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11 Cameralism in Spain

Polizeywissenschaft and the Bourbon Reforms

Adriana Luna-Fabritius

This chapter considers the place of cameral science in eighteenth-century Spanish political-economic thought, with an emphasis on two Spanish translations by the cameralist thinker Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi. His *Elements of Police* (*Grundsätze der Polizeywissenschaft* 1756) was translated into Spanish twice, the first in Barcelona in 1784, the second in Madrid in 1791.¹ Other Cameralist writers, including Jakob Friedrich Bielfeld (1717–70), Friedrich II (1712–86) and Joseph Sonnenfels (1732–1817) were all translated into Spanish around the same period. However, the historiography has misattributed the translation of Justi's *Élemens* from 1791, questioning the appropriation of cameral ideas in Spain over the second half of the eighteenth century as established by the pioneering studies of European cameralism by Ernest Lluch, and opening a path for further research into Justi's translations into Spanish.

Despite their differences, both translations were part of a common initiative disseminating European economic ideas so as to shape the ongoing Bourbon reforms, which were intended to improve circumstances in the vast intercontinental territories of the Spanish monarchy. There is evidence that, before the first translation of Justi's *Elements of Police* was undertaken in the 1780s, there was already an understanding of the "science of police" in Spain. Crucial to this dissemination was a journal that had been influential since the 1760s. Justi's translations, however, were undertaken as part of a broader translation project that played a fundamental role in promoting the improvement of the monarchy's resources. Two sets of actors in this process can be identified: (i) those individuals involved in the Economic Societies of Friends of the Country in the Crown of Aragon and (ii) the powerful Castilian-Asturian group of ministers. The first disseminated new ideas for increasing the happiness of the people, including the promotion of the liberty of trade across the trans-oceanic Spanish dominions of authority; the adoption of new techniques to improve agriculture, mining; and they also encouraged the colonisation of uninhabited areas through the establishment of military regimes to organise new settlements.

Rather than a unilateral process of planning, the ideas that defined the Bourbon reforms came from two different sources: (i) the Aragonese party that attempted to introduce new economic ideas; and (ii) the powerful group of ministers that represented Castilian interests and who were led by individuals who mostly came from Madrid and Asturias. The Spanish Inquisition mediated this contest of economic ideas at the court of Madrid. Particularly noteworthy in this respect was the fact that, despite attempts at obstruction by the Inquisition, discussion of economic matters had already reached a high theoretical level, distinguishing between matters of religion and state, and between issues of politics and the elements of police, i.e. between politics and state administration. The latter was organised according to the principle of the happiness of subjects, which was the object of theoretical debate in economic societies and universities. The degree of specialisation of Spanish public debate becomes more evident if we place it in the context of educational reform, establishing new chairs of civil economy, moral philosophy and public law. Economic discussion permeated Spanish society, contributing to the development of a public sphere. In this way Spanish economic discussion fostered an enlightened cultural movement from which there was, despite intervention by the Inquisition, no turning back.

1. The Study of Cameralism in Spain

Justi's translations have been treated as part of a general initiative to promote the dissemination of scientific thinking. The diffusion of economic ideas has been seen as a contribution to the formulation of reform plans to improve the well-being of the different kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy at both general and local level. However, it has not been adequately acknowledged that these translations were made as part of a library of economic texts mainly promoted by prominent subjects of the Crown of Aragon. They were part of an attempt to improve the level of discussion in economic matters, seeking to create the opportunity for individuals to participate as experts in central questions of monarchical administration. It is thus plausible to suppose that this library of economic texts contributed to the elaboration and sophistication of the Bourbon reforms. This process of improvement reached its highest point with the completion of the translations of Justi's *Elements of Police*, considered to be the most mature expression of cameralistic science in Europe. The promotion of the library of economic texts served to legitimate participation by the so-called Aragonese party in monarchical decision-making through the Council of Castile and the court.²

Two distinct periods of Bourbon reforms have been studied. The first began with the accession of Philip V to the throne in Madrid. At the outset of the War of Spanish Succession he commanded emergent experts and ministers to furnish him with reports on the condition of the different

kingdoms of the monarchy. The new king sought to compile comparable information and statistics on the condition of his domains, and implemented some measures for the improvement of tax collection and the administration of his financial resources. The new king achieved a higher degree of centralisation and administrative unification of the monarchy with the *Tratados de Nueva Planta*, which abolished the privileges of the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon. Henceforth all the Aragonese domains were administered from Madrid. This has been considered the necessary point of departure for the modernisation of the monarchy.³ However, for the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon this represented a loss of former privileges and local liberties. As part of his reform plans Philip V promoted the rational and efficient development of old and new economic activities. In 1759 the nature of the reforms changed with the accession of his son Charles III (1716–88), who had experience as a monarch in the court of Naples. The most distinguished ministers of that kingdom, led by the renowned Bernardo Tanucci, had mentored him in Naples. Consequently, one can assume his familiarity with the development of the Neapolitan economy and its relationship to broader European ideas.

The translation into Spanish of European economic texts increased with the accession of Charles to the Spanish throne. The dissemination of cameralistic ideas in Spain was furthered by the inclusion of cameralistic texts in educational reforms, in the education of public servants in academies and the Economic Societies of Friends of the Country during the 1770s–80s, culminating in the creation of a chair in political economy in 1784 and their inclusion in University instruction in 1787.⁴ There has not, however, been any examination of the exact connection of Bourbon reforms cameralist translations, nor of the science of police in which administrators were instructed, nor of the level of the public debate in the 1780s when certain religious communities and the Inquisition persecuted translators, university professors and other conveyers of new economic ideas.⁵ More importantly, the difficulties in disentangling moral principles from economic matters have not been examined. The accumulation of wealth and the promotion of luxury products still treated as usury and the promotion of concupiscence was considered vital by these innovators for the improvement of commerce and the economy in general. Public debates revealed the existence of at least two new and opposing models of economy, two forms of understanding commerce in Catholic thinking: one that offered a political solution for dealing with economic matters, as proposed by Antonio Genovesi and considered the most radical of his time; and a second route to public happiness that began to be promoted in Spain, offered by Antonio Muratori and deal differently with the moral dimension of economics.⁶

I argue here that, despite the neglect of the 1791 translation of Justi's *Éléments* into Spanish, cameralistic science was already cultivated in Spain

before the completion of the translations in question, and was undergoing theoretical elaboration. The journalist Francisco Mariano Nipho (1719–1803), a subject of the Crown of Aragon and promoter of political economy, had promoted cameralistic knowledge in Spain since 1760s. He first introduced Justi's texts in his journal in 1771.

It has become clear that the accession in 1759 of Charles III to the throne in Madrid enabled some Aragonese functionaries to advance to prominent positions in the administration of the monarchy, not only in Madrid but also in other regions of the monarchy. Once established in different regions they began to promote the new economic ideas that informed the development of the Bourbon reforms during the ensuing decades. Amongst the most prominent Aragonese involved in the diffusion of economic knowledge were the Count of Aranda (1718–98), the journalist Mariano Nipho and the university professors Lorenzo Normante y Carcavilla (1759–1801) and Ramón de Salas y Cortés (1753–1837). Despite the achievements in incorporating new economic ideas during the 1760s to 1790s, reactionary forces managed to block the developments of their initiatives. This break in the process of dissemination of economic ideas coincided with the detachment of the members of the Aragonese party led by the Count of Aranda, who had to distance themselves from the monarch and positions of influence.

