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Material Girls and Imperial Fashions: the Circulation of Ideologies and Commerce in the Hispanic Enlightenment

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Material Girls and Imperial Fashions: the Circulation of Ideologies and Commerce in the Hispanic Enlightenment

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Abstract

Material Girls and Imperial Fashions:
The Circulation of Ideologies and Commerce in the Hispanic Enlightenment

In my dissertation I examine how and to what extent women's material culture functions in debates on utility and morality in encyclopedic texts from Spain and Spanish America. By "encyclopedic text" I am referring to works that follow certain parameters: a trend of collecting, organizing, and disseminating a broad knowledge base with explicit or implicit didactic aims. Encyclopedias are gold mines for political jabs and heated debates that were grounded in particular socio-economic circumstances.

The debate regarding women and material fashions is a far-reaching argument but the encyclopedia entries and histories I analyze are specifically located geographically. The scope of my project is trans-Atlantic and I employ this approach to uncover the ways in which the polemic on women's material culture is articulated in a Hispanic global eighteenth century.

The primary text that serves as the backbone of my project is the *Encyclopedia Metódica* which was published in Spain by a successful publisher named Antonio de Sancha from 1788-1794. Other texts I discuss in the dissertation are the *Viaje a la América Meridional* by Spaniards Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, the *Rusticatio Mexicana* by creole Jesuit Rafael Landívar, the *Teatro critico universal* by Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, and the *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* by the chronicler Bartolomé Arzáns.

I suggest that the authors I focus on use the material figure of women as a kind of measurement to prove or criticize the advancement of reason in particular geographic areas. Women were represented as inherently connected to materiality and because of this they were bound to socio-economic critiques that described them as both necessary for economic development and as potentially harmful with the potential to disrupt social and moral order through excess luxuries and seductive fashions.

Through analyzing the representation of women's materiality in rationalist discourse I am able to illustrate a fraught connection between material and intellectual production that enriches our understanding of the Hispanic eighteenth century.

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Introduction

If we were to look down upon eighteenth-century Madrid and Lima, we would see broad straight avenues bustling with people and goods moving about. The cities were dotted with plazas, fountains, churches, government institutions, and growing industries. Focusing in closer we would see evidence of industry, from textile mills, to publishing houses, to the production of dyestuffs. Moving to individuals and their material culture we would see women in the popular fashions. Women's bodies are a great concern in eighteenth-century discourse on utility and morality. Women's presence in revealing fashions disrupts the ideal of a rationalist socio-economic order that I have just invoked. The many complex layers of material culture as it was articulated, produced, consumed, and circulated was a large part of dominant discourse and therefore important to our understanding of eighteenth-century Spain and Spanish America.

The Enlightenment movement can be characterized by rational critique, philosophy, and scientific exploration of the material world. A pervasive desire to observe, collect, organize, and disseminate a broad spectrum of knowledge is the discursive thread that connects intellectual and material production in the eighteenth century. The employment of reason was aimed at society's advancement in thought and practice. The discourse on utility focused on resources that could be inventoried and that were necessary to a productive society. Productivity was an integral aspect of creating and maintaining social, economic, and moral order. Well ordered intellectual and material production would ideally result in cultural advancement.

Circulation has always been part of the scholarly understanding of the Enlightenment and in fact was a characteristic that eighteenth-century intellectual figures recognized as well. The Republic of Letters was an era in which ideas and debates circulated around Europe and the Americas through a network of lettered men and women. Rational ideals together with the material goods of blossoming commerce moved between Spain and the Americas; in this way, rational ideals and material culture were inseparable. In fact, for a better understanding of the eighteenth century, it is beneficial to study them as they came together and mutually affected each other. Eighteenth-century writing is where intellectual discourse and material culture are interwoven, either in a kind of reconciliation or an anxious debate.

