la templanza y honestidad con que vivieron en tiempos antiguos, sería temeridad y mala crianza no dar crédito a lo que nos contaron nuestros abuelos y bisabuelos, y más cuando un tatarabuelo mío aseguró haber él alcanzado aquellos felices tiempos y haber vivido

[66] Ibid., p. 6.
[67] Ibid., p. 3.
[68] Although the importance of the family for society is a constant feature in utopian narrative, this is not the case, oddly enough, with Campanella's *La Città del Sole*, in which the preservation of the family unit is not a crucial component of an ideal social system: after the breastfeeding period is over, the child 'is given into the charge of the mistresses, if it is a female, and to the masters, if it is a male' (Campanella, *La Città del Sole: Dialogo Poetico/The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*, p. 44).

juntamente con un sacre muy inocente, y que toda su familia era muy honrada y bienhechora.[69]

This depiction of an idyllic past when there was no rivalry among the birds reveals the inspiration behind the desire to recover the utopian coexistence of the species. However, in opposition to the myth of the Golden Age, the doves must work to provide their own maintenance ('Cada uno comerá y gozará el fruto de sus sudores'),[70] despite the abundance and fertility of the hyperborean woods. In this sense, the Arcadian life of the doves tends to be rather a form of primitive communism, as Álvarez de Miranda notes: 'aunque se nos describa el lugar en que las palomas se asientan como un paraíso abundante [...], la intención del autor se inclina hacia lo que, siguiendo a Maravall, podemos llamar colectivismo'.[71]

The symbolic content of Merino's work leads one to think of it as a hybrid story that combines elements from different textual traditions. Aside from making use of material from Christianity and mythology, it is possible that the author had recourse to the compendium of birds in medieval bestiaries in order to outline the personalities of his fictional characters, of which a few distinctive characteristics are explained in Mercier's article.[72] At the beginning of the story, there is a gallery of birds specifying the members that the avian nation comprises: 'todas estas aves que llaman nobles, como son águilas, buitres, gavilanes, milanos, azores, neblíes, gerifaltes, sacres, quebrantahuesos, arpías, vencejos, búhos, cornejas, lechuzas, mochuelos, etc.'.[73]

In relation to this cultural — no longer only religious or moral — significance of the birds, it is impossible not to mention Aristophanes's comedy *The Birds* (414 BC) as a potential source of inspiration for the *Monarquía columbina*. In fact, *The Birds* is considered Aristophanes's first utopian play. It narrates the story of two Athenians, Pisthetaerus and Euelpides, who, tired of living in the polis, where people only argue over the law all day, decide to convince the birds that they must create the perfect city in the sky, called Cloudcuckooland, because they were the original gods and should regain their powers and privileges from the Olympian gods. By doing so, the birds would be able to escape the tyranny of humans and dominate them. However, Pisthetaerus and Euelpides realise that their cohabitation with the birds is making them

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[69] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, p. 5.
[70] Ibid., p. 8.
[71] Álvarez de Miranda, 'Introducción', p. xxx.
[72] Mercier, pp. 111-12.
[73] Merino, *Monarquía columbina*, p. 5. It is possible that Merino had access to Buffon's *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (1749-88), in which nine out of thirty-six volumes are on birds. The Spanish translation in twenty-one volumes by José Clavijo y Fajardo only began to appear in 1786.

lose touch with their humanity because the citizens of Cloudcuckooland treat the humans who begin coming into the land as enemies and deprive them of their freedom as the birds implement the laws of the new city with excessive zeal. Therefore, Cloudcuckooland entirely depends on law enforcement in order to be a functioning city, which ironically turns it into a tyrannical land.[74] The enmity between birds and mankind in Aristophanes's play is similar to the one between doves and birds of prey, and subsequently to the one between doves and humans in the *Monarquía columbina*. Moreover, the claim of divinity of the birds and the creation of their own empire relate to the establishment of the monarchy of the doves, but the desire for power and domination of Aristophanes's birds and their cumbersome legal machinery connect them with the dystopian world of the birds of prey. *The Birds* is a satire on the running of the law courts and on politics in ancient Athens, and uses anthropomorphic birds to parody the members of the political and justice system. In the same vein, the utopian approach of Merino's text is targeted at satirising the unnecessarily intricate regulations in the mechanisms of government of the birds of prey.

Another significant literary source that could well have influenced the plot of the *Monarquía columbina* is the second imaginary journey of Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac in *Histoire comique des États et Empires de la Lune et du Soleil* (1662).[75] Dyrcona, the protagonist of the story and Cyrano's alter ego (and near anagram), travels to the sun and arrives at the kingdom of the birds, who make him their prisoner because they hate mankind. He is accused of chasing and killing birds, but more importantly of corrupting their ingenuous nature. The phoenix appears in the story as well, but it doesn't have a royal position. The king of the birds is always the most peaceful of them, like the male dove that was governing during the visit of Dyrcona. Coincidentally, Tommaso Campanella also shows up in the tale as Dyrcona's guide and takes him to the Land of the Philosophers.[76]

As can be seen from the possible impact that the above textual references might have had on the *Monarquía columbina*, Andrés Merino made use of his wide-ranging cultural knowledge in order to create his own utopian text. Together with his interest in paleography, pedagogy, rhetoric, lexicography, engraving, among other disciplines,

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[74] Aristophanes, *'The Birds' and Other Plays*, trans. by David Barrett and Alan H. Sommerstein (London: Penguin, 2003).

[75] 'Cyrano no debía de ser desconocido en la España del XVIII, a juzgar por lo que se lee en la propaganda de la traducción española de los *Viajes del Capitán Lemuel Gulliver*: "Invectiva de la misma especie que los *Viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas*, el *Viaje a la luna* de Cyrano de Bergerac, *Micromegas* y otros"' (Álvarez de Miranda, 'Introducción', p. xliii).

[76] Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac, *Œuvres complètes*, 2 vols (Paris: Galic, 1962), I: *Histoire comique des États et Empires de la Lune et du Soleil*.

Merino stood out for his narrative production. [77] One noteworthy literary and pedagogical work by the author is his already mentioned text *La mujer feliz, dependiente del mundo y de la fortuna*. A significant link between this didactic work and the *Monarquía columbina* is the fact that *La mujer feliz* interpolates short stories featuring animals as protagonists, stories from which a moral is always drawn. However, even more relevant is Merino's fragmentary manuscript text entitled *Monarquía de los leones*, which was left incomplete by the author. Unlike the monarchy of the doves, the monarchy of the lions is not a utopian system because a lion, who acts as the universal protector of all the animals, allows the oppression of the inferior species by the superior ones. In spite of this ideological divergence, the lions, like the doves, found their own monarchy in the mythical kingdom of Golconda in order to escape from their enemies, the humans. The parallel between both texts restates Merino's intention to metaphorically recreate the conflicting relationships of power among human beings. [78] However, it is not possible to develop this comparison very far since the *Monarquía de los leones* is a text in embryo only.

Thus, Merino's social ideology is grounded in a pessimistic view of humanity that recalls Thomas Hobbes's gloomy vision of human nature in *Leviathan* (1651), in which human beings are seen as predators and in conflict with one another in a society based on individuals' mutual fear. The absence of a fellow feeling for humanity leads to a natural state of war in which there are no ethical distinctions:

> *In such a war nothing is unjust*. To this war of every man against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be unjust. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law: where no law, no injustice. [...] Justice and injustice are none of the faculties neither of the body nor mind. [...] They are qualities that relate to men in society, not in solitude. It is consequent also to the same condition that there be no propriety, no dominion, no *mine* and *thine* distinct; but only that to be every man's that he can get; and for so long as he can keep it. [79]

The violence used by men to subdue other men automatically annihilates any distinguishing boundaries between justice and injustice, which is the situation depicted by Merino through the rivalry between the doves and the birds of prey. Oddly enough,

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[77] For detailed information about the life and other works of Merino, see Palacios Fernández, 'El Padre Andrés Merino de Jesucristo y la cultura española del siglo XVIII'.

[78] Pedro Álvarez de Miranda sees the stories as 'dos relatos gemelos' (Álvarez de Miranda, 'El Padre Andrés Merino, autor de la *Monarquía columbina*', p. 38). See also Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, 'Un relato inédito e inacabado del P. Andrés Merino: la *Monarquía de los leones*', *Dieciocho*, 16 (1993), 13-23.

[79] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, ed. by Michael Oakeshott (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), p. 101.

this state of conflict and hostility equally precludes any sense of private property or attitude of 'mine versus yours', a coinciding point of contact with the utopian model.

**Conclusion**

In spite of its brevity, the *Monarquía columbina* is a text of some narrative significance, amenable to interpretive analysis. Initially published after the author's death, the story presents the emergence and demise of an allegorical utopian society in a fabulistic way that is quite unusual for the utopian genre, but appropriately matches its historical moment, appearing at a time when the didactic function of fables was seen as most effective in criticising the existing order of things. Father Andrés Merino uses the struggle of doves against the despotism of birds of prey to bring awareness of the injustice he alleges is caused by institutionalised socially oppressive practices for the supposed benefit of civilisation. Merino's pessimism about the goodness of human nature causes him to be labelled a reactionary writer opposed to what he sees as the erroneous, reforming principles of the Enlightenment. In Pedro Álvarez de Miranda's view of the *Monarquía columbina*, 'es una bella fábula en prosa al servicio de una mentalidad decididamente refractaria a la Ilustración'.[80] In addition to the anti-Enlightenment stance of the text, the dogmatic ruling system of the doves, governed by the matriarchy of the phoenix bird, causes their utopian scheme to be perceived as authoritarian to some degree. Both a female-dominated society and an overly prescriptive administration reshape the traditional characterisation of the utopian model.