However, this loss of influence by members of the Aragonese faction, and the abandonment of a path of improvement to economy and administration in the kingdoms of the monarchy, could not nullify the process entirely, nor reverse the development of public opinion. For even if there was a slowdown in the ongoing process of creating a new understanding of the great variety of geographical and climatic conditions, and of the administrative needs of the different kingdoms within the monarchy, there was no turning back to the point of departure. The Spanish monarchy had already changed during the two decades preceding the prohibition of any continuation with the publication of economic texts, and of the chairs related to political economy. The events associated with the introduction of economic ideas had already prompted a cultural movement that had broader consequences in the generation and specialisation of functionaries and public opinion; a process that some authors have identified with the foundation of the Spanish Enlightenment.⁷ Evidence of this is the multiplication of these initiatives after the short break forced by the Inquisition and the ordinances from Madrid.

The history of these translations draws attention to the presence of two types of actors who played a crucial role in the promotion of the improvement of the resources of the monarchy; and there were accordingly to two different ways of proceeding with respect to economic change in Spain. On the one hand, there were the individuals involved with the Economic Societies of the Friends of the Country initiated in the Crown of Aragon, including the king himself; and on the other, there

were the government ministers known as the *golillas*, including José Moñino y Redondo Count of Floridablanca (1728–1808) and Pedro Rodríguez Count of Campomanes (1723–1802).⁸ The continuing struggle for Charles III's favour is sufficient evidence that the ideas behind the Bourbon reforms came from different directions, and were the result of internal struggles legitimised by the level of specialisation of the planners and operators of the reforms.

Thus, by studying the translations into Spanish of the most distinctive text of eighteenth-century cameralism we can better understand the extent to which contemporary reform plans were a product of what was thought of as the most suitable form to provide happiness to subjects; and not as failed projects, incompletely realised enlightened projects. Although historians have previously dismissed these reformist movements for their failure to pursue broader goals, the decision to address the immediate needs of the people through the improvement of natural resources and the development of the economy did make a progressive impact at all levels of society. It has also become clear that the level of theoretical elaboration had reached a crucial point with the translation of Justi's *Elements of Police*, Spanish thinkers distinguishing between matters of politics and the elements of police. Evidence of this distinction was the contemporary educational reform that, apart from chairs of civil economy, also contemplated the creation of chairs in moral philosophy and public law. The development of economic understanding became increasingly technical and detached from moral philosophy and public law.

2. Cameral Ideas and the Bourbon Reforms, 1760s–1780s: The Rise of the New Economic Experts

Following the accession of Charles III (1759–88) to the throne in Madrid in 1760, he first spent some time visiting the Crown of Aragon where he came into contact with the most distinguished individuals of its four different kingdoms: Valencia, Aragón, Mallorca and the Principality of Catalonia. During the course of a month the new king of Spain gave those who had been defeated in 1714 as supporters of the Holy Roman Emperor in the War of Spanish Succession the opportunity of making proposals through the representative of their interests, the Count of Aranda. These events were taken as a sign that the subjects of these kingdoms would slowly be able to participate in the decisions regarding the government and administration of the monarchy. In 1763 the Count of Aranda was appointed captain-general of the Province of Valencia and after Esquilache Riots in 1766 he became President of the Council of Castile, with powers similar to those of the Secretary of the Count of Floridablanca. Apart from the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, Aranda promoted the idea that “more state means more market”.⁹ Due to his

rivalry with current Secretary of State Floridablanca, he was excluded from government from 1773 to 1787, the period that he spent in France as ambassador. Aranda was only allowed to return to Spain in 1792, after the death of Charles III, and in a completely different political context. On his return he replaced Floridablanca as Secretary of State to King Charles IV, who ruled from 1788 until his abdication in 1808.

In 1760 the representatives of the cities of Zaragoza, Valencia, Barcelona and Palma de Mallorca explained to their new monarch the need to address the happiness of the kingdoms of the crown of Aragon that, since the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, had been ruled by the laws of Castile and not by their own. They reminded Charles III that they had never had the laws that they had been obliged to adopt in 1714, and that the happiness of these kingdoms depended on the return of their privileges and local liberties.¹⁰ During their opportunity to interact with their king the Aragonese expressed their political claims and economic proposals. The latter proposals included the defence of industrial guilds, the freedom to trade with the American kingdoms, strong finances and a lending that would contribute to the generation of wealth, self-administration of taxes (in contrast with the proposal of the *arbitristas* from Salamanca), and a strong army, or more specifically, a navy that could help preserve the American markets.¹¹ Merchants would develop this economic plan together with those members of the army coming from the lowest levels of the nobility as well as the people: consumers, urban artisans, peasants with looms dependent on merchants. They also considered necessary infrastructure and irrigation plans, as well as planned colonisations for depopulated regions of the monarchy, both in Europe and America.

It has been argued that for their social, economic and military reforms Aragonese thinkers looked to Bielfeld, Justi and Friedrich II, whereas for the territorial organisation they looked at the Austrian model.¹² However, as pointed out previously, there are no detailed studies on the sources of these different proposals. However, the initial dissemination of cameralistic ideas in Spain has been attributed to the Aragonese journalist Francisco Mariano Nipho (1719-1803).

Nipho is remembered as a promoter of economic ideas and texts. Although it has been previously argued that Nipho concentrated mostly on authors like Mirabeau or Duhamel de Moceau, it has been established that this does not take account of the attention he dedicated to the cameralists. Nipho indeed worked on Bielfeld's ideas between 1762 and 1786, and he quoted Bielfeld's work more than any other economic text of the time. In the same manner it has been shown that Nipho's interest and his dissemination of Justi's ideas started as early as 1771.¹⁴

At the same time Nipho published other editorial notes in his journal "inspired by cameral texts". The Count of Aranda, the leader of what has been called the Aragonese Party, encouraged these publications.¹⁵ Amongst the Spanish authors associated with cameralism in that earlier

period were Mateo Antonio Barberí who in 1765 published his *Political and Instructional Documents*, in 1768 his *Political and Instructive Letters on the Advantages of Commerce in the Kingdom of Aragon*, and in 1770 his *Political and Instructive Letters on Several Points Regarding Public Happiness*, whose primary objective was to establish the general principles for achieving the public happiness of the kingdom of Aragon.¹⁶ Equally important at that time were the works by Francesc Romà i Rosell, who in 1768 published his text *The Signs of Happiness in Spain and the Ways to Bring them to Fruition*, including a long catalogue of socio-economic reforms, mainly on education and free movement.¹⁷ Romà is remembered because he was one of the first to advocate free commerce with the American kingdoms for the merchants of the Aragonese Crown, as well as the creation of a free internal market.