Fashion is a term that is generally limited to its associations with clothing and a specific fashion industry. I consider fashion in the broader sense of a mode that encompasses trends in intellectual, social, and material practices. Material culture is a term that includes the many aspects of fashion that will be treated in this project – the material culture of cities, textile industries, women's fashions, and women's bodies. The growing production and consumption of material goods, especially of luxury goods, was a matter of ubiquitous and heated debate amongst eighteenth-century intellectuals. It was argued widely by a variety of economic, philosophical, and moralist writers. The tension between a push for a booming, productive economy and moralizing judgments of excessive consumption created discursive and practical ties between the two.[1]

Material fashions were inevitably gendered as feminine. The controversial question of women's role in an enlightened society was tied into debates on utilitarian

[1] Mónica Bolufer Peruga argues that Enlightenment writers struggled to reconcile the conflict between rational ideals that condemned luxury goods and, at the same time, encouraged economic growth.

and frivolous material goods. The identification of women with materiality is an enduring tradition that in the eighteenth century was viewed through the prism of the natural characteristics of women. [2] It was natural for women to be more connected to the material world and to desire indulging in it.[3] Social observation and biology were deployed as a rational argument that demonstrated women's affinity for the material and corporeal. As women were bound to materiality and, as a consequence to the eighteenth-century economy, they were inextricably connected to a philosophical and pragmatic discourse on utility and morality.

In "Material Girls and Imperial Fashions" I will be reading the gendered circulation of ideologies and commerce in Spain and Spanish America through encyclopedic discourse. By "encyclopedic discourse" I am referring to works that demonstrate the desire to collect, organize, and disseminate a broad spectrum of observable knowledge. The ability to name and categorize was a powerful tool that facilitated regulation and utilization of material and intellectual resources.[4] Delving into the complexities that are found in the connections and tensions between literary and historical realities reveals a network of intellectual debate and material goods that circulated around the Atlantic region. I will be reading encyclopedic entries, and also travel essays, epistolary essays, and chronicles – all of which share the encyclopedic imperative.

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[2] In *Bodies that Matter* Judith Butler traces out the history of materiality's connections to femininity. The author uses this history as an example as she argues that the link between matter, origin, and meaning from classical notions may be indissoluble (31).

[3] Outram explains that what was "natural," in eighteenth century discourse, was anything that could be said to be a norm in the world and society. Describing something as "natural" meant what was "right" in a very broad sense of the word.

[4] Rebecca Haidt discusses the power and extensive practice of naming in eighteenth century Spain in *Embodying the Enlightenment: Knowing the Body in Eighteenth Century Spanish Literature and Culture*.

The texts I will analyze include the *Encyclopedia Metódica* published by Antonio de Sancha in Madrid, the *Viaje a la América Meridional* by Spaniards Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa on their extensive travels in Spanish America, the *Rusticatio Mexicana* by the exiled and creole Jesuit Rafael Landívar, the *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* by the creole chronicler Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsua y Vela, and the *Teatro crítico* by Benito Jerónimo Feijoo y Montenegro. All of these texts are extensive, some more than others, and cover a range of themes. I will focus on selections from each text that reflect the discourse on women's material culture. As is evident from the list of works and authors discussed, my project is trans-Atlantic and I am working with selections from larger works. While this approach undoubtedly limits the opportunity to consider these important works in their entirety, it allows me to put into dialogue with one another works that circulated along similar geographic, political, and philosophical trajectories in the Hispanic eighteenth century.

I argue that the authors I focus on use the material figure of women as a measuring device to prove or criticize the advancement of reason in their respective cities and countries. Women become a double-edged sword because they either produce utilitarian goods or excessively consume luxury goods; and they are consistently represented as naturally capable of destabilizing socio-economic order. Studying this relationship between the material culture of women and utilitarian discourse demonstrates that the Enlightenment in Spain and Spanish America was complex and that the manifestations of intellectual production and material practices were inseparable. The regulation of space and place, the writings on and analysis of industry and local production, the critiques of problematic fashions, and the volatile presence of women in

public are topics for recurring and prevalent debates that are brought together in the discourse of socio-economic reason and utility.