Merino's critical approach combines the satirical and utopian spheres to reject social classes and hierarchies in eighteenth-century Spanish society, but this same dilemma can be logically posed for all the nations of the world, considering that the oppositional tendency from which such a mentality derives is a universal one. Thinking of the reaction of his potential readers, perhaps Merino intentionally planned to formulate a convincing critique by creatively rewriting and intertwining elements from religious, cultural and literary discourses. The ethical and aesthetic position of the author engages the reader, although it may well provoke ideological opposition. In the absence of an outsider who personally visits the utopian monarchy of the doves, the reader is implicitly called on to adopt the role of privileged visitor who witnesses and evaluates the causes of the failure of the society presented in the *Monarquía columbina*. Those who held power in the reign of Carlos III or that of his successor did not carry

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[80] Álvarez de Miranda, 'Los libros de viajes y las utopías en el XVIII español', p. 705.

out the more profound transformational plans put forward by thinkers allied to Enlightenment reformism, and one might imagine that many of the original readers of Merino's text might have sympathised with the author's overt and covert criticism of the mentality that he rejected in his work.

In its oscillation between the antithetical realms of utopia and dystopia, Merino's narrative can be seen as confusing. As the author merely states his rejection of features associated with an enlightened society, he prevents the reader from understanding what his specific objections are. The lack of detail is surprising and would appear to oblige the reader to imagine what Merino rejects. Someone who sympathises with Enlightenment thinking concerning the concept of civilisation has no alternative but to object to the authorial point of view because no evidence is set out that would rationally support it. Merino's vision is, therefore, ultimately dogmatic, and full engagement with his set of ideas is impossible. This unexplained set of values drastically weakens the internal logic of his account and makes it unconvincing to anyone persuaded by the body of thought normally associated with Enlightenment rationalism.

Chapter 8

Between Utopia and Reform: The Educational and Socio-Economic Vision of the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' in *El Evangelio en triunfo*

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.[2] 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 realisation 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 labelled this group of letters as a utopian tale separable from the preceding plot of *El Evangelio*,[3] entitling them 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' in his edition of that year.[4]

By comparing the two stages in Olavide's thinking, the present chapter will analyse 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 analysis 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 chapter draws on José Antonio

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[1] The major source for Olavide's life in this chapter is Marcelin Defourneaux, *Pablo de Olavide ou l'afrancesado (1725-1803)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959).

[2] Gonzalo Anes, *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), p. xvii.

[3] Gérard Dufour, 'Utopie et *Ilustración*: El Evangelio en triunfo de Pablo de Olavide', in *Las utopías en el mundo hispánico*, pp. 73-78 (p. 76). See also Gérard Dufour, 'Elementos novelescos de *El Evangelio en triunfo* de Olavide', *Anales de Literatura Española*, 11 (1995), 107-15 (p. 109).

[4] Gérard Dufour, ed., *Cartas de Mariano a Antonio: el programa ilustrado de 'El Evangelio en triunfo'* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1988).

Maravall's differentiation between reformist and utopian thinking: the first characterised by isolated, piecemeal changes, the second by comprehensive reform.[5]

## The State of Research on the 'Cartas'

Gérard Dufour has made several notable contributions to the study of the formal and content-related features of the final letters in Pablo de Olavide's *El Evangelio en triunfo*. Having initially only identified the reformist nature of the actions intended to transform the philosopher's town into an ideal village,[6] Dufour admitted the utopian character of those same actions within the framework of Olavide's reform plans implemented many years before he wrote *El Evangelio*. Although the French scholar does not examine the reforms in the light of their utopian nature, he questions Olavide's originality in reusing projects that had already been put into practice and eventually failed, but more importantly, Dufour inconsistently claims that, in doing so, the author's intention was to show the inefficiency of those reforms.[7] Moreover, Dufour's 1988 edition of the 'Cartas' lacks critical detail and his introduction to the text does not analyse it as a utopia, but only as a reformist text in accord with the objectives of the Enlightenment, even though he interpreted Olavide's writing as utopian in a paper that he delivered that same year at the colloquium *Las utopías en el mundo hispánico*.[8] An unchanged reprint of Dufour's edition appeared in 1997.[9]

Javier Herrero has also emphasised Olavide's utopian vision of how Spain could be a happy nation according to an optimistic Enlightenment project within the goals of the Bourbon reforms: 'hay en él [...] una profunda compasión por la miseria de las masas, en las que dos siglos de decadencia y veinte años de administración caótica habían agudizado las serias llagas que Carlos III había comenzado a curar'.[10] In Herrero's view, for Olavide 'la clave para el cambio se encuentra en la educación y en

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[5] Maravall, *Utopía y reformismo en la España de los Austrias*, p. 4.

[6] Gérard Dufour, 'Le village idéal au début du XIXe siècle selon *El Evangelio en triunfo* de Pablo de Olavide', in *L'homme et l'espace dans la littérature, les arts et l'histoire en Espagne et en Amérique Latine au XIXe siècle*, ed. by Claude Dumas (Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1985), pp. 11-25. This article includes a more detailed description of the diverse Spanish editions and translations of *El Evangelio en triunfo* than the one that appeared in Dufour's edition of the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' (see Dufour, ed., *Cartas de Mariano a Antonio*, 1988, pp. 33-35). A censored excerpt from letter XXXIX of volume 4 is also transcribed in the article.

[7] Dufour, 'Utopie et *Ilustración*', pp. 77-78.

[8] See footnote 3 above.

[9] Gérard Dufour, ed., *Cartas de Mariano a Antonio: el programa ilustrado de 'El Evangelio en triunfo'* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1997). All quotations from this work in the present chapter will correspond to the 1988 edition.

[10] Javier Herrero, *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español* (Madrid: Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1971), p. 137.

reformas racionales'.[11] From a similar viewpoint, José Luis Abellán has drawn attention to the links between Olavide's activities overseeing the settlement at the Sierra Morena and the enlightened Catholicism of the utopian narrative in *El Evangelio en triunfo*. However, Abellán believes that Olavide's utopianism began to develop thanks to his intellectual contact with Jovellanos and that utopian thinking is inherent in Enlightenment ideology.[12]

Concerning the utopian dimension of Olavide's educational reform project, Rosa Calatayud Soler has traced the components of the educational system presented in the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' from a purely descriptive perspective.[13] For her part, Ana Rueda stresses the problematic and incoherent relationship between the Christian conversion of the philosopher and his secular utopian project to reform his village, a contradiction that Rueda concludes to be a result of Olavide's division between his religious beliefs and utopian vision.[14] However, in another interpretation of *El Evangelio en triunfo*, Noël Valis argues for the opposite view: the philosopher's utopian enterprise is a direct result of his religious conversion; that is to say, the existence of religious belief is affirmed through Enlightenment reform, an argument that is in agreement with the viewpoint of the present thesis.[15]

Another apparently relevant academic work on Olavide's utopian narrative is a doctoral thesis by Amable Fernández Sanz, which unfortunately remains unpublished, and hence it has not been possible to have access to it for the purposes of this chapter.[16] The potential importance of its contribution resides in its thought-provoking title, although the abstract of the thesis explains that Olavide's social utopia principally serves to prove that the realisation of utopian ideals was the main basis of the Spanish Enlightenment.

### 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,

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Abellán, III, pp. 603-06, 615-20.

[13] Rosa Calatayud Soler, 'La utopía de un filósofo desengañado. Pablo de Olavide', in *Educación e Ilustración en España: III Coloquio de Historia de la Educación* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1984), pp. 33-40.

[14] Ana Rueda, *Cartas sin lacrar: la novela epistolar y la España ilustrada, 1789-1840* (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2001), pp. 297-300, 411-23.

[15] Noël Valis, *Sacred Realism: Religion and the Imagination in Modern Spanish Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 74-75.

[16] Amable Fernández Sanz, 'Utopía y realidad en la Ilustración española: Pablo de Olavide y las "nuevas poblaciones"' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1990).

it was the tragic earthquake that destroyed Lima in 1746, killing his parents and one of his sisters, that first 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 theatre, 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,[17] he was accused of misuse of funds, which led him to present himself in Spain to face trial and possible imprisonment.[18]

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 organised religious processions to placate God's wrath,[19] Olavide tackled the tragic event from a practical and humanitarian perspective.[20] As to the impact of the disaster,[21] what would have been

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[17] Denis Diderot, 'Don Pablo Olavidès: Précis historique, rédigé sur des mémoires fournis par un espagnol', in *Œuvres de Denis Diderot: Mélanges de littérature et de philosophie*, ed. by Jacques André Naigeon, 26 vols (Paris: J. L. J. Brière, 1821-34), III (1821), pp. 384-93 (p. 384).

[18] Defourneaux, p. 39. 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 (Diderot, 'Don Pablo Olavidès', p. 392).

[19] 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 (Charles F. Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and Its Long Aftermath* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2008), p. 79).

[20] Juan Marchena Fernández, *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), p. 24.