A leading resident of Zaragoza, Victorián de Villava (1747–1802), sought to attract the attention of Campomanes to Antonio Genovesi's text *Lessons on Commerce or on Civil Economy* from 1785–86.¹⁸ The Count of Campomanes (1723–1802) was the minister and chief ideologue for the socioeconomic reform of the monarchy, and also criminal prosecutor in Castile. Campomanes was in addition an opponent of the Aragonese Party, but had collaborated with them in relevant matters such as the expulsion of the Jesuits from the territories of the monarchy in 1767.¹⁹

Between 1798 and 1805, Enrique Ramos published in Valencia a new edition of his *Discourse on Political Economy*. In this he introduced Nicolas Delamare's (1639–1723) definition of police from his *Traité de la Police, Où l'on trouvera l'histoire de son établissement, les fonctions et les prerogatives de ses magistrats; toutes les loix et tous les réglemens qui la concernent* (1705 and 1710).²⁰ Significant in this definition of police are his ideas about the ordinary operations the maintenance of the order, and the regard for the common needs of the citizens; the distribution of *providencias* to avoid all the elements that could disturb peace and the tranquillity, and to correct and suppress all disorders and prevent all crime. Equally important was his idea that all delinquents should get the punishment that they deserved without distinction of employment job, social standing or wealth.²¹ His idea of police involved a conception of simple justice: that all the delinquents receive the same punishment, that justice be expedited with all assistance, protection and relief needed. In other words, that all delinquents were equal before the law. In addition, the magistrate should provide tranquillity, cleanliness, curiosity, abundance and security to the city.²² Ramos's definition actually coincided with Domingo de la Torre's account of the function of a magistrate of police in a capital, considered to be one of the main precursors in the dissemination of the science of police in Spain.²³

It is in this context that the translation of Justi's *Elements of Police* appeared for the first time in 1784, and then in 1791.²⁴ As noted previously, this was part of the initiative of creating a broad library of

economic texts devoted to improving the commerce, industry, chemistry and natural history of the monarchy. All these Spanish texts and translations were part of a larger enterprise to disseminate new economic ideas in the Spanish monarchy. Those discussed here built on an interpretation of cameralist ideas, setting the science of police within the broader framework of new economic ideas, before the publication of Bertrand's *Éléments* (1781) that had the same aim in a Swiss-French context.

3. Translating Justi

The first translation into Spanish of Justi's *Grundsätze der Polizeywissenschaft* (1756) was made from the French *Éléments généraux de police*, published in Paris in 1769. The Spanish translation was published in Barcelona in 1784 as *Elementos generales de Policía. Escritos por el señor Juan Henrique Gottlobs de Justi, Consejero del Rey de Inglaterra* and was 182 pages long. The translator was Antonio Francisco de Puig i Gelabert, doctor of Laws at the University of Huesca, one of the most important universities of the Crown of Aragon. Puig i Gelabert contributed to the study of Public and Criminal Law and was an advocate for the Royal Audience of Catalonia, the primary institution for the administration of justice in the kingdom of Aragon. During the course of his life Puig i Gelabert several times assumed important functions in the government of the kingdom.

The Spanish translation of the *Elements of Police* was part of an initiative to prepare new materials training lawyers in their work for Royal Audiences or the chancelleries that were the institutions of appellate courts in early modern Spain. Audiences had been instituted in new areas of settlement in the Americas to bring these areas and their settlers under royal control. Eventually they proved incapable of administering overseas government, leading to the need to introduce viceroys to the new kingdoms of the monarchy. At that point, the Audiences acquired a quasi-legislative role in the administration of the territories, and together with the viceroys were overseen by the Council of Indies. The Audiences also managed the royal treasury. The main difference between Audiences in Europe and the Americas was that the Americans had a judicial function over and above their former legislative and executive functions.²⁵

Justi's *Elements of Police* was introduced to improve the training of public administrators and the organisation of the administration of these kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy, starting with the kingdom of Catalonia. When Justi's translation was finished the Royal Audience of Catalonia ordered that all lawyers of the kingdom had to be instructed in the science of the government, which was divided into three branches: policy, politics and economy. In addition to the translation, Puig i Gelabert has been credited with establishing Justi's work as part of a group of relevant authors for cameralist sciences in the Spanish monarchy that included

Francesc Romà, Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld, Antoni Campmany and

Antonio Arteta de Monteseuro.²⁶ The second translation of Justi's *Elements of Police* into Spanish appeared seven years after the first one. It was published in 1791 by Miguel Gerónimo

Suárez, as *Elementos de la Policía general de un Estado*, in *Instructive Memories Regarding Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, Economy, Chemistry, Botany, Natural History, Taken from Works Published in France, England, Germany, Prussia and Sweden*. The translation was attributed to Miguel Gerónimo Suárez and Pedro Marín, and was published in Madrid in volume 12 of this collection in 1791.²⁷ The translation appeared in a series of volumes devoted to all kind of economic texts addressed to improvements in the cultivation of grains, economic considerations about livestock and the improvement of mining amongst other topics. Volume 12, in particular, included abridged versions of works by Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1766) and Claude Bigot de Sainte-Croix (1744–1803).²⁸

Spanish commentary has overlooked the real source of this second translation. Instead of being a translation from a French version of the *Elements of Police* (*Grundsätze der Polizeywissenschaft* 1756), the source text was *Éléments de la police générale d'un Etat* (Yverdon in 1781), which was actually an abridged version of Justi's treatise on the foundations of power and the happiness of the states (*Die Grundfeste zu der Macht und Glückseligkeit der Staaten* 1760/61). The editor in question was thus not the famous De Felice as usually attributed, but the Swiss pastor and naturalist Élie Bertrand (1713–97).²⁹ New evidence has shown that the switching of the French source texts in French was not a mistake, but done deliberately by the French translator.³⁰ The Spanish translation was therefore a further abridged work of the *Die Grundfeste*, including only the first four books of the first part, with some notes and a preface. These four books included those parts concerning the cultivation of land, population and how houses should be built, expanding cities and towns, together with the means of making a country comfortable for its inhabitants.

4. *Police* and *Polizei*: The Translation of a Distinction

The concept of *police* in French referred to the idea of providing order in a particular space—a city or a state—together with a model for its administration. This has hitherto been associated with an interventionist discourse, enlightened reformism. However, whilst the science of police was formerly linked to economic policies, it was probably also used in the context of monarchical power and matters of the state, especially with the promotion of the common good, the science of a legislator and ideas that recognised the natural order of economy as the model for free trade. *Polizei*, by contrast, adds a set of regulations and ordinances for the promotion of the good order of the state. That is, while the French

model rests on the legal definition of offences and penalties, the German model focuses on the development of the idea of “good order”, associated with “gute Policey”.³¹ In Germany this model of social order was developed as the science of police (*Policeywissenschaft*), a crucial aspect of cameralist ideas. While the French concept of police was practical and was based upon police regulations, in the German tradition the administration of justice and law enforcement became more speculative, until it turned into the science of police (*Policeywissenschaft*). This progression continued until the Physiocrats criticised the interference of police with the production and distribution of wealth, contested the unnatural character of police regulations and promoted their idea of *laissez-faire* in the later eighteenth century.³²