The Enlightenment brought with it significant changes in European intellectual culture and is often considered a turning point in the history of thought.[5] Michel Foucault pinpoints the eighteenth century as the historical moment when dominant philosophies shifted into systematic practices. The new curiosity accredited to the eighteenth century lead to greater precision in classifications within natural history, which consisted of the examination of living things, a process in which the philosophical ideals based on the authority of man's rational capacities gave empiricism great scope.[6] Thus the collection, organization, and dissemination of knowledge in the Hispanic eighteenth century had both intellectual and practical manifestations.

The participation of Spanish and Spanish American authors in the Enlightenment movement has not been broadly recognized or studied, with the exception perhaps of Fray Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, one of the most prolific *letrados* in Spain.[7] In Spanish America Antonio Ulloa, Rafael Landívar, and Bartolomé Arzáns employed observation and experience to produce intellectual works.[8] Disciplinary boundaries between areas of study such as secular philosophy, theology, science, and literature were not cleanly drawn and, as a result, the writers that I explore in this project challenge disciplinary and generic

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[5] The Enlightenment has generally been considered a European movement but recent studies that examine "other" enlightenments around the Atlantic world indicate shifts in thought and the production of knowledge. See Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra's *How to Write the History of the New World* for a discussion of intellectuals in colonial Latin America. Cañizares-Esguerra argues that Spanish America experienced the Enlightenment and the participation of lettered men was particular to socio-political circumstances.
[6] In *The Order of Things* Foucault argues that production of knowledge in the eighteenth century is characterized by empiricist tendencies to classify within systems like Linnaeus taxonomy (125-134).
[7] Gaspar Melchor Jovellanos was another influential writer and public figure in eighteenth century Spain. He is well known for his discourses on the improvement of local industry and agriculture.
[8] Juan Eguiara y Eguren's *Bibliotheca Mexicana* and Francisco Clavijero's *Historia antigua de México* are both expansive works that demonstrate collections of knowledge and observations of history and culture.

conventions. The exaltation of objectivity and observational methods directly informed a wide range of textual production, such as encyclopedias, whose aim was to organize and publish all areas of knowledge for both educational and practical use.

Ernst Cassirer's seminal work *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* synthesizes eighteenth-century thought, discussing the foundation of tolerance, natural philosophy, and systematic aesthetics. Robert Darnton's impressively extensive work in Enlightenment historical and literary criticism examines topics including the French Revolution, histories of publication, and literary production. Turning to politics and theory, in *Critique and Crisis* Reihnhart Koselleck argues that rationalism was born out of political absolutism so that thinkers, such as Kant, Voltaire, and Diderot, may consider themselves apart from politics (15-22). The moral, social, and pragmatic values found in rationalist philosophy, as well as its internal conflicts, are common points of departure for approaches to eighteenth-century studies. Recent scholars who employ inter-disciplinary methods that look to complicate the understanding of the Age of Reason by considering material culture, lesser known literature, and peripheral histories, draw upon these fundamental works.

The Enlightenment was complex, fragmented and insufficient as an intellectual project.[9] "Concerning the power of reason, it is clear that enlightened thinking did not mean—and certainly has not resulted in—liberation from irrationality and ignorance" (Withers 4). It should be noted that rationalist philosophers had opponents who critiqued the value of strict empiricist thought. Zeev Sternhell's *The Anti-Enlightenment Tradition* treats the antagonistic nature of debates that circulated the Republic of Letters. Sir Isaiah

[9] Refer to Alexander Dick and Christine Lupton's edited volume *Theory and Practice in the Eighteenth Century*, Joanna Stalnaker's *The Unfinished Enlightenment: Description in the Age of the Encyclopedia*, and Eduardo Subirats's *La Ilustración insuficiente*.

Berlin's *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas* looks at the religious and state authority figures who were commonly those who opposed pure rationalism and natural rights. Scholarly interest in examining the fragmented nature of eighteenth-century thought and practice focuses on the exploration of local and global interstices of shared ideals and socio-cultural realities. [10]