[21] The Peruvian literary critic Estuardo Núñez erroneously attributed to Olavide a short novel entitled *Teresa, o el terremoto de Lima*, published by the printer Auguste-Alexis Pillet in Paris in 1829. As María José Alonso Seoane made clear in a well-informed article, *Teresa, o el terremoto de Lima* is the Spanish translation of René-Jean Durdent's *Thérèsa, ou la Péruvienne*, published in 1818, which disqualifies Olavide from being the translator of the text as he died in 1803. Durdent's novel is about a love triangle that has the 1746 earthquake in Lima as the background of the story, hence the mention of the disaster in the Spanish version of the title (María José Alonso Seoane, 'La obra de René-Jean Durdent *Thérèsa, ou la Péruvienne* (Paris, 1818) y su traducción al castellano, *Teresa, o el terremoto de Lima* (París, 1829)', in *Rumbos del hispanismo en el umbral del cincuentenario de la AIH*, ed. by Patrizia Botta, 8 vols (Roma: Bagatto Libri, 2012), V: *Moderna y Contemporánea*, ed. by Laura Silvestri, Loretta Frattale and Matteo Lefèvre, pp. 10-17). However, it should be pointed out that, in contrast with the attention given to his official reports for the Spanish Crown, Olavide's fictional narratives have not received substantial critical interest, particularly his moralistic ones, of which Estuardo Núñez found and edited (in 1971) six unknown short novels (including the wrongly attributed one) written by Olavide under the pseudonym of 'el autor de *El Evangelio en triunfo*' and published in New York in 1828. Núñez, who found printed editions of the texts in several university libraries in the United States, stressed the fact that Olavide's novels were strongly influenced by the works of English writers such as Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding and Daniel Defoe. Despite his efforts to reconfigure the Spanish narrative of his time, Olavide's prose fiction seemed to have been ignored by editors in Spain: 'El hallazgo de las ediciones de sus novelas es revelador de su afán de vitalizar la narrativa española, implantando la novela o cuento moral que adapta de los autores ingleses de la época. Sin embargo, esas novelas no encontraron acogida entre los editores españoles. Solo dos decenios después de su muerte se dan a conocer esos textos en América

interesting in relation to Olavide's later writing career is if he ever imagined its potential in a fictional format, as he did in exploiting the *Plan de Nuevas Poblaciones* in the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio'. The importance of the *Plan* lies in the fact that it allowed Olavide to rethink the spatial organisation of a rural community, a plan that acquires a literary utopian form in the 'Cartas'. In any case, the socio-economic reconstruction of the Sierra Morena was the kind of real utopia that Olavide could not have foreseen when thinking of how to improve Lima. In fact, the Sierra Morena project is another example of a political experiment with utopian features,[22] as was the case of the Jesuit missions of Paraguay and their corresponding utopian correlation with the socio-political structure of Sinapia. Bearing in mind that Olavide had a close relationship with Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, it is possible to think that the occasional similarities between both experimental projects were due to the former having access to the latter's personal library, where the manuscript of *Sinapia* was held.

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, representative of the city council and royal governor or *Intendente* of Seville,[23] 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 Campomanes. Similar to his work to rebuild Lima after the earthquake, the project gave Olavide the opportunity to reorganise an entire 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'.[24] Indeed, the Conde de Peñaflorida — founder of the recently established

o el extranjero (Nueva York y París), para un público de emigrados españoles e hispanoamericanos' (Estuardo Núñez, 'Biografía de un inquietador', in Pablo de Olavide, *Obras selectas*, ed. by Estuardo Núñez (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1987), pp. xi-xxxiv (p. xiv)).

[22] For a discussion of the topic, see Francisco Larubia-Prado, '¿Una Ilustración *suficiente*? Mito, utopía y colonización interior en la España del siglo XVIII', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 76 (1999), 627-48 (pp. 640-44).

[23] For a detailed study of the reforms introduced by Olavide in Seville, see Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *La Sevilla de Olavide, 1767-1778* (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1966).

[24] Julio Caro Baroja, '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 (p. 58).

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'.[25]

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.[26]

The plan consisted in 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.[27] Nevertheless, the project aimed to include Spanish farmers in order to preserve the Spanish language and Catholic religion.[28] What is more, marriages between Spaniards and foreigners were encouraged in order to stimulate population growth, though equally to incorporate the latter into the labour infrastructure of the country.[29] 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.

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[25] Gonzalo Anes, *El Siglo de las Luces* (Madrid: Alianza, 1994), p. 259.

[26] Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *Plan de estudios para la Universidad de Sevilla por Pablo de Olavide* (Barcelona: Ediciones de Cultura Popular, 1969), p. 21.

[27] Olavide, *Informe sobre la ley agraria*, pp. 495-96.

[28] Fernando Ciaramitaro, 'Pablo de Olavide (1725-1803): A Spanish-Economist at the Service of the Institution', in *Economics and Institutions: Contributions from the History of Economic Thought*, ed. by Pier Francesco Asso and Luca Fiorito (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2007), pp. 368-88 (p. 379); Juan Marchena Fernández, *El tiempo ilustrado de Pablo de Olavide: vida, obra y sueños de un americano en la España del s. XVIII* (Seville: Alfar, 2001), pp. 60-61.

[29] *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), pp. 1-5, 10.

One peculiarity of the repopulation experiment was its eclectic and rootless nature;[30] that is to say, the greater the social and cultural dissimilarity from the Spanish nation, the better the social composition of this ideal society.[31] This tendency to venerate foreign experiences by virtue of their alleged superiority is also visible in the culturally hybrid constitution of the utopian society in *Sinapia*, mainly when it comes to the assimilation of foreign knowledge. Nonetheless, both *Sinapia* and Olavide's programme advocate the indispensable preservation of a Christian identity. Apart from this goal, the Sierra Morena project had as its objective the complete transformation of an unproductive and unsafe territory into a useful and profitable one. The immigrant inhabitants were supposed to eradicate the presence of gypsies and bandits who lived outside the law. In this sense, Marcelin Defourneaux points out that the sociological experiment 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, certes, de mettre en valeur une région déserte et improductive et d'assurer par là même la sécurité du chemin qui la traverse, mais il s'agit aussi, dans la pensée de Campomanes et de ses collaborateurs, de faire là 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. Installer dans ces terres vierges des colons venus d'autres parties de l'Espagne, c'eût été y apporter en même temps les pratiques et les prejudges ancestraux; c'eût été risquer une rapide "contamination" des nouveaux venus par les populations des régions immédiatement voisines. Au contraire, 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.[32]

In spite of Spanish practices and customs being considered a potentially negative influence on the new immigrants, the exemplary character that Defourneaux attributes

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[30] Juan Marchena Fernández underlines the fact that repopulation projects were important lines of action according to the Enlightenment mentality: 'Ocupar los espacios, poblar, desarrollar regiones apartadas, conformaron un capítulo importante del ideario de la generación' (Marchena Fernández, *Pablo de Olavide*, pp. 67-68).

[31] For the sake of creating a better social system, the concept of colonisation 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, la legislación está dirigida sobre un medio ya ocupado, sobre el que interesa aumentar la superficie cultivable de secano, la de secano a regadío, el reparto y colonización de la tierra, la elevación de la renta agraria y la atracción de una cierta industrialización en base a la propia producción agrícola y ganadera. Como consecuencia, el concepto de colonización varía en el tiempo y consecuente con él las formas del establecimiento de la población y sus lugares de hábitat' (Cipriano Juárez Sánchez-Rubio and Gregorio Canales Martínez, 'Colonización agraria y modelos de hábitat (siglos XVIII-XX)', *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 49 (1988), 333-52 (p. 333)).

[32] Defourneaux, p. 180.

to this pilot scheme was eclipsed in its early stages by the impoverished background of the recently arrived migrants, as Cayetano Alcázar Molina 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 ill-clothed. 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'.[33] 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,[34] 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 intrigantes, 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.[35]

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 accordance with the *Instrucción*, Olavide outlines a programme 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,[36] the originality of his thought undermined the traditional standards of the ruling administration, as Estuardo Núñez notes:

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[33] Cayetano Alcázar Molina, *Las colonias alemanas de Sierra Morena* (Madrid: n.p., 1930), p. 18.

[34] 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 Molina, pp. 94-96).

[35] Alcázar Molina, pp. 57-58.

[36] 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' (Anes, *Informes en el expediente de ley agraria*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii). In the same vein, Marchena Fernández remarks that the intellectual

> 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.[37]

In addition to his theoretical understanding, Olavide saw in the pragmatic imitation of effective past experience a reliable and convenient approach to be applied. He urged 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; rompamos, cultivemos cuanta tierra se puede labrar; reduzcámoslo todo a propiedades [...] y fiémonos en los labradores que, con su cultivo, no sólo nos enriquecerán con sus frutos, sino que nos multiplicarán los ganados.[38]

Once arable farming is identified as a key productive activity, the main point criticised by Olavide is the unsuitable distribution of land and its consequent poor cultivation, as well as the application of bad farming techniques. The lamentable state of agriculture has a negative effect on the social structure of Andalusia, which is divided into four classes: landowners, big and small landlords, and farm workers. Aside from the social inequality that this hierarchy creates, the detachment of owners from their properties constitutes the major issue to be discussed in Olavide's *Informe*. In order to achieve a better exploitation of land and its resources, its redistribution should be based on the possession of plots by tenant farmers or *colonos* who would settle in their properties and cultivate them using appropriate techniques. Such a system of land

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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' (Marchena Fernández, *Pablo de Olavide*, pp. 33-34).

[37] Estuardo Núñez, 'La reforma agraria', in Pablo de Olavide, *Obras selectas*, ed. by Estuardo Núñez (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1987), pp. xciv-xcvii (p. xcv).

[38] Olavide, *Informe sobre la ley agraria*, p. 489.

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.

Although Olavide's plan sought to reduce the socio-economic differences among the social groups in Andalusia, he was aware of the political necessity of a monarchy to preserve wealth inequality, but he also specified that there should be many people with moderate fortunes instead of vast wealth enjoyed only by a tiny minority: 'La desigualdad de las fortunas es necesaria y conveniente en los Estados monárquicos. Lo que importa es que no haya ninguna demasiada y que haya muchas medianas'.[39] The encouragement of individual or private property ownership is a factor that some scholars claim may disqualify Olavide's 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.[40] Furthermore, as 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.[41]

Beyond this sociological justification, Jovellanos recognises that, as an individualistic conception of property always implies social injustice, the accumulation of wealth by a privileged few should be avoided. Thus, the notion of land ownership emerges as a norm in which the concept of property as a product of nature legitimises

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[39] Ibid., p. 520.