Lately it has been argued that Justi made the science of police the instrument to promote common happiness: *Glückseligkeit*.³³ He emphasised the connection between individual happiness and the happiness of society and the state. Police aimed to maintain and increase the welfare of the state and its subjects through a system of administration that aimed at establishing happiness for the community. Police was responsible for moral order, security and the enhancement of national resources.³⁴ Justi's conception of happiness was not related to the sum of the individual interests, for they are neither harmonious nor complementary.³⁵ In Justi's science of police human beings are in permanent search of their interests.³⁶ Thus individuals are unable to create the order required to achieve welfare for the community, and for that reason they need the assistance of regulations.³⁷

This conception of happiness emphasises the role of the monarch in the science of police; and the promotion of the common happiness may require the centralisation of the administration of the state. Probably this is the reason why the promotion of happiness resulted in a claim for the increased power by the monarch that has been interpreted as the core of enlightened absolutism. It would however make more sense to argue in terms of a level of absolutism proportional to the level of success of reformist governments over the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, at this theoretical level, the science of police and the concept of common happiness in its German version seemed to have reached a level at which they could be empty concepts, capable of being filled by the circumstances and requirements of different contexts. They look like elements of an emergent theoretical framework to organise the state. On the other hand, it could be argued that the malleability of the science of police may have rested on the achievement of this theoretical level. The crucial issues for the promotion of common happiness within this framework included: promotion of the economy, creation of a system of management and administration and the creation of laws and instruments. It is maybe in this sense that it has been argued that the latter brought to the fore the need to balance the increasing centralisation of the state against

the liberty of the individual, since for Justi the freedom, strength and independence of a state were the cornerstones of common happiness.³⁸

The second half of the eighteenth century saw the multiplication of expert officials able to design and execute both theories and practices. Regarding the common happiness of subjects and the state, this aim continued in force together with the objective of centralisation, thus creating states with differing capacities to produce wealth. When the Swiss translation from 1781 of the *Elements* and the science of police appeared, European Enlightened reformism has reached its pick. Along the lines of the discussion on the science of police Spain reached this point almost simultaneously, however this was one line of a wider discussion on the different trends of European political economy.

5. Migration and Colonisation in the Cameralist Sciences

Equally important in the dissemination of cameral ideas in Spain was the appropriation of the Austrian model by Aragonese thinkers and administrators, where the Count of Aranda had a crucial role. Ernest Lluch Martín pointed out Aranda's trips to Prussia and Vienna in the 1750s.³⁹ Further, the return of Spanish families who were exiled to Vienna after the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714 was an important vector. These were welcomed back after the accession of Charles III in 1760, bringing with them the newest ideas developed in the Germanic world. Included among these prominent families were those of Gregori Mayans and Francesc Romà i Rossell, who played a crucial role in the dissemination of the cameral sciences.⁴⁰

However, the cameralist sciences not only circulated with persons, but also in private correspondence. Since the end of the 1750s letters and works circulated in Spain giving news of the success of the King of Prussia, talking up his increasing prestige. These texts told the story of the current state of war in Germany, the court and the states of Prussia.⁴¹ In 1762 *Military Instruction of the King of Prussia for his Generals* was translated and published in Madrid, translated from German into French by M Taesch, Lieutenant Colonel of the Saxon Troops, and then from French into Spanish by Benito Bails.⁴² In 1768 Ignacio López de Ayala published in Madrid *History of Friedrich the Great Current King of Prussia*.⁴³ Lluch Martín noted that their diffusion was so extensive that there were even notices of their publication until ca. 1771 in Lima, Peru.⁴⁴

The translation of this kind of text reached its highest moment in 1784. A book stressing Friedrich's philosophic interests was published in Madrid,⁴⁵ and immediately after his death in 1786 a book emphasising his work as a monarch was published, referring to him as the hero of the north.⁴⁶ However, it was not until 1787 that there was a change of focus from his private life and his patriotism to the main features of his politics, administration of the army, the Royal treasury, together with his ideas

on legislation commerce. These works developed a narrative that tended to stress that the superiority of Prussia depended on Friedrich's own intellect, and his correct management of the Royal Treasury.⁴⁷ The most important work from this period was completed by Bernardo María de Calzada, member of the Royal Society of Basque and Aragonese Societies: *Life of Federico II* in four volumes, published in 1787.⁴⁸ Probably due to its success the Inquisition intervened in 1790, prosecuting Calzada and finally banning his texts in 1792.⁴⁹ Evading the control of the Inquisition in 1789, the captain of infantry Francisco Paterno published in Malaga his translation of the *Collection of Wars of Friedrich II the Great* amongst some of his poems and other minor texts.⁵⁰

For Ernest Luch, from 1768 Spanish laws, discipline, subordination and military service had their inspiration in this early interest in Prussian military discipline, primarily promoted by the count of Aranda as President of the Council of Castile from 1766. As pointed out, despite their long life, these dispositions being in force until 1842, they were not initially welcomed precisely because members of the Aragonese faction at court proposed them. More importantly, they were rejected because they were a living proof of the bond between members of the crown of Aragon and the Habsburg world, and so touched on unhealed wounds left by the War of Spanish Succession. However, despite the changes introduced by the count of Floridablanca, chief minister of King Charles III and his son Charles IV under the rule of Aranda in the Council of Castile, it is this long life that accounts for Charles III being considered as an enlightened despot.⁵¹ But it should be noted that if one accepts that Charles III was an enlightened despot, then a greater role should be given to ideas coming from the Germanic world.

In addition to military organisation and administration Friedrich the Great was also associated with the dissemination of ideas on agricultural colonisation through military means. The Prussian model inspired the colonisation of Sierra Morena, accomplished in southern Spain with groups of immigrants from other parts of Europe. Similar colonisation initiatives inspired by the Prussian model in the Spanish Peninsula were planned for other parts of Castile and Extremadura, without success. Although Pablo de Olavide (1725–1803), the protégé of the Count of Aranda, was responsible for this kind of colonisation, and this had been the primary connection with Germanic world, there is evidence that Vienna protested about the “Spanish way” of recruiting new settlers for these territories.⁵² Nonetheless, Friedrich's model was replicated several times for further projects of colonisation in America, in particular in Louisiana, the River Plate in Argentina, Paraguay and Tucumán; all planned by the Aragonese government's official José de Gálvez, who mobilised some hundreds of persons to those regions in that period.⁵³ The model developed by the Count of Aranda contemplated employing members of the army both as state administrators and as politicians. Aranda's

economic programme for colonisation was very similar to the one proposed for the rest of the monarchy, consisting of economic development, a detailed plan of colonisation, the development of the army and incorporation of minor nobility in army, commerce and politics.⁵⁴

6. Mediating Cameral Sciences, From Aragon to Beyond

It has been established in previous research that an original interest in cameralist texts and in political economy in general expanded through the migration of Aragonese officials to Madrid and other parts of the peninsula, who took positions in the administration and government of Charles III, especially in relation to public finance. The first expansion was from the Crown of Aragon to the Basque countries; from there it spread to the rest of the peninsula.⁵⁵ Cameralist ideas transferred to the rest of the monarchy through the economic discussions of the practical matters raised with the monarch when he moved to Spain.