The global Enlightenment is an important paradigm that is reflected in critical work that investigates the place of material culture and geography in shaping Enlightenment discourse. [11] The discourse of reason and utility permeated the Republic of Letters and problematized social, scientific, and gender issues across the globe in ways that are only now being explored. Felicity Nussbaum and Laura Brown published an edited volume entitled *The New 18th Century* that explicitly looks to a future state of eighteenth-century studies that broadens and sharpens its critical approach by analyzing texts beyond dominant culture. Nussbaum also contributes to the trans-nationalist and material culture studies in another edited volume, *The Global Eighteenth Century*. Nussbaum argues that crossing national and disciplinary boundaries will indeed help us better understand the Enlightenment movement. Dorinda Outram's *The Enlightenment* is an example of interdisciplinarity in which the author re-evaluates how the Enlightenment shaped debates on consumerism, public spaces, the role of women in society, and the connection between science and religion. Her discussion of spatial, material, and intellectual aspects is applicable to eighteenth-century thought as a whole. These authors

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[10] See *Theory and Practice in the Eighteenth Century* edited by Dick and Lupton and *What's Left of Enlightenment?* edited by Keith Michael Baker and Peter Hanns Reill.

[11] Economic historians have employed the "global" concept to study material and individual details to tell a larger story of circulation and exchange. See *First Globalization* by Geoffrey Gunn and *Citizens of the World* by David Hancock.

form my investigations of the Enlightenment with the concept of circulation through social, economic, and spatial networks in mind.

While the Enlightenment is a complex global concept, work has been done that examines peripheral areas of the Enlightenment that were geographically or culturally outside of the urban centers such as Paris and London that were well known for intellectual production.[12] While scholarship on Spain and Spanish America has been a kind of periphery in eighteenth-century studies, many works that examine literary and material production have significantly broadened the field for Hispanists and have aided in the formation of my project. Antonello Gerbi's *The Dispute of the New World: the History of a Polemic, 1750-1900,* lays out the debate over the value of the Americas in terms of natural features that were linked to cultural values. Gerbi's examination of European and American writers that participated in the debate on alleged American inferiority reflects the circulation of ideas and texts related to natural history. D.A. Brading's *The First America* and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra's *How to Write the History of the New World* are two works that dialogue with my project, as they examine in depth the trans-Atlantic relationship between the Spanish monarchy, *criollo* knowledge production, and the formation of Spanish and Spanish American identities.[13]

Scholarly interest in integrating material culture and women's experiences in the eighteenth century has produced several works that have been indispensable for my research. Santa Arias' and Mariselle Meléndez' *Mapping Colonial Spanish America:*

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[12] See Richard Butterwick's edited volume *Peripheries of the Enlightenment*. The focus is on local engagement outside of urban centers.

[13] See also Gabriel Paquette's *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808*., in which the author analyzes the connections and local experiences that were produced by that Enlightenment ideals and Bourbon reforms; David Weber's *Bárbaros: Spaniards and their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*, which explores the significance of Spain and its colonies' administration of and negotiations with the various Amerindian groups within their territories.

Places and Commonplaces of Identity, Culture, and Experience brings together a collection of essays that treat the formation and complexities of Spanish American identities within spatial and socio-cultural circumstances that dialogue with my project's geographical organization. Ruth Hill's work *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America: a Postal Inspector's Exposé* similarly employs methods of analysis that include histories and travel writings and considers questions of trade networks, social hierarchies, and the rich materiality of women and men in cities such as Lima. *The Spectacular City: Mexico and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture* by Stephanie Merrim focuses on lettered production within the performative urban space of colonial Mexico City; the author's argument for the reciprocal relationship between intellectual production and material culture in the city influences my analysis of materiality and women's conduct in public space. Charles Walker discusses the explicit connections between material culture, natural events, and dominant writings in the context of Lima, Perú. Walker's innovative study *Shaky Colonialism: the 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Perú, and it Long Aftermath* is valuable for comprehending the discourse on the women of Lima and the role their reputation for material decadence played in the construction and reconstruction of Lima's vice regal urban culture.