[40] 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' (Immanuel Kant, *The Metaphysics of Morals*, ed. and trans. by Mary Gregor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 49).

[41] Jovellanos, *Informe de la sociedad económica de esta corte al real y supremo Consejo de Castilla en el expediente de ley agraria*, p. 65. 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' (Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Elogio de Carlos III*, in Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Obras completas*, ed. by Vicent Llombart i Rosa and Joaquín Ocampo Suárez-Valdés, 14 vols (Oviedo: Ayuntamiento de Gijón, Instituto Feijoo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, KRK Ediciones, 1984-2010), X: *Escritos económicos* (2008), pp. 669-85 (p. 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* (Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Poesía. Teatro. Prosa literaria*, ed. by John H. R. Polt (Madrid: Taurus, 1993), p. 294).

the natural distinction between social classes. This principle was shared by the French physiocrat and economist the Marquis de Mirabeau, in *L'ami des hommes ou traité de la population* (1756),[42] a text believed by some to have influenced Olavide's economic thought. Therefore, Olavide's socio-economic experiment can be approached from the idyllic and 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 bestseller in Europe and America.[43] The first two volumes appeared in 1797 and the other two in 1798. The subtitle (*o historia de un filósofo desengañado*) was added from the second edition onwards. 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.[44] Because of his status as a foreigner in France and being suspected of collaboration with the French political elite, Olavide was incarcerated for a few months in 1794. The new imprisonment caused him to witness at 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'.[45] His disapproval of the distorted ideals

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[42] Liana Vardi, *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 128-30.

[43] For an analysis of the commercial strategies used to promote the sale of *El Evangelio en triunfo* in Spain and turn it into a best-selling book, see Gérard Dufour, '*El Evangelio en triunfo* o la historia de la fabricación de un éxito editorial', *Cuadernos Dieciochistas*, 4 (2003), 67-77.

[44] 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 (José Luis Gómez Urdáñez and Diego Téllez Alarcia, 'Pablo de Olavide y Jáuregui, un católico ilustrado', *Brocar: Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, 28 (2004), 7-30 (pp. 24-30)). For more details of Olavide's Inquisition experience, see Gérard Dufour, '*El Evangelio en triunfo* devant l'Inquisition', in *Hommage à Madame le Professeur Maryse Jeuland à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence; Marseille: Diffusion, J. Laffitte, 1983), pp. 225-31.

[45] Pablo de Olavide, 'Prólogo del autor', in Pablo de Olavide, *El Evangelio en triunfo*, 4 vols (Valencia: Imprenta de los hermanos de Orga, 1797-98), I (1797), pp. iii-xvi (p. iii).

of the Revolution was expressed in the final four letters of volume 4 of *El Evangelio*, which were banned and taken out of the text by the Spanish censors.[46]

The sense of disillusion that 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[47] and Alfred Morel-Fatio[48] see the text as the recantation of a disillusioned Olavide, 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 defence 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.[49] Amable Fernández Sanz also believes that a fundamental characteristic of *El Evangelio* is 'la necesidad de añadir un *convencimiento ilustrado* a la natural práctica de la religión en España'.[50]

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,

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[46] Estuardo Núñez, *El nuevo Olavide: una semblanza a través de sus textos ignorados* (Lima, 1970), pp. 35-36.

[47] Jean Sarrailh, *L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), p. 622.

[48] Alfred Morel-Fatio, *Études sur l'Espagne*, 4 vols (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1888-1925), IV (1925), p. 161.

[49] Miguel Benítez, '"El sueño de la razón produce monstruos": *El Evangelio en triunfo*, de Pablo de Olavide', in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre "Carlos III y la Ilustración"*, 3 vols (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1989), III: *Educación y pensamiento*, pp. 199-225 (p. 224). See also Miguel Benítez, 'Trazas de pensamiento radical en el mundo hispánico en los tiempos modernos', in *La actitud ilustrada*, ed. by Eduardo Bello and Antonio Rivera (Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 2002), pp. 195-231. Andrea Smidt indicates that the concept of a Catholic Enlightenment included the desire for a less hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church. 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 (Andrea J. Smidt, 'Luces por la fe: The Cause of Catholic Enlightenment in 18th-Century Spain', in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, ed. by Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 403-52 (p. 409)). However, Smidt draws attention to the fact that Spanish Jansenism and regalist reform of the Church overshadowed the issues of religious reform because they did not correspond with the aims of the state (Smidt, pp. 437-39).

[50] Amable Fernández Sanz, 'El último Olavide, ¿un ilustrado o un reaccionario?', in *Nuevos estudios sobre historia del pensamiento español: actas de las V Jornadas de Hispanismo Filosófico*, ed. by Antonio Jiménez García, Rafael V. Orden Jiménez and Xavier Agenjo Bullón (Madrid: Fundación Ignacio Larramendi, Asociación de Hispanismo Filosófico, 2005), pp. 141-53 (p. 152).

> 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.[51]

In fact, 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 the French politician 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 use of the French text while looking for creative and entertaining ideas during his prison time: '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'.[52] What is more, *El Evangelio* is believed to have inspired the writing of François-René de Chateaubriand's *Génie du christianisme* (1802), in which the French politician defends the wisdom of the Catholic faith against attacks from the supporters of the French Revolution.

Lamourette's influence is also reflected in both the plot and dialogic structure of Olavide's text, except that the storyline of *Les délices de la religion* is not structured in letters, but as a dialogue between 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.[53] 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 honourable and useful man. The motivation of the author to publish the letters is their potential usefulness for a Christian nation like Spain: 'podía ser útil la publicación de estas cartas, especialmente en España, donde el cristianismo tiene su mejor trono'.[54]

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[51] Olavide, 'Prólogo del autor', pp. xiii-xiv.
[52] Ibid., p. viii. Olavide perhaps calls Lamourette's book an *obrita* because of its tiny pages; though 372 pages long, it was apparently printed in 12° format.
[53] For a detailed narrative analysis of the epistolary structure of *El Evangelio*, see Enid M. Valle, 'La estructura narrativa de *El Evangelio en triunfo* de Pablo de Olavide y Jáuregui', in *Pen and Peruke: Spanish Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Monroe Z. Hafter (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992), pp. 135-51.
[54] Olavide, 'Prólogo del autor', p. x.

In this way, *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. Thus, *El Evangelio* covers the three stages in the evolution of the philosopher's existence: 1) the narration of his dissolute habits, which reach a climax when he believes he has killed a man, escapes justice and ends up in a convent where he is converted by an enlightened priest; 2) the actions performed by the philosopher to reform his life, which basically consist in devoting himself to agricultural work on his landed properties and in living an exemplary life that will give him the chance to learn that the man he thought he had killed was actually alive; and 3) the uniting of his Christian virtues with civic ones and the application of his rational spirit to the creation of advantageous conditions for society to flourish, a cause he remained committed to until his death.

Religion and agriculture are presented as the foundational elements of the philosopher's conversion to Christianity, which is developed in the first three volumes and part of the fourth volume of Olavide's work, in thirty-five letters from the philosopher to his friend Teodoro. The final six letters (XXXVI-XLI) 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 (Antonio's replies are not part of the work). 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, a place that used to be miserable and unproductive, 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. [...] [L]a mutación de la escena es completa: lo que dejaste ruina, asco y miseria, lo hubieras visto convertido en hermosura, limpieza, abundancia y felicidad.[55]

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. It was his acceptance of the Gospel that turned the philosopher into a model human being:

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[55] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 40.

> mientras fue incrédulo y se abandonó a sus pasiones, fue malo, despreciable y no solo infeliz, sino que hacía también infeliz a cuanto dependía de él o le rodeaba. Pero que desde que tomó por regla al Evangelio, se transformó en un filósofo justo, amable, útil en todo para todos; que no solo consiguió ser feliz él mismo, sino que hacía felices a cuantos estaban en la esfera de su influencia; y que se le vio tan buen ciudadano, tan buen padre y tan buen amo, como había sido malo cuando lo gobernaba la filosofía del siglo.[56]

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.[57] The dynamics of this interrelationship 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 favourably 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 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. [...] [M]is obligaciones eran naturales e inherentes a la dignidad y ventajas de mi nacimiento'.[58] There is certainly a contradiction between a wealthy leader and a Christian ideology that encourages frugality as a lifestyle, but the inconsistency is easily resolved by the argument that the most favoured citizens are supposed to help the less fortunate. As in other Spanish political-religious utopias, in *El Evangelio* austerity in all aspects of life is the key to maintaining a successful social order.

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[56] Olavide, 'Prólogo del autor', p. xiii.

[57] 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. In his dialogue with Glaucon, Socrates argues that philosopher-kings are the light in the darkness of the world: 'Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who pursue either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never have rest from their evils — nor the human race, as I believe — and then only will this our State have a possibility of life and behold the light of day' (Plato, p. 158).

[58] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 45.