Of all forms of dissemination of cameralist ideas, undoubtedly the most efficient way was through various institutions of education. The translations published during those years were made for teaching purposes, seeking to foster the discussion of critical issues of political economy either in full translations, extracts or reviews. Cameralist writings were central to the library of economic texts translated, occupying an essential place in the training of administrators and magistrates for Charles III. The increasing demand for new texts was undoubtedly related to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy (1767). Educational reform began immediately after the expulsion of the members of the Company of Jesus. This envisaged reform in *Colegios Mayores* through the introduction of new curricula, "useful disciplines" and new textbooks.⁵⁶ The new orientation favoured authors and ideas that encouraged economic and political reforms.

In 1768 Pablo de Olavide presented his new curriculum for the University of Seville that included study of Bielfeld's works, especially for students of law. He recommended Bielfeld's *Political Institutions*, describing it as clear and systematic. This work was translated into Spanish to make consultation easier. He recommended explicitly the first part, concerning the governance of the state.⁵⁷ Between 1777 and 1779 Francisco Villalpando and Bernardo Danvila introduced new textbooks on philosophy and civil economics to teach at university level, making accessible principally the main ideas of Musschenbroek, Genovesi and Condillac.

As with all other reforms in the administration of the monarchy, educational reform along these lines brought strong reactions. Whilst the chief Castilian universities (Salamanca, Alcalá de Henares and Valladolid) rejected these changes in the curricula, the Aragonese universities (Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia) used these textbooks for two decades. Amongst the institutions most favourable to these ideas should be included the

Seminary for the Nobility in Madrid and the Institute of Political Economy in Majorca that contributed to the dissemination in Spain of economic and philosophic ideas, mostly associated with Genovesi. Almost immediately the Inquisition censored translations of economic texts. However, between 1784 and 1789 most of the translators completed their work, which the Aragonese Society published. Nonetheless, the situation was not as easy as the number of publications and initiatives might suggest. The real hostility started in 1786 as Genovesi's *Lessons* from 1785–86 gained particular attention.

The problem arose in 1787 when Ramón Salas, an Aragonese expert on legal theory, founded the Institute for Spanish Law at the University of Salamanca. This institute substituted a chair in Scholastic jurisprudence and theology with one for “useful disciplines” such as political economy. This was the first attempt to introduce political economy at the university level. Salas translated numerous works on public law, moral philosophy and political economy for his seminar. He concentrated on authors banned by the Inquisition or difficult to obtain in Spain: for instance, Bodin, Voltaire and Rousseau. As was the usual practice in the kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy, the sections that had been translated circulated in manuscripts amongst the members of the seminar, creating channels through which forbidden literature could also circulate.⁵⁹ Spanish commentary has pointed out our lack of knowledge of this alternative line of thinking, which has been dubbed a “radical Enlightenment” and that most probably had links with Freemasonry.⁶⁰ Despite persecution, Salas managed to translate 21 chapters of Genovesi's *Lessons* for the Institute of Spanish Law; this constituted the main pillar of his teaching programme as *Notes and Extracts from Genovesi's Lessons of Commerce and Civil Economics*.⁶¹

Salas's subversive text was in reality an extensive commentary of Genovesi's political ideas, to the point that Astigarraga and Usoz considered it “a book within a book”.⁶² It has been argued that Salas's critique of Genovesi's work was along the lines of Locke, Rousseau, Beccaria, Filangieri and the Physiocrats. However, it is clear that Salas's edition of the *Lessons* emphasised the second branch of Genovesi's Neapolitan political economy, that is, the branch engaged in more theoretical matters addressed to developing a science of legislation, and that had been magnificently cultivated by his pupil Gaetano Filangieri.⁶³

Attacks against the chairs of political economy started in 1786 and came from three different directions. Once the Jesuits had been expelled it was the turn of other religious communities to take care of orthodoxy for the monarchy. In 1786, Diego José Cádiz denounced Normante to the Inquisition for the ideas transmitted in his writings, his library of economic texts and his chair of political economy established in 1784. The matters in question were those exposed in his publications and inspired on the political economy of Genovesi and Melon, mainly the disadvantages of clerical celibacy, and his significant shift in accounting for luxury

and usury.⁶⁴ In 1787, Jerónimo José Cabra published a justification of Cádiz's criticisms in Córdoba of these new economic views.⁶⁵ This text was also mainly intended to impede the dissemination of Genovesi's and Melon's ideas. Using his interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, Cabra affirmed the absolute authority of the Catholic Church on political and economic matters.⁶⁶ His accusations expanded from population growth, the restriction of celibacy, luxury and usury to educational reforms. Finally, some members of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri represented by Eduardo Corriols made the third accusation. He denounced to the Inquisition economic texts, principally the *Lessons* by Genovesi, *The Interest of the Nations of Europe* by Jacques Accarias Serionne and the *Increase of Commerce* by José María Uría Nafarrondo.⁶⁷ According to Astigaraga and Usoz, the accusation against these texts involved a claim against the legitimacy of interest rates for the Five Major Guilds of Madrid and the Commercial Consulate of Bilbao and Barcelona.⁶⁸ The main point against Genovesi's project for the development of commerce was that to succeed it required an immoderate production of wealth; this was considered usury, and so entirely against Catholic principles. The accusations went continued unabated from 1788 until 1791.

These accusations were the mirror of the fears of traditional Catholics regarding the arrival and development of new economic ideas, especially when proposed by the members of the Aragonese Party. The attack on the Chair of Zaragoza divided the factions at court. The stigmatisation of the Aragonese faction was not difficult. The Aragonese Society of Friends of the Country, as well as Valentín Foronda and Manuel Aguirre, supported Normante. The incident ended with a Royal Decree of 1788 that ordered the end of the conflict. Normante did not publish again after this incident, and the library of economic texts and the promotion of Chairs in Economics in the Societies of Friends of the Country were abandoned.⁶⁹ Salas's trial ended in 1796 when he was confined to a convent for a year, while the members of his seminar were persecuted in different manners. His Institute of Spanish Law was closed in 1793.

The triumph of the French Revolution intensified the reaction against large-scale changes in Spanish culture. Newspapers were closed and the censorship intensified. Together with the chairs on political economy, the recently founded chairs of moral philosophy and public law were abolished. Villalpando's philosophy textbook was also banned. The pressure continued with the intention of also closing the College of Philosophy.⁷⁰ Political Economy was accused of jeopardising the Catholic monarchy itself, and all these events led to a phase of conservatism from 1790 until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

7. Conclusion

Genovesi occupied a privileged place in the diffusion of political economy in the Spanish monarchy, closely followed by Bielfeld. The explanation

is historical. It was undoubtedly facilitated by the former relation of the kingdom of Naples with the Crown of Aragon, with which it was linked from the thirteenth century until 1714: and for the relation of the Crown of Aragon with the Habsburg Empire. This relation was transformed at the end of the War of Spanish Succession in 1714 and the accession of Charles III to the throne in 1759.