In Peninsular and trans-Atlantic studies, Mónica Bolufer-Peruga's *Mujeres e Ilustración: la construcción de la feminidad en la Ilustración española,* is a seminal work that has helped shape the re-evaluation of women writers and women's role in the Spanish Enlightenment. *Eve's Enlightenment: Women's Experience in Spain and Spanish America, 1726-1839,* edited by Catherine Jaffe and Elizabeth Franklin Lewis,

treats women's participation in intellectual circles, their social and material lives, and the representation of women in literature. Elizabeth Franklin Lewis' *Women Writers in the Spanish Enlightenment: the Pursuit of Happiness* and Theresa Ann Smith's *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain* also study women's intellectual participation in eighteenth-century Spain. In addition, critical works on material culture, fashion, and sumptuary laws outside of Hispanist studies inform my approach to theoretical, historical, and literary conceptualizations of material phenomena.[14]

Luxury was an important facet of eighteenth-century material culture that was vehemently debated as it simultaneously supported the economy and was excessively consumed by women and feminized men to the economic and moral detriment of society as a whole. There is a multitude of eighteenth-century works that treat the issue of luxury as well as extensive secondary bibliography. One example is Juan Sempere y Guarinos's *Historia del lujo y de las leyes suntuarias de España* was published in Madrid in 1788 by the Crown's publishing house. It is a two volume work that examines specifically and in depth how the issue of luxury affected the economy and rational social order in Spain. Sempere y Guarinos argues that luxury will always accelerate the downfall of states and empires because individuals will always be tempted into spending beyond their means, and will be distracted from more fundamental needs. On the opposite side of the debate over luxury, Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes argues in his *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular*, published in 1774 in Madrid by Sancha's publishing house, that luxury

[14] Many such works will be discussed throughout the following chapters. See Fred Davis' *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, Maureen Daly Goggin's *Material Women, 1750-1950: Consuming Desires and Collecting Practices*, David Kunzle's *Fashion and Fetishism*, and Lars Svendsen's *Fashion: a Philosophy*.

supports local industry. Luxury was a prevalent debate in Spanish America as well, and Jean-Pierre Clément's edition of the *Mercurio peruano* examines a multitude of periodical essays that argued against luxury and women's role in perpetuating it. Much of this debate falls outside the scope of my project, which investigates the presence and representation of the polemic on women's material culture in encyclopedic texts, so as to delineate its place within the production of knowledge that purported to cover a broad spectrum of topics.

Different genres of publications can be considered material fashions, or modes, that responded to cultural and market needs. I suggest that encyclopedias were an eighteenth-century fashion, as they were in high demand and rapidly produced and consumed. Increased publishing of books and other print media was a significant part of the production and circulation of encyclopedic knowledge. The book trade was a growing industry, as improved technology and commercial networks created circumstances that greatly enhanced the range of publications that included a spectrum of writings. The publication and commercial circulation of encyclopedias was indeed a business, in addition to being an eighteenth-century mode of knowledge production.[15] In terms of economic networks, commerce went hand in hand with the intellectual ideologies that circulated through Europe during the eighteenth century.

Encyclopedic works are a literary mode that is representative of utilitarian efforts to organize and disseminate knowledge at universal and local levels. [1617] Encyclopedism

[15] See Robert Darnton's *The Business of Enlightenment: a Publishing History of the* Encyclopédie. Darton's work offers a detailed history of the creation and publication of Diderot and d'Alembert's encyclopedia as well as the works that were its successors.
[16] Refer to Richard Yeo's *Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture* for further discussion of the nature and significance of encyclopedic works in the eighteenth century.

was a burgeoning mode of collaborative knowledge production that extended beyond the publication of particular works. I have mentioned encyclopedic texts – works that bring together writings on extensive and varied topics with a didactic intent. I will now offer a brief overview of eighteenth-century encyclopedias and of the *Encyclopedia Metódica* in particular.

The eighteenth-century encyclopedia does not resemble encyclopedias as we know them today. When we think of encyclopedias we imagine alphabetically organized entries on science, history, culture, and a variety of others topics that are written from a detached, objective, and carefully delineated point of view. Encyclopedic texts from the eighteenth century do not resemble modern ones in this sense. Encyclopedias were minefields of political jabs and heated debates on a variety of philosophical, political, and economic topics. Many of the debates involved the polemic on material culture.