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.[59] Although the colonising 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 programme, 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'[60] or Stelio Cro an 'empirical utopia' for the Spanish tradition, as previously explained in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Both terms refer to the implementation of utopia as opposed to the abstract representation of utopian worlds. The following sections of this chapter 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 colonisation project. 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* 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 fictionalisation 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

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[59] Katarzyna Kwapisz-Williams claims that the relationship between the concepts of utopia and colonialism appears to be falsely problematic because, in her opinion, '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' (Katarzyna Kwapisz-Williams, 'Utopia of the Southern Land in Colonial Literary Imagination', *A Quarterly Magazine of Australia, New Zealand and Oceania Research Association*, 3 (2010), 41-58 (p. 41)).
[60] See footnote 30 of Chapter 2 of this thesis.

los individuos'.[61] Nevertheless, as Dufour points out, an important utopian feature of Olavide's text is the fact that none of the land in the philosopher's town is owned by the Church.[62] Dufour also argues that the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' were included by Olavide in *El Evangelio* as a way to please the interest that the Prime Minister of Spain Manuel Godoy — who claimed to have protected the publication of Olavide's work — had in achieving certain Enlightenment goals and as a way to help him promote the *Semanario de Agricultura y Artes Dirigido a los Párrocos* (1797-1808), the first Spanish periodical dedicated exclusively to agriculture and conceived by Godoy as an initiative to support his agrarian policy:

> Así entendemos por qué Olavide se empeñó en redactar las *Cartas de Mariano a Antonio*: no para expresar su adhesión a la Ilustración que no había abandonado a pesar de su conversión al cristianismo, [...] sino porque estaba al tanto de que el omnipotente Príncipe de la Paz [Manuel Godoy] deseaba al mismo tiempo difundir obras que estableciesen la verdad de la fe católica por el uso de la razón [...] y movilizar a los curas párrocos para fomentar la agricultura como intentaba hacerlo con la publicación de *El Semanario de Agricultura y Artes dirigido a los párrocos* cuyo primer número salió a luz pocos meses antes de que Luis Urbina [Godoy's nephew] se pusiera en contacto con el Consejo de Castilla respecto a la posibilidad de publicar *El Evangelio en triunfo*.[63]

Perdices also regrets the fact that, having read Thomas More's *Utopia* — a book known to be in Olavide's private library[64] — Olavide did not follow the canonical utopian guidelines to create his model society, as was the case with the colonising enterprise depicted in *Sinapia*, for example. Nonetheless, 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

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[61] Luis Perdices Blas, *Pablo de Olavide (1725-1803), el ilustrado* (Madrid: Complutense, 1992), p. 184.

[62] Gérard Dufour, 'Le rôle du curé dans l'utopie des lettres de Mariano a Antonio', in *L'Espagne du XVIIIe siècle: Acte des journées d'étude sur "Ville et campagne" et Cartas Marruecas des 5 et 6 décembre 1997*, ed. by Jacques Soubeyroux (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1997), pp. 205-15 (p. 209).

[63] Gérard Dufour, '*El Evangelio en triunfo* en el dispositivo político del Príncipe de la Paz', in *Ideas en sus paisajes: homenaje al profesor Russell P. Sebold*, ed. by Guillermo Carnero, Ignacio Javier López and Enrique Rubio (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1999), pp. 159-66 (p. 163).

[64] In analysing the composition of Olavide's large library, Perdices suggests that the version of *Utopia* that Olavide read was a French translation of the text. See foonote 8 in Luis Perdices Blas, 'El desarrollo intelectual de Jovellanos en la Sevilla de Olavide (1768-1776)', *Dieciocho*, 36 (2013), 51-78 (p. 62).

guide who lives in the utopian country. This narrative transposition in the elements of the utopian story does not influence or reduce the impact of its idealistic effect. Dufour identifies the geographical circumstances of the philosopher's town 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'.[65] Although not properly an island, but rather an isolated place, the philosopher's land, like Sinapia, ironically represents an improved version of eighteenth-century Spain.

Another curious feature in Olavide's utopia is the reformism underlying the immigration process to repopulate the philosopher's town. Employing Ernst Bloch's view in *The Principle of Hope*, this process of voluntary displacement constitutes the paradoxical dimension of a utopian space that results from a mass exodus to 'the promised land', but 'promised by process'.[66] In other words, the utopian country in *El Evangelio* is not a pre-existing perfect world, but the result of calculated strategic planning. In the same vein, Ana Rueda argues for a nebulous utopian configuration of the philosopher's village due precisely to the migratory process from which it is born: 'esta utopía no es *u*-tópica, es decir, se instala en tierras que posee el Filósofo, y tampoco es *a*-histórica, puesto que presenciamos cómo se levanta'.[67] However, 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 neighbours to abandon their traditional farming methods by showing them how to cultivate their lands in a rational and more effective way.[68] This perspective, accepted as a norm by the economic societies, derives from the economic thought of the Spanish economist and politician Bernardo Ward, who, in the reign of Fernando VI, travelled across Europe

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[65] Dufour, 'Utopie et *Ilustración*', p. 75.
[66] Bloch, I, p. 205.
[67] Rueda, p. 300.
[68] 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 Recio, p. 9).

and Spain collecting information to facilitate reform in the Spanish empire.[69] 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 supposedly shallow theoretical analysis, are shared by other Spanish Enlightenment thinkers, with the notable exception of Jovellanos.[70] Perdices has identified the scholarly theorists that Olavide was aware of:

> Olavide estaba al tanto de lo que se había escrito de economía en España y en Europa. Conocía las obras de [Pedro] Fernández de Navarrete, Campomanes o Mirabeau, aunque desconocía las de [Adam] Smith. Recogió de los extranjeros lo que consideraba que se podía aplicar a España.[71]

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 habitadores, se halla tantas veces angustiada y con los justos temores de no poder sustentar los pocos que tiene [...]. [E]sta 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.[72]

This passage contains the main arguments supporting the implementation of a socio-economic scheme based on an appropriate use of rural land. 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; necesitaría de grandes desembolsos, y después de todo no la cultivaría bien [...]. En la agricultura no adelanta el que hace más, sino el que hace

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[69] Sarrailh, p. 258.
[70] Perdices Blas, *Pablo de Olavide*, p. 493.
[71] Ibid., p. 492.
[72] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', pp. 78-79.

bien'.[73] More importantly, the philosopher's plan stipulates that the grant of 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 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.[74]

It is important to note that, although the notion of *colono* is certainly enunciated in *El Evangelio*, the idea of the process of colonisation by foreign farmers is not explicitly 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 programme 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 see to 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 viewed as 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

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[73] Ibid., p. 85.
[74] Ibid., p. 87.

para distraerlos de toda afición o gusto pernicioso'.[75] However, he is aware that his children are free to choose to live in the city, the court or join the army instead of restricting themselves to the limitations of a rustic existence. To restate what has been pointed out previously, the utopian programme delineated in *El Evangelio* is a rural, egalitarian society based on a rational knowledge and practice of Christianity.

What problematises this utopian social model is the image of the disenchanted philosopher who sees his project as at the crossroads of the spirituality of salvation and the secular concerns of civilisation. This is a dilemma that, according to Rolando Carrasco, 'bien podría ser una inflexión problemática al momento de inscribir esta obra de Olavide en el marco histórico de una estrecha colaboración con los "ilustrados" ministros del rey Carlos III'.[76] Nevertheless, Mariano validates the efficiency of his friend's plan by explaining that a genuine education is universally applicable in any context of life, regardless of the kind of knowledge involved:

> La buena educación es buena para todo. La religión, la moral, los principios de las ciencias sólidas y los conocimientos de las artes útiles, que deben ser la basa de una educación bien entendida, sirven para todas las situaciones y destinos, y son tan propios a dirigir y hacer feliz al hombre del campo, como al cortesano, al militar o al ciudadano.[77]

The constitutive elements of the educational plan proposed by the philosopher are in many respects similar to the ones set down by Olavide in his reform plan for the University of Seville in 1768. 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. Given that Olavide's first project was focused on meeting the needs of university reform in Spain, instead of being conceived as a comprehensive plan that would be inclusive of all levels of education, the politician suggested the implementation of new educational actions in 1798.

Similar to his previous programme, the new one 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. However, this time Olavide proposed a system of home education (*educación doméstica*) in which instruction was delivered by tutors or parents in the home. This

[75] Ibid., p. 49.
[76] Rolando Carrasco M., 'Un mito en movimiento: Pablo de Olavide y su *Evangelio en triunfo* (1797)', *Revista Chilena de Literatura*, 71 (2007), 19-42 (p. 37).
[77] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 51.

type of education is intended to get children used to living on the land and to showing them how to achieve and maintain prosperity. As Perdices details in his study of Olavide's reformist work:

> Esta educación se llama doméstica porque la impartían los padres y los ayos en sus hogares. Al igual que en 1768, iba dirigida a los grupos más acomodados de la sociedad (los niños de condición más modesta debían recibir una educación obligatoria al igual que la recibieron los hijos de los colonos de Sierra Morena [...]) y debía ser universal, es decir, una educación que acostumbrase a los niños a vivir en sus tierras y en el futuro preocuparse por la felicidad de sus súbditos y que les formase por si eran requeridos en alguna ocasión por el rey.[78]

Since the Spanish state failed to create public educational institutions that would put into effect the planned reforms, the home-based educational system was seen as a solution to the shortcomings of the existing model. This alternative proposal is evidently exemplified in the role played by Mariano as tutor to Félix and Paulino, even though he does not feel prepared to carry out such a task due to his childlessness. The emphasis put on the early training of children by their parents, specifically the father, is also a remarkable feature in *Sinapia,* in which a paternalistic authoritarian system is the ideal form of government: 'A ellos [the male household heads in Sinapia] incumbe [...] criar los hijos hasta que tomen estado, instruirlos en la religión, agricultura y leyes [...] y amor a la vida común, moderación e igualdad'.[79]

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 the physiocratic model introduced by French economic theorists, an attitude that apparently cast doubt on the intellectual originality of Spanish thinkers.[80] However, although Olavide's ideas were initially influenced by Mirabeau's work, his attitude does not necessarily reflect an acceptance of physiocracy, an economic theory developed by a group of eighteenth-century French economists who firmly believed that agriculture was the only industry that produced the wealth of nations. Unlike the 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

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[78] Perdices Blas, *Pablo de Olavide*, p. 482.