I have outlined here how this former library of economic texts proposed by the Aragonese party and supported by the king briefly developed. It began within the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon and from there diffused to the rest of the Spanish monarchy, including its Atlantic kingdoms. It has been shown that the dissemination and success of new economic ideas to the rest of the Peninsula followed the trajectory of the struggles of the members of the Aragonese party to incorporate themselves in the administration and government of the monarchy. Likewise, it is also clear their path to the highest levels of administration and government was enabled by their ability to be “useful” either for the design or the execution of the Bourbon reforms needed to procure the happiness of the monarchy.

However, I have shown that the struggle for power between the most influential axes of the Spanish monarchy, the Castilian-Asturian versus the Aragonese, was mediated by the Inquisition, which translated this contest into two economic fronts dealing with usury, luxury and public happiness. One proposed a political solution to economic matters: this was represented by Genovesi and was considered by religious groups as radical. The second built around the ideas of Antonio Muratori, emphasising the moral dimension of the economy. Together with other emergent economic proposals, this dispute continued, filling the gap left by the Jesuits and the *arbitristas* from Salamanca.

The reconstruction of the context within which Justi's *Elements of Police* was translated has allowed us to come to terms with a significant number of texts that formed part of the appropriation of new European economic proposals. In so doing it has been possible to appreciate the early interest in the science of police in Spain, starting with the ideas of Delamare during the first decade of the eighteenth century, and continuing with Bielfeld's to reach its highest point with Justi's *Elements of Police* from the 1760s to the 1780s. Bertrand's edition of the *Éléments* in the dissemination of cameral ideas in Spain was crucial, but cameralist sciences had already started its process of elaboration even before its publication in Yverdon in 1781. This development of the science of police most likely drew upon its ability to merge sources from different national contexts, moving it away from its original French and German framework.

Nipho's journal addressed wider audiences, texts and translations, plus the creation of chairs of political economy, cameralist sciences in seminars, academies and universities, together with public discussion raised

by the accusations made by religious communities and the Spanish Inquisition set the reflector on political economy. By the end of the eighteenth century the Spanish public sphere reached not only a solid but also, specialised knowledge on economic matters, and more specifically on the science of police. This knowledge expanded to other areas of knowledge, turning economic discussion into an enlightened movement that, despite the pressure of conservative forces, was not simply pushed back to where it had started, but which continued onward in the early 1800s.

Notes

1. Juan Henrique Gottlobs Justi, *Elementos generales de Policía. Escritos por el señor Juan Henrique Gottlobs de Justi, Consejero del Rey de Inglaterra, &c &c.* (Barcelona: Viuda Eulalia Piferrer, 1984); Miguel Geronimo Suárez, *Memorias instructivas y curiosas sobre Agricultura, Comercio, Industria, Economía, Chymica, Botánica, Historia Natural, etc.* (Madrid: Pedro Marin, 1791), vol. 12, pp. 377–496.
2. These groups were not political parties; the term has however been used in the literature to differentiate groupings and their interests. Carlos Luis Suárez Fernández, E. Corona Baralech and José Antonio Armilla Vicente, *Historia General de España y América* (Madrid: Rialp, 1990), p. 446.
3. Henry Kamen, *Philip V of Spain: The King Who Reigned Twice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); David Brading, “Bourbon Spain and Its American Empire”, in *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 389–439; Peggy K. Liss, *Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713–1826* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).
4. Ernest Lluch Martín, “El Cameralismo más allá del Mundo Germánico”, *Revista de Economía Aplicada* 10:4 (1996): 163–75; Jesús Astigarraga and Javier Usoz, “The Enlightenment in Translation: Antonio Genovesi’s Political Economy in Spain, 1778–1800”, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 28 (2013): 24–45.
5. On the overlapping nature of this science and its connection with the security of the state, see: Karl Härter, “Security and ‘Gute Policy’ in Early Modern Europe: Concepts, Laws, and Instruments”, *Historical Social Research* 35:4 (2010): 41–65; Karl Härter and Michael Stolleis, *Repertorium der Polizeyordnungen der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann), vol. 11.
6. Astigarraga and Usoz, “Enlightenment in Translation”, p. 35 and ff. On some of the Catholic models in Italy in the eighteenth century see: Mario Rosa, *Settecento religioso: Politica della ragione e religione del cuore* (Venice: Marsilio, 1999), p. 149 and ff. Isabel Romá Ribes, “Los libros de Muratori traducidos al Castellano”, *Revista de historia moderna* 4 (1984): 113–47; Astigarraga and Usoz, “Enlightenment in Translation”. For a general study on the circulation of Muratori in Spain see: Gabriel Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance and Reform in Spain and Its Empire, 1759–1808* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
7. Sophus A. Reinert has argued that the translation of economic texts in Spain became part of the market that expanded through Europe including some bestsellers of the European Enlightenment, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). See also: Astigarraga and Usoz, “Enlightenment in Translation”. Jesús Astigarraga, *The Spanish Enlightenment Revisited* (Oxford:

- Voltaire Foundation, 2015). For works associating this cultural movement with enlightened despotism, see for example: Antonio Elorza, "Ilustración en España a finales del siglo XVIII", *Anales de la Cátedra Francisco Suárez* 29 (1989): 141–58; Antonio Domínguez, *Las Claves del despotismo ilustrado (1715–1789)* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1990); José Antonio Maravall, "La fórmula política del despotismo ilustrado", in *Estudios de la historia del pensamiento español: siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Mondadori, 1991); Francisco Sánchez Blanco, *El Absolutismo y las Luces en el reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2002).
8. Vicente Rodríguez Casado, *La política y los políticos en el reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid: Rialp, 1962); José Antonio Escudero, *Los orígenes del Consejo de Ministros en España* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2001), p. 341.
 9. "Más Estado, más Mercado"; Ernest Lluch Martín, "El cameralismo en España", in *Economía y economistas españoles*, ed. Enrique Fuentes Quintana (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 1999), vol. 3, p. 724.
 10. Francesc Romà i Rossell, *Las señales de la felicidad* (1768). This and other documents were a full plan for the reincorporation of the naturals from the Crown of Aragon to the administration and politics of the monarchy.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Lluch Martín, "Cameralismo en España".
 13. Luis Miguel Enciso Recio, *Nipho y el periodismo español del siglo XVIII* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1956).
 14. Lluch Martín, "El Cameralismo más allá del mundo Germánico", *Revista de economía aplicada* 4:10 (1996): 168.
 15. Lluch Martín, "Cameralismo en España", p. 727.
 16. Mateo Antonio Barberí, *Documentos políticos e instructivos* (1765); Mateo Antonio Barberí, *Cartas político-instructivas sobre las ventajas que facilita el comercio y proporciones del Reyno de Aragón para practicarlo* (1768); Mateo Antonio Barberí, *Cartas político-instructivas sobre varios puntos de la felicidad pública* (1780).
 17. Francesc Romà i Rossell, *Las señales de la felicidad de España y medio de hacerlas eficaces* (1768); Ernest Lluch Martín, "La Catalunya del segle XVIII i la lluita contra l'absolutisme centralista. El Projecte del abogad general del public de Francesc Romà i Rosell", *Recerques. Història, Economia, Cultura* 1 (1970): 33–50; Stephen Jacobson, *Catalonia's Advocates: Lawyers, Society and Politics in Barcelona 1759–1900* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), pp. 61–2.
 18. Antonio Genovesi, *Lecciones de Comercio, o bien de Economía Civil*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, 1785–1786). On Genovesi as a reader of Bielfeld, see: Giuseppe Ricuperati, *Il pensiero politico degli illuministi* (Turin: UTET, 1974), vol. 4:2, pp. 364–71.
 19. Franco Venturi, "Le Lezioni di commercio di Antonio Genovesi: Manoscritti, edizioni e traduzioni", *Rivista Storica Italiana* 72 (1960): 510–30; Franco Venturi, "Economisti e riformatori spagnoli e italiani del '700", *Rivista Storica Italiana* 74 (1962): 532–61; Jesús Astigarraga, "Victorian de Villava, traductor de Gaetano Filangieri", *Cuadernos Aragoneses de Economía* 7 (1997): 171–86; Jesús Astigarraga and Javier Usoz, "From the Neapolitan A Genovesi of Carlo di Borbone to the Spanish A Genovesi of Carlo III: Victorian De Villava's Spanish Translation of Lezioni di Commercio", in *Genovesi Economista*, eds. Bruno Jossa, Rosario Patalano and Eugenio Zagari (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, 2007).
 20. Enrique Ramos, *Discurso sobre economía política* (Madrid: Joachin de Ibarra, 1769); Cosimo Perrotta, "Early Spanish Mercantilism: The First Analysis of Underdevelopment", in *Mercantilist Economics*, ed. Lars Magnusson (New