The foundational encyclopedic work in the eighteenth century that became the model for consequent works was the *Encyclopédie* by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, published between 1751 and 1772 in France. This monumental collaborative work proposed to organize and disseminate a massive amount of knowledge. The organization was strictly alphabetical, which was later considered a drawback in comparison to thematic organization. Thematic organization is precisely how the French publisher Charles Pancoucke marketed his methodic encyclopedia. Following in the footsteps of the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and d'Alemert, Pancoucke developed the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* which was published in France between 1782

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[17] An interesting parallel to encyclopedic projects were the *florilegios* that also compiled collections of writings, often in prose or verse. However, the organization of these works was lacking, in that they generally had no pretensions of rational order.

and 1832. As can be noted by the dates of publication, Pancoucke's encyclopedia was a sprawling work in terms of volume and chronology.

The French methodic encyclopedia project was taken on by the Spanish publishing house of Antonio de Sancha, which began translating and adapting the French version immediately for its Spanish public.[18] The *Encyclopedia Metódica*, published by Antonio de Sancha in Madrid between 1788 and 1794 and found its niche in the encyclopedia market. The methodic encyclopedia developed in response to its predecessors' short-comings in terms of organization – promising to be more practical by grouping knowledge thematically and eschewing impractical topics.[19] Sancha was one of the most successful publishers in Spain at the time and, having finally broken into the market of encyclopedias, his Spanish methodic encyclopedia broke new ground as it was the first encyclopedia to be approved for publication in Spain.

However, the Sancha's Spanish methodic encyclopedia was terminated after a scathing critique of Spain was published in one of the modern geography volumes of Pancoucke's *Encyclopédie Méthodique*. The author of the entry "Espagne" was Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers in which he demanded scathingly, "What do we owe Spain?" or more specifically, "What does Europe owe Spain?" Masson de Morvilliers' criticism was widely disseminated – becoming emblematic of Spain's (and, by association, Spanish America's) reputation for backwardness in the eighteenth century. Masson de Morvillier's famous and infamous question did not go unanswered. In the entry

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[18] Clorinda Donato's article, "*L'Encyclopedia Metódica*: la traduction espagnole de *l'Encyclopédie Méthodique*" discusses the political significance of publishing the translation of a French encyclopedia in Spain in the last decade of the eighteenth century. She points out that prominent political figures such as the Conde de Campomanes and Charles III himself made the project possible.

[19] The "Prospecto" advertised for the *Encyclopedia Metódica* explicitly declares its new and improved adaptations that aim to disseminate only useful, practical knowledge that would better Spanish society as a whole.

"España" in the Spanish *Encyclopedia Metódica* the author Julián de Velasco refuted the declaration that Spain did not contribute to the European community. In fact, the encyclopedic entries on geography and industry that I examine in this project may be considered part of his response.

The *Encyclopedia Metódica* is the backbone of this project. I have selected it for three main reasons: the encyclopedic mode is characteristic of the Enlightenment and at the time was a popular kind of knowledge production, yet the one Spanish encyclopedia project that modeled itself after the fundamental *Encyclopédie* and the *Encyclopédia Méthodique* has scarcely been studied; to examine the *Encyclopedia Metódica* through a widely-debated issue – women's material culture -- in dialogue with other eighteenth-century works, facilitates a delineation of that issue as it was treated discursively and within its unique socio-cultural context; and, finally, the publication of this Spanish methodic encyclopedia marks a significant change in officially sanctioned writings and, therefore, to study it as part of the larger Enlightenment project enriches the scholarly understanding of Spanish and Spanish American eighteenth-century literature and culture. Due to its central place in this research, I will offer a description of the *Encyclopedia Metódica*'s history, structure, and content.

The *Encyclopedia Metódica* is constituted of twelve volumes in total that are divided into six categories: natural history, literary arts, military arts, modern geography, industries, and *laminas* or instructive illustrations. The distribution and emphasis of different topics reveals the shifting profile of empire under Bourbon rule as the military and literary arts are relegated to only one volume each. In a move towards practical

economics and politics, the bulk of the content is dedicated to modern geography and the industries, reflecting the importance of the material assessment of Spain's resources.