[79] *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 86.

[80] Ernest Lluch and Lluís Argemí i D'Abadal, *Agronomía y fisiocracia en España (1750-1820)* (Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1985), p. 45.

*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'.[81] As previously stated, Olavide's thought was largely grounded in private ownership. 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:

> El primer grupo, los agraristas, sostuvo que la única manera de aumentar la subsistencia era mediante una mejor organización económica, basada en incentivar la agricultura y el crecimiento consiguiente de la población. El segundo grupo estaría compuesto por algunos mercantilistas que defendieron la industrialización para procurar la subsistencia necesaria a una población creciente que no podía ser mantenida gracias a la agricultura. En tercer lugar, un grupo compuesto por la inmensa mayoría de los mercantilistas y parte de los agraristas que no mantuvo ninguna de estas dos posturas extremas, sino que contempló las mutuas relaciones de interdependencia existentes entre la población y el conjunto de las actividades económicas vinculadas a la agricultura, a la industria y al comercio.[82]

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 Christian faith does not yet exist.[83] Such a book should be the cornerstone of any social order and must be written in a style accessible to anyone:

> 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.[84]

In trying to underline the beneficial effects of organised 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

[81] Perdices Blas, *Pablo de Olavide*, p. 252.
[82] Manuel Martín Rodríguez, *Pensamiento económico español sobre la población: de Soto a Matanegui* (Madrid: Pirámide, 1984), p. 201.
[83] 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).
[84] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 182.

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?[85]

Similar arguments about the necessary preservation of religion are put forward 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'.[86]

Through Mariano's explanation of the areas of knowledge to be covered by the subjects taught, Olavide reaffirms the idea that religion and modern secular knowledge are not incompatible, but complementary dimensions that promote progress and civilisation:

> 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.[87]

Thus, the study of 'la ciencia de la salud eterna', or religion, does not preclude the teaching of other disciplines, but they are all subordinated to the predominance of religion.

Resembling *Sinapia*'s claim that all the arts and sciences taught are intended to reinforce the supremacy of religious dogma, 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'.[88] Gérard Dufour draws attention to

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[85] Ibid., p. 188.
[86] Olavide, 'Prólogo del autor', p. vii.
[87] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 55.
[88] Ibid., p. 52.

the fact that the Inquisition overlooked Olavide's conviction that the intensive instruction of religion should be deferred until the pupil was 18 or 19 years old.[89]

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 grammar or any other science as part of the education of a farmer's children: they are meant to learn mechanical arts because these contribute to the progress of the state.[90] 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'.[91] 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.[92] 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.[93]

> los que desde niños se habitúan a meditar no sólo están más en estado de aprender todas las ciencias, sino que pueden juzgar sanamente de todo, adquieren la aptitud de seguir y profundizar las materias más abstractas, pueden hacer descubrimientos ingeniosos [...]. [S]obre todo se forman un gusto o sabor de la verdad [...] que se puede decir que casi sin raciocinio y sólo por instinto la saben distinguir.[94]

In order to motivate the analysis and questioning of pre-existing 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

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[89] Dufour, 'Introducción', in *Cartas de Mariano a Antonio*, 1988, pp. 5-31 (p. 17).
[90] *Real Cédula*, p. 10.
[91] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 57.
[92] *Real Cédula*, p. 10.
[93] Elena Ausejo provides an informed overview of the Spanish promotion of mathematics during the reign of Carlos III (Elena Ausejo, 'Las matemáticas en la Ilustración hispana: estado de la cuestión', in *Ilustración, ilustraciones*, ed. by Jesús Astigarraga, María Victoria López-Cordón and José María Urkia, 2 vols (Donostia-San Sebastián: Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País; Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009), I, pp. 693-713 (pp. 698-710)).
[94] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 56.

memory[95] — 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 intellective ability is particularly crucial for the study of sacred history:

> Tampoco quiero decir [...] que se deba despreciar la historia, y que no se estudien más que las ciencias exactas. [...] [N]o se debe estudiar la historia sino [...] cuando por otros estudios preliminares se ha puesto en estado de poderla aprender con discernimiento para no dejarse alucinar con sus falsas opiniones, y saber a lo menos distinguir en parte la verdad de los hechos de la imaginación del historiador.[96]

What is emphasised 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 that 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'.[97] The study of natural history becomes an ally of theology, and will be supported by the study of physics, geography and astronomy. This panegyric on nature reasserts the superiority of virtuous rural occupations and pleasures over futile urban ones, but more importantly, it can be interpreted as a critique of some Enlightenment historians, and natural historians in particular, who practise their professions in the limited space of their studies instead of collecting data in situ.

Another characteristic of the educational programme 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.[98] He explains his method as follows:

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[95] Memory in the history of ideas is an extensive topic in the study of knowledge representation. What is interesting is the conception of history as the science of the unvarnished fact that utopian thinkers such as Francis Bacon and Tommaso Campanella endorsed: 'Campanella made history, divine and human, the fundamental science, since all knowledge comes from sensation; Hobbes made history, natural and civil, synonymous with knowledge of facts; and most influential of all, Bacon designated history as the representative discipline of the faculty of memory, just as philosophy served the faculty of reason, and the arts, imagination' (Lorraine J. Daston, 'Classifications of Knowledge in the Age of Louis XIV', in *Sun King: The Ascendancy of French Culture During the Reign of Louis XIV*, ed. by David Lee Rubin (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1992), pp. 207-20 (p. 215)).

[96] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', pp. 56-57.

[97] Ibid., p. 60. 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.

[98] The garden motif could, of course, be seen as an allusion to the Garden of Eden.

> yo daría a cada uno un corto terreno cerrado, y donde ninguno pudiera entrar sin su permiso. Permitiría el primer año que tu jardinero fuese a hacer el plantío y enseñarles; pero después debería correr por cuenta de los propios jóvenes el cultivo ulterior.[99]

On this point, Defourneaux highlights the subtle connection between 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 labour: while the philosopher's sons are advised to work as gardeners, Émile is supposed to become a carpenter:

> L'influence difusse de Rousseau transparaît dans le rôle d'éducateur donné à la nature [...]; elle se révèle aussi dans l'importance qu'attache le Philosophe à faire apprendre à son fils un métier manuel — celui-la même que Jean-Jacques conseille pour Émile: le métier de menuisier.[100]

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:

> Así, como Rousseau, Olavide concede una importancia capital al dibujo, y los hijos del Filósofo, como Emilio, irán a practicar con artesanos "para que adquieran una idea de todos y cada uno de los oficios más útiles", y especialmente el de carpintero y el de hortelano.[101]

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'.[102] 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 behaviour needs to be modelled on and adjusted to civilised standards, which is why the philosopher encourages the creation of an institution devoted to this specific task, as will be seen next.

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[99] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 61.
[100] Defourneaux, p. 466.
[101] Dufour, 'Introducción', p. 17.
[102] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 62.

**The Civic Utopia**

The educational and economic scope of Olavide's utopian programme is complemented by the presence of an organisation 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 behaviour. The creation of institutional mechanisms through which citizens can have a certain political participation in the running of their community is also a constituent of the administration system in the utopian country of the Ayparchontes in *El Censor*. In their society, the *Consejo Supremo de la Nación* functions as a regulating body that judges all issues concerning the jurisdiction of the nobility.[103] In a similar way, the ecclesiastical organisation of the Ayparchontes is divided into several boards that control the internal discipline of their Church, as has been seen in Chapter 6.

The *Junta del Bien Público* was established with clear goals: 'para desterrar la ociosidad y la mendicidad, para excitar la industria, promover las artes y reformar las costumbres'.[104] Its members are organised 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* emphasises that the poor and unemployed must be occupied in useful activities. In various respects, the activities of the *Junta* reflect those of the Spanish economic societies as originally set out in Campomanes's *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular*.[105] 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.[106]

The *Junta* was created as a charitable institution to assist needy and underprivileged individuals, and as an alternative to the simple action of giving alms to

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[103] *El Censor*, III, 'Discurso LXI', p. 231.
[104] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 105.
[105] [Rodríguez de Campomanes], *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular*, pp. xxxi-xxxv.
[106] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 137.

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 to which he was appointed in 1766.[107] It is worth mentioning that the *Instrucción y fuero de población* similarly included the running of hospices as a solution to the idleness and incapacity of the poor.[108] In her analysis of *El Evangelio*, Noël Valis defines the philosopher's programme as a 'philanthropic project' in which 'Olavide intended a thorough reform of society, from agricultural improvements to good manners, schoolrooms to spiritual reawakening'.[109] In almost the same vein, Leonardo Mattos-Cárdenas emphasises the pursuit of public happiness that permeates the comprehensive socio-economic plan of *El Evangelio en triunfo*: 'en sus seis "Cartas" finales desarrolla su fe en una *pública felicidad* que a través de proyectos utilitarios, destinados a combatir la pobreza, obtenga el progreso, delatando una gran experiencia urbanística y territorial'.[110]

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 behaviour that must be used in favour 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:

> al instante que se les dice que todos van a trabajar juntos y de mancomún, y que ésta es una sociedad en que todos ponen por igual su contribución y sus esfuerzos, ya les parece que la obra es suya, ya se imaginan que la gloria es para todos; cada cual piensa que tendrá su parte, y trabajará por adquirirla. [...] Tal es el corazón humano: él desea ser actor en todo; el papel de testigo le cansa, el de admirador le fastidia, el de instrumento le humilla; pero el de actor le sostiene, y cuando imagina que le alcanzará una parte del interés o de la gloria, con este estímulo se le lleva adonde se quiere. Así es su naturaleza, y pues así procuremos seguirla.[111]

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

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[107] Defourneaux, p. 90.