- York: Springer, 1993), pp. 17–58; Pablo Cervera Ferri, *El pensamiento Económico de la Ilustración Valenciana* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2003); Antonio Elorza, *Ideología liberal en la Ilustración Española* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1970), p. 46 and ff; Enrique Fuentes Quintana, ed., *Economía y economistas españoles* (Madrid: Galaxia Gutemberg, 2000), vol. 3, p. 650 and ff.
21. Nicolas Delamare, *Traité de la Police* (Paris: J. et P. Cot, 1705–1710), 2 vols. There is a second edition (1750) in four volumes, augmented by the author from 1719–1738.
22. Ramos, *Discurso sobre economía política*. See: José Antono Yáñez Romero, *Policia Mexicana: cultura política y orden public en el gobierno del Distrito Federal, 1821–1876* (Mexico City: Plaza y Valdes, 1999), pp. 40–1.
23. Domingo de la Torre, *Nuevo reglamento económico-metódico, útil para los mayores progresos de la Real Hacienda* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1786).
24. Suárez, *Memorias instructivas*, vol. 12.
25. John Elliott, *Imperial Spain: 1469–1716* (London: Edward Arnold, 1963), p. 86 and ff.
26. Ernest Lluch Martín, “Romà i Rossell, un pensament germànic per a Catalunya i Espanya”, Introduction to reprint of Francesc Romà i Rossell, *Las señales de la felicidad de España y medios de hacerlas eficaces* (Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 1989), pp. v–liii; Ernest Lluch Martín, “El cameralismo ante la España de Carlos III: influencia y contraste”, *Hacienda pública Española* 2 (1990): 73–86.
27. Suárez, *Memorias instructivas*, vol. 12, pp. 377–496.
28. Bigot Sainte-Croix, *Essai sur la liberté du commerce et de l’industrie* (Paris: Lacombe, 1775), p. 162.
29. Keith Tribe, *Governing Economy: The Reformation of German Economic Discourse 1750–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 13; Alexandre Mendes Cunhas, “A Previously Unnoticed Swiss Connection in the Dissemination of Cameralist Ideas during the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century”, *History of Political Economy* 49:3 (2017): 497–529.
30. Cunhas, “Swiss Connection”, pp. 497–529.
31. The distinction between these two forms has been built principally by Tribe and Foucault. Tribe, *Governing Economy*, p. 30 and ff; Michel Foucault, *Sécurité, territoire, population* (Paris: Seuil-Gallimard, 2004). However, the division between practice and theory cannot be considered schematically.
32. Paolo Napoli, “Misura di polizia. Una prospettiva storico-concettuale in età moderna”, *Quaderni Storici* 131:2 (2009): 523–47; Paolo Napoli, “Police e territorio nella Francia di ancient Régime. Mezzi e strategie”, in *Contributi per una lettura storica della spazialità*, ed. Luigi Blanco (Milan: F. Angeli, 2008), pp. 57–80; Paolo Napoli, “Du bien-être au danger. L’évolution du concept de ‘Polizei’ entre XVIIIe et le XIXe siècle”, in *Généalogie des savoirs juridiques contemporains. Le Carrefour des Lumières*, ed. Mikhail Xifaras (Brussels: Bruylant, 2007), pp. 151–81; Paolo Napoli, *Naissance de la police moderne. Pouvoirs, norms, société* (Paris: La Découverte, 2003).
33. Bertram Schefold, “Glückseligkeit und Wirtschaftspolitik: zu Justis Grundsätze der Policy-Wissenschaft”, in *JHG von Justis Grundsätze der Policy-Wissenschaft*, ed. Bertram Schefold (Düsseldorf: Verlag Wirtschaft und Finanzen, 1993), pp. 1–18; Bertram Schefold, *From Natural Law to Political Economy: JHG von Justi on State, Commerce and International Order* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2019).
34. Nokkala, *From Natural Law to Political Economy*.
35. Hartmuth Becker, “Justi’s Concrete Utopia”, in *The State as Utopia*, ed. Jürgen Backhaus (New York: Springer, 2011), pp. 41–56.

36. Ere Nokkala, "Passion as the Foundation of Natural Law in the German Enlightenment: JJ Schmauss and JHG von Justi", *European Review of History* 17 (2010): 113–24.
37. Tribe, *Governing Economy*, p. 63.
38. Marcus Sandl, "Development as Possibility: Risk and Chance in Cameralist Discourse", in *Economic Growth and the Origins of Modern Political Economy: Economic Reasons of State, 1500–2000*, ed. Philipp R. Rössner (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 139–55; Nokkala, *From Natural Law to Political Economy*.
39. The Count of Aranda spent four months in Prussia in 1757.
40. Ernest Lluch Martín, "La España vencida del siglo XVIII. El Cameralismo, la Corona de Aragón y el 'Partido Aragonés' o 'militar'", in Ernest Lluch Martín, *Las Españas Vencidas del siglo XVIII* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1999), pp. 131, 137.
41. Ochoa, Eugenio de, ed., Letters from Dec 1757 in *Epistolario español* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 1965), p. 180 and ff.
42. Federico II (Rey de Prusia), *Instrucción militar del rey de Prusia para sus generales: traducida del alemán al francés por M Taesch, Teniente Coronel de las Tropas Saxonas, y del francés traducida al Castellano por Benito Bails* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1762).
43. Ignacio López de Ayala, *Historia de Federico el Grande, actual Rey de Prusia. Sacada de diferentes memorias, enriquecida con el retrato de S. M. Prusiana con los planos de las principales batallas y con sus más útiles Ordenanzas de Gobierno civil, militar y político* (Madrid, 1768).
44. Lluch Martín, "España vencida", p. 133.
45. Federico II (Rey de Prusia), *Pensamientos escogidos de las máximas filosóficas de Federico II*, trans. Don Jayme Villa-López (Madrid, 1785).
46. Merás y Alfonso (D. Joseph Maria de), *El Héroe del Norte. Endecasílabos, que con motivo de la muerte de Federico Segundo, Rey de Prusia* (Madrid, 1786). J.M. Heras Alfonso, *Epicedio a Federico el Grande, Rey de Prusia que falleció el 17 de agosto*, translated from Latin to Castilian (Madrid, 1786); Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *Bibliografía e autores españoles del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Filología, 1986), vol. 4.
47. Damián Lázaro de Cerdabar [Bernardo María de Calzada], *Pasages escogidos de la vida privada de Federico II Rey de Prusia, con algunas observaciones sobre el Estado Militar de su Reyno* (Madrid, 1787).
48. Bernardo María de Calzada, *Vida de Federico II, Rey de Prusia*, trans. Bernardo María de Calzada, Capitan del Regimiento de Caballeria de la Reyna, y Sócio de Mérito de las Reales Sociedades Vascongada y Aragonesa (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1788–1789), 4 vols.; [Guibert, Jacques - Antoine- Hippolyte. Comte de], *Elogio del Rey de Prusia, escrito en francés por el conde de Guibert, y traducido en castellano por Francisco Antonio de Escartía* (Madrid, 1788). For a more complete list of letters on Friedrich II's life see: Lluch Martín, "España vencida". Ana María Freire López, *Entre Freire y el Romanticismo. La huella de la guerra de la Independencia en la literatura española* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2008), p. 143 and ff.
49. This work however was forbidden. It included a great number of passages of Voltaire's works. Ana María Freire López, "Un traductor del reinado de Carlos III: Bernardo María de Calzada", *Investigación Franco-Española* 2 (1989): 71–80; Francisco Lafarga, "Hacia una Historia de la Traducción en España, 1750–1830", *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes* (2007), www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/hacia-una-historia-de-la-traduccin-en-espaa-17501830-0/

50. Luis Muller, *Colección de las guerras de Federico II el Grande. En veinte y seis planos, que comprehenden las batallas campales y grandes acciones de cada una. Dada a la luz en alemán y francés por Luis Muller, Teniente de Ingenieros al servicio de Prusia*, trans. Francisco Paterno (Malaga, 1789).
51. John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); A. Domínguez Ortiz, *Carlos III y la España de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Alianza, 2005).
52. Lluch Martín, "El Cameralismo en España"; Domínguez Ortiz, *Carlos III*.
53. The interest of the Count of Aranda in Friedrich the Great's economic-military model was argued by Lluch Martín. Lluch Martín, "España vencida"; Lluch Martín, "Cameralismo en España".
54. José F Forniés Casals, "La Cátedra de Economía Civil y Comercio de Zaragoza en el periodo de la ilustración (1784–1808)", in *La Cátedra de Economía Civil y Comercio de Zaragoza fundada y sostenida por la Real Sociedad Económica Aragonesa de Amigos del País (1784–1846)*, eds. Jorge Infante González and Jorge Infante (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1984); Domínguez Ortiz, *Carlos III*.
55. Lluch Martín, "España vencida", p. 130.
56. José Luis Peset and Mariano Peset, *La Universidad española (siglos XVIII y XIX)* (Madrid: Taurus, 1974).
57. Pablo de Olavide, *Plan de estudios para la Universidad de Sevilla, estudio preliminar por F. Aguilar Piñal* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1989).
58. Bernardo Joaquín Danvila y Villarrasa, *Lecciones de Economía Civil, o de el comercio escritas para el uso de los caballeros del Real Seminario de Nobles* (Madrid: Joachim Ibarra, 1779); Franco Venturi, *Il Settecento Riformatore* (Turin: Einaudi, 1969), pp. 1, 522, ff; Vincenzo Ferrone, *Scienza natura e religion* (Naples: Jovene Editore, 1982), p. 502, ff; Astigarraga and Usoz, "Enlightenment in Translation", p. 26. On a different interpretation of Villalpando's philosophy, see: Germán Zamora Sánchez, *Universidad y filosofía moderna en la España ilustrada: Labor reformista de Francisco de Villalpando (1740–1797)* (Salamanca and Rome: Istituto Storico dei Capuccini, 1989).
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63. Adriana Luna González, "La recepción de ideas de Gaetano Filangieri en José María Luis Mora: un primer acercamiento al contexto constitucional mexicano", *Istor: Revista de Historia Internacional* 29 (2007): 120–49; Adriana Luna-Fabritius, "El modelo constitucional Napolitano en Hispanoamérica", in *De Cadiz al siglo XXI. Doscientos años de tradición constitucional en Hispanoamérica*, eds. Adriana Luna-Fabritius, Pablo Mijangos and Rafael Rojas (Mexico City: Taurus, 2012); Adriana Luna-Fabritius, *Ilustración napolitana en el México independiente: Algunos elementos del lenguaje político de la Monarquía Hispánica* (forthcoming).
64. Lorenzo Normante y Carcavilla, *Proposiciones de Economía Civil y Comercio y Otros Escritos [1784–1784]* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2008); Lorenzo Normante y Carcavilla, *Espíritu del Señor Melon en su Ensayo Político Sobre el Comercio* (Zaragoza: Blas Miedes, 1786);

- Guillermo García Pérez, *La economía y los reaccionarios* (Madrid: Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1976); Astigarraga and Usoz, "Enlightenment in Translation", pp. 33–4.
65. Jeronimo José Cabra, *Pruebas del Espíritu del Sr. Melon y de las Proposiciones de Economía Civil y Comercio del sr. Normante: Examen escriturístico theologico-dogmático de ambas obras* (Madrid, 1787).
 66. On the Neapolitan arguments against the intervention of the Church in secular matters see Luna-Fabritius, "Secularisation of Happiness".
 67. José María de Uría Nafarrondo, *Aumento del comercio con seguridad de la conciencia* (Madrid, 1785); Majorie Grice-Hutchinson, "Una nota sobre la difusión del pensamiento económico salamantino", in *El pensamiento económico de la escuela de Salamanca*, eds. Francisco Gómez Camacho and Ricardo Robledo (Salamanca: Fundación E Lluçh and Universidad de Salamanca, 1998), p. 240.
 68. José Manuel Barrenchea, "Estudio Preliminar", in *Moral y Economía en el siglo XVIII: Antología de textos sobre Usura* (Vitoria: Gobierno Vasco, 1995), pp. xv–civ; Astigarraga and Usoz, "Enlightenment in Translation", p. 34.
 69. Astigarraga and Usoz have pointed out that the end of Normante's activity could also be due to the accusation of lack of originality of this work. Astigarraga and Usoz, "Enlightenment in Translation", p. 34.
 70. Zamora Sánchez, *Universidad y filosofía moderna*.