[108] *Real Cédula*, p. 5.

[109] Valis, p. 74.

[110] Leonardo Mattos-Cárdenas, 'Olavide y el urbanismo', in *Actas de las VII Jornadas de Andalucía y América*, 2 vols (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 1990), I, pp. 109-34 (p. 127).

[111] Olavide, 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', p. 115.

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. This argument could be seen as conflicting with the process of immigration by which the philosopher's town has been built, but it could also be a way to demonstrate that the project was a radical enterprise for the sake of preserving the sense of homeland in the utopian space:

> 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.[112]

The content of the next-to-last letter of the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' is dedicated to refuting the rhetoric of the period that seeks to distort the truth of the Christian Gospel. Olavide's sharp criticism is especially addressed to Voltaire, whose ideas are condemned as outrageous and worthy of vituperation:

> Su encarnizado furor contra los principios de la moral y de la religión le han transformado en un monstruo maléfico, que ha cegado y corrompido todas las naciones. Jamás hombre ninguno hizo tanto mal a los hombres como Voltaire. Este señor es [...] la causa principal de los extravíos, impiedades y escándalos de nuestro siglo.[113]

In accord with the Spanish utopian tradition, Olavide's ideal society strives to reconcile the civic and religious realms in the process of modelling good citizens and Christians. The philosopher epitomises 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. This is the virtuous portrayal of the philosopher that the final letter contains in order to intensify the solemnity of the account of his decease. His sudden death suggests that his life was meant to end once his reform plan began to bear fruit:

> Dios le dio tiempo no sólo para emprender y acabar todas las empresas que imaginó útiles para la felicidad de esta población, sino para que pudiese ver los frutos, y gozar él mismo de los beneficios que había

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[112] Ibid., p. 147.
[113] Ibid., p. 166.

> hecho. Este pueblo es hoy el trono de la paz, el centro de la abundancia y
> el modelo de lo que puede caber en la perfección humana.[114]

Thus, the philosopher's spiritual conversion was the instrument through which a comprehensive social transformation was correspondingly reproduced in his material world. In this sense, the narrative structure of the 'Cartas' can be interpreted as a symbolic correspondence between the personal reinvention of the philosopher and the salvation and restructuring of the society he belonged to.

**Conclusion**

The construction of a rural social system grounded in a rational Catholicism and in which all the inhabitants practise their spiritual and civic virtues is the utopian project depicted in the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' of *El Evangelio en triunfo, 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 capacity to develop an enlightened socio-political system based on the formation of good Christian citizens and good Spaniards. In other words, the text is built on the premise that living in a corrupt society is a useless illusion that can be converted into an ideal social order. The utopian constitution of the society 'saved' by the philosopher can be understood as a direct projection of his religious reorientation, a central component of Olavide's vision. The dual composition of *El Evangelio*'s reformist model, in which the progress of the agricultural system depends on the

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[114] Ibid., p. 196.

correct implementation of the educational programme, ultimately entails a utopianism rooted in the conviction that human nature and the natural world have inherently positive attributes that can be wisely improved in order to mould skilful citizens and workers who are able to live happily as a consequence of the fruits of the land that they cultivate.

# Conclusion

The overall aim of this thesis has been to amplify and enrich the current state of knowledge concerning utopian writings in eighteenth-century Spain, with special reference to the five major texts of the period. On the one hand, the thesis has focused on bringing out their subtle and imaginative relationship with classical works in the utopian tradition; on the other, it has shed new light on the role played by these narratives in relation to the social and cultural debates of Enlightenment Spain. Scholars of the past twenty years have not, for the most part, explored the subtlety with which the featured utopian authors understood and experimented with the inherited model to produce texts attractive to contemporary readers. In this regard, the present research has defined the specific characteristics of the Spanish utopian tradition within the body of Western utopian literature. Moreover, it has aimed to show that utopian fiction in eighteenth-century Spain displayed notable literary artistry.

The utopian model had a significant role in setting out comprehensive schemes to rethink Spanish society in the eighteenth century. Utopian plans involved the creation of an ideal society whose inhabitants and institutions provided a means to question the status quo in Spain. However, as shown in Chapter 3, the reformist mentality that reached its peak during the reign of Carlos III contributed to the development of a utopian spirit that aimed to expand the limits of reformism and offer an unofficial alternative vision. In this sense, Spanish utopian fiction emerged as a socio-political genre that built on the Morean model, but also shaped it to address the specific needs and circumstances of the existing situation. The fact that no earlier Spanish utopian texts have been found can thus be explained by the argument that they needed the impulse of a reformist environment in order to come into being. As Chapter 2 argues, there was also a tradition of Spanish-American social experimentation following the discovery and colonisation of the New World that inevitably shaped the pragmatic nature of Spanish utopianism. Alongside this empirical precedent, the reformist vision of Spanish pre-Enlightenment thinkers established the basis for the unfolding of a utopian consciousness in Spain.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Thomas More's 1516 founding text provided the starting point for rethinking and experimenting with society and its main areas of concern, such as political institutions, social structures, education, religion, property ownership and individual morality. By creating a narrative involving an imaginary voyage to a foreign, distant territory, which evokes *Utopia* and its focal points, the five

texts analysed identify themselves as explicitly belonging to the utopian tradition, in contrast with which they expect to be read. Some include allusive comments to More's text or specifically refer to it, like the *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas*. Others also hint at aspects of the utopian works of Francis Bacon (*Sinapia*) or Tommaso Campanella (*Monarquía columbina*).

From a traditional generic point of view, utopia relates to the didactic model of the fable, a literary form that notably reappears in later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Spain. Of the five texts studied, the *Suplemento* and the *Monarquía columbina* are closely allied to the realm of fable in that both narratives depict an alternative world populated by animals, in one case monkeys and in the other birds. And in both cases, the author makes human society an explicit point of contrast with that of the animals. In Vaca de Guzmán's text, two European humans visit the monkey society on the other side of the world, while in Merino's case only at the end of the utopian story is contact made between birds and humans, with the authorial assertion that the dove kingdom is superior to the human one.

Generic frameworks are not fixed; in practice, they evolve over time. Attitudes of authors in relation to their audiences, such as authorial intentions concerning tone and narrative manner, bring about changes over the decades and even centuries. Thus, imaginary journeys that were written after More's foundational work experimented and produced variations on the original utopian paradigm, while usually maintaining the basic starting point of a contrast between the society of the writer, which acts as his assumed major audience, and the encounters with the Other, the society used to provide a point of contrast. Thus, in many respects utopian writings resemble historical accounts because the author sets out details of a particular society to present it to his readers much as a historian would. The tone of a utopian account is meant to be realistic, or verisimilitudinous to use the terminology of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, an objective that especially concerns the unknown authors of *Sinapia* and the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes'.

However, many utopian writings are also comparable to earlier and even contemporary novels as the attitude of the narrator and the narrative techniques employed are often similar to those of a novelist. What is different is the intention guiding the work: whereas the label of novel indicates an intention to be entertaining and not excessively fanciful (that is to say, inverisimilitudinous), a utopian text starts by presenting a chimeric setting, while seeming to claim that the society portrayed really exists, though a convention of its literary model is that it does not since the

utopian space is a no place or ideal place. The intention of a utopian text is, then, to oblige the reader to make constant comparisons between the society described and their own world. The utopian text always presupposes the contrapuntal effect of comparison with the reality that the reader knows. Whatever takes place in the utopian account, the specific aspect focused on is the contrast, and the reader is continuously required to judge and think for him or herself concerning the merits of the two worlds and even imagine relative mixtures of the two.

A major aspect of literary expression that has a significant impact on utopian texts is the satirical tone adopted by some of them. This is especially the case with the *Suplemento* and the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes'. In consequence, rather than representing a perfect or ideal society, as *Sinapia* and the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' do, utopian writings can partially create non-ideal worlds, without getting to the point of becoming dystopias in which chaos and corruption subjugate the citizens of a fearful society. In other words, some utopian texts allow themselves to be satirical about the existing social system that needs to be changed, while others focus on the characterisation of an idealised society. Moreover, satire can be used to provide variety in the usually serious tone of the work. Since the constant mental demand on the reader made by the author of a utopia is to make comparisons and judgements about political, social, religious or economic structures, a text that alternates the ideal with the satirical can prove attractive, as Swift's iconic travel account demonstrated.

In addition to these narrative functions, satire can provide an effective tool to mitigate social criticism and avoid censorship, which might be seen as the strategy of the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes', although part of it could not escape being banned by the Inquisition. It should be pointed out that anonymity is another tactic used to evade censorship, a means also employed by the author of the utopian narrative of *El Censor*. In this respect, the apparent religious orthodoxy of the authors of *Sinapia* and the *Monarquía columbina* would not have brought problems with the governmental censorship system or that of the Inquisition. Nevertheless, it is notable that *Sinapia* was not published at the time that it was written, and Merino's work was only published posthumously. As to the *Suplemento*, the author was careful not to explore religious features of society in detail and, therefore, not to provoke any textual changes, as far as we know, from the government's censors.

The creative interaction between satire and utopia was most successfully demonstrated by Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), a major innovative text in the utopian tradition. The full, original title of the work, *Travels into Several Remote*

*Nations of the World. In Four Parts by Lemuel Gulliver*, emphasises the imaginary journey aspect by dividing up the treatment of alternative societies between the work's different parts, including one in Part IV depicting an animal society (mainly Houyhnhnms, but also Yahoos). Swift is widely assumed to be satirising British society, but he also makes the reader imagine a parallel society and different attitudes of individuals (whether human or not) towards living together. Swift's model has been most evident in the treatment of social customs and cultural traditions presented in Vaca de Guzmán's *Suplemento*, as seen in Chapter 5.

What the five texts analysed ultimately reveal is that the utopian framework can be treated in different ways. The content can be varied to a considerable degree, staying close to the idea of setting out the model of an ideal society or, at an opposite pole, appearing to satirise the organisation and inhabitants of an existing one. In order to work, the Morean model needs only to be lightly alluded to and inventive new ideas put forward; alternatively, it can be followed fairly closely while producing the variation by means of detailed focus on features of the society to be described or satirised. The literary character of the text can be set out like a historical text (*Sinapia*), become a third-person narration close to that of the novelistic omniscient narrator (*Suplemento*, 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes', *Monarquía columbina*) or take an epistolary form ('Cartas de Mariano a Antonio'). The text can be fundamentally descriptive with the impersonal narratorial voice apparently distant from what is described and can discuss societal structures in a seemingly objective, detached way, but it can also approach reality from a close perspective and even appear to reflect an individual person's character, conveying a sense of detailed examination of human behaviour in which individuals matter and are constantly seen in relationship with one another.

*Sinapia* is closest in form and style to More's *Utopia*. Many of the elements of the description of the geography, social composition, and political and economic systems evoke More's work. The anonymous author seems especially concerned with institutional structures and presents them in great detail. While spirituality and religious practices are the features most similar to Spain, much of the rest of the text portrays a unique and exemplary imaginary society, whose success and efficiency are unquestionable since the text lays claim to realistic credentials by supposedly being based on the notes of a historically verifiable figure, Abel Tasman. This aspect supports the conception of *Sinapia* as a text inspired by the organisational model of the Paraguayan Jesuit *reducciones*, a practical utopia in itself.

Vaca de Guzmán's *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton al país de las monas* is by far the most elaborate and extensive of the five texts studied in this thesis. Its literary peculiarity lies in the way it is presented as a continuation of an existing imaginary journey, Zaccaria Seriman's *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton,* although the French addition to Swift's travel account provides an obvious recent precedent. However, Vaca de Guzmán's originality is evident in apparently seizing on the Swiftian mode of satire by showing both good and bad features of the kingdom of the apes over two new volumes of text. The author seems to take his cue for his narrative style from the Spanish periodical publications of the 1760s, describing and adopting a critical perspective on the varied experiences undergone in different locations of the exotic country where the work is situated. Vaca de Guzmán's moral standpoint is constantly present, and consequent moral judgements are expected to emerge in the mind of the reader. He also touches on important and even sensitive political issues such as the *señorial* system, but more interestingly, he proposes the idea of a rural utopia as a way to counteract the practice of having recourse to a cosmopolitanism that may threaten the nature of Spanish identity. The conception of a rural utopia emerges as a solution to the alienating effects that an eminently urban utopia can cause. Such an objective leads the reader to perceive a support for nationalism as a way to defend the importance of geographical and cultural uniqueness.

The account of the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes' is one of the shorter texts, and perhaps for that reason, as well as for the need to fit the standard format of the periodical in which it is featured, the references to the imaginary journey tradition are brief. The text immediately centres on social organisation and in particular the position of the nobility and the Church, which are evidently the main focus for critical comment and analysis. Few Spanish readers could have been unaware that the targets of the author's satirical pen were the privileges of these two institutions in Spain, both of which occupied the attention of contemporary reformist thinkers. The attack on the Church soon resulted in denunciation to the Inquisition of the Church-focused Discurso 75, which was followed by its prohibition shortly afterwards. In the three *discursos* of the text, the author is unashamedly satirical, and the features of the two institutions are sharply presented as in need of reform. The utopian model serves as a reminder that the existing state of society can be improved, with areas for that improvement clearly delineated.

The *Monarquía columbina*, also quite short, uses the fable aspect of the utopian tradition in a challenging way. Within a society of birds, the birds of prey are

negatively contrasted with the peaceful, virtuous doves. Although the arrogant character of the birds of prey is meant to be seen as reflecting the attitude of proponents of Enlightenment thought, the arguments that would appear to present this criticism are not always easy to follow. The text, nevertheless, requires the reader to meditate on current society and to focus on its possible flaws, a stance that corresponds to the standard position adopted in utopian texts.

Pablo de Olavide's 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' in *El Evangelio en triunfo* make use of a key aspect of many successful eighteenth-century novels, the epistolary format, but its formal features are only lightly exploited, since it is the social and ideological dimensions of utopianism that the author wishes to foreground. Although Olavide echoes More's original utopia in presenting an ideal society, the literary form yields to the description of the philosopher's town and the beliefs and practices of its inhabitants as the major characteristics as most deserving the attention of the reader. The treatment of people and their attitudes to organised religion reveals the author's engagement with the Catholic Church in Spain, while the arguments concerning beliefs and their social consequences show that Olavide is prepared to argue in favour of an enlightened Catholicism and one that progressive Spanish Catholics would have sympathised with. That is to say, this is a model designed to capture the sympathy of a potentially hostile reading public. Nothing included in the letters as published would have offended Catholics. Beliefs and attitudes are the central interest for the reader and the ideas set out seem designed to be applicable to Spain, especially considering that Olavide's utopian proposal was based on his previous reform project for the Sierra Morena. This fictional, though refocused, recreation of a governmental programme not only reflects the intersection of utopianism and reformism, but also reaffirms the hypothesis of an experimental or practical utopia underlying the distinctive nature of Spanish utopian fiction. *Sinapia* and the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' best exemplify such a condition.

In spite of addressing Spain's need for reorganisation by prioritising different societal issues of the period, the five Spanish utopias deal with fundamental thematic components of the utopian genre, such as the process of colonisation that leads to the establishment of the utopian space (predominantly in *Sinapia* and the *Monarquía columbina*), the balance between a spiritual and a practical education, the abolition of private property, public happiness, and economic and scientific progress. They also imply the emergence of a potentially dangerous isolationism and a sense of xenophobia and authoritarianism as a result of the geographical and ideological insularity that belongs to the utopian mentality. This dogmatic and repressive side of utopia is more

visible in *Sinapia* and the *Monarquía columbina*, possibly due to the strong religious basis of their ideal societies.

The five texts also portray the conceptual confrontation between civilisation and barbarism. The image of the good savage as the ideal inhabitant of a utopian country brings up the debate about the risk to the innocent and pristine nature of the natives of the New World due to the corruption and oppression of the European colonisers. On the other side of the controversy, the superiority of Western civilisation is praised in relation to the backwardness of the uncivilised indigenous peoples in the newly conquered lands. In this manner, Spanish imperialism seems to have found in the colonisation process that precedes the creation of the utopian settlement a means to legitimise its ethical vision of colonialism as a civilising mission. The alleged progress and sophistication that result from the rise of civilisation is particularly acclaimed in *Sinapia* through the description of a complex, state-controlled system of knowledge production.

As far as key aspects of society are concerned, the unjustified privileges of the nobility and the Church are recurring topics in these utopian narratives. The role and concept of nobility and its place in society are highly questioned, but some potential solutions to the problem that they pose are suggested: *Sinapia* and the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio' propose the elimination of the nobility as a class, but Antonio recommends the devotion of nobles to social usefulness instead. However, the treatment of an idle aristocracy is not as strong as that of religion, which produces a major polarisation of attitudes. While the social function of a rational Christianity and a religion-oriented education are central in *Sinapia*, the *Monarquía columbina* and the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio', the questionable material enrichment of the Church is attacked in the 'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes'. The matter is overlooked in Vaca de Guzmán's *Suplemento*, perhaps following the example of More's *Utopia*, in which the discussion about religion is fundamentally philosophical and presented in terms of the tolerance of different religious beliefs.

Thus, the five texts explored in this thesis stand out for their imaginative and creative approach to a pre-existing literary format or framework as their authors freely interpret and vary the existing tradition. Each one highlights specific features that the author wishes to emphasise. Their aim is always to provoke contrasts with the state of Spain as it existed at the points in time at which they were written and to lead the readership to imagine and believe that the dominant status quo might be changed for the better. Two of the texts (the *Suplemento de los viajes de Enrique Wanton* and the

'Monarquía de los Ayparchontes') are presented as satires of the Spain of their moment; two others (*Sinapia* and the 'Cartas de Mariano a Antonio') describe idealised societies; and the other (the *Monarquía columbina*) comes across in part as a counter-utopia or dystopia, taking what some would consider progressive aspects of the Spain of Carlos III and presenting them in a negative light.

Much previous work on eighteenth-century Spanish utopias has been limited to a focus on more obvious surface features, and a substantial number of recent studies have tended to reiterate points made in earlier research. Somewhat surprisingly, few critics have tried to set the five texts in the utopian tradition. Most scholars have treated specific texts in isolation and have taken their relationship with the utopian model for granted. In that respect, the present thesis has contributed to a more probing analysis of the works in question in the light of their indebtedness to More's text and their ideological links with a well-established Spanish reformist tradition. What the research for the present thesis has also aimed to show is how the adoption and adaptation of the traditional utopian framework prioritise narrative elements that serve to portray and criticise the functioning of social institutions in Spain. This subject was central to Enlightenment debate at the time and a key constituent of the focus on progressive reform that occupied the attention of reformers from the era of the *novatores* to the period of fierce discussion at the end of the eighteenth century when signs of political and cultural crisis were most evident. More importantly, the study has demonstrated the coexistence of utopianism and reformism in Enlightenment Spain and revealed how both ideological discourses interacted during a time of comprehensive social transformation, a time of questioning of political and social priorities that were intended to bring about change, but that were nevertheless incapable of producing the transformation that progressive minorities earnestly endeavoured to achieve.

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