The fact that the *Encyclopedia Metódica* had the express purpose disseminating practical knowledge does not mean that it was not driven by the elite. It could be purchased as *hojas sueltas*, but also as a complete subscription. The subscribers' names were all listed in the front of the volumes, inscribed like a list of patrons. Rather than a traditional patronage of the arts, however, this was patronage of industrial arts – still indicating the social status of its principal intended readership. Despite the central role of elite readers and patrons, the encyclopedia was set up as a practical manual as well. For this reason, the last volume contains *laminas*, or illustrations that demonstrated the making of a woman's shawl, for example, laid out in measured designs and methods. This demonstrates the didacticism inherent in the publication and, at the same time, concretizes the way its publisher and patrons managed material resources.

The volumes on *fábricas, artes, y oficios*, or industries and occupations, focus on Spain's primary goods such as agricultural and textile production. These volumes were not about proposing new methods or industries, but aimed instead to order, regulate, and expand long-standing and most effective methods of production. Through their authorship, the writers of individual entries identified themselves as authorities that would stitch together Spain's successful economic organization.

The many volumes on geography were also instrumental in delineating socio-economic place of Spain and Spanish America within the larger Atlantic community. As a scientific discipline, geography was not yet separated out from other non-scientific disciplines and therefore served as a link between many areas of the Enlightenment

(Outram 94). The science of modern geography was both a political and cultural discourse. Understanding this, many recent scholars endeavor to study the Enlightenment through the lens of geography. David N. Livingstone's *The Geographical Tradition: episodes in the History of Contested Enterprise* looks at the significant role the science of geography played in the making of empire and the unstoppable movement toward "intellectual anti-authoritarianism" (63). Livingstone and Charles W.J. Withers together edited the volume *Geography and the Enlightenment*, a collection of essays that cover the many complexities of geography in relation to human knowledge, religion, and anti-rationalism. Withers' *Placing the Enlightenment* is the most applicable to my current project, as he studies the cosmopolitan network of the Republic of Letters, human difference, and geography in the *Encyclopédie*.

Eighteenth-century geographic writings, such as the texts that will be considered in the first chapter employ what can be described as "measured" language. That is to say, writers begin by delineating a place's physical location and features, often in relation to other areas, then move on to other quantifiable features such as national products and demographics. Modern geography developed within the values and demands of Enlightenment empiricism. Authors who wrote on social and physical geography tended to reduce a place to the visible and what could be demonstrated through first-hand information.[20] Polemical opinions come into the text in the form of qualitative inferences from such empiricist information.[21]

[20] Isabelle Laboulais-Lesage argues that modern geography with the French *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, was affected by empiricism and that it enumerated physical, social, and cultural aspects (208-209).
[21] David Bates concludes that in encyclopedic cartography the desire for over-arching and unitary representations led to maps of generalities (7).

However, many scholars now study geography for its particularities of place, and this approach is frequently combined with the examination of scientific explorations. For example, Bruno Latour's *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* looks at the geographic movements of scientists in the eighteenth century. Daniela Bleichmar's *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500-1800* and Neil Saffier's *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* both reflect the cultural and political significance of the geographic and scientific processes of measuring and recording.[22]

Observing, measuring, and reforming commerce, then, was a main purpose of much Enlightenment geography. Due to Spain's waning reputation -- a result of the stereotype of brutality brought on with the Black Legend and economic challenges with respect to its main European rivalries, Britain and France -- Spain and its colonies were struggling to authoritatively establish their economic, material, and cultural contributions to their Atlantic world. As historian Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra points out, Spanish and Spanish-American authors were laboring to create national patrimonies through natural and philosophical histories.

I have organized my project around the concept of circulation – the circulation of intellectual ideals and material goods based in local geographies. This same concept of circulation relates to the selection of texts that I include. Encyclopedic texts, as I have discussed, represent a broad base of observable knowledge that is highly local. I have chosen to analyze selections from larger works that will reveal the extent of the debate on women's material culture within the ideals of utility and social order. I have organized

[22] Saffier demonstrates, through the example of the La Condamine expedition, that scientific explorations were meant to find inerrable facts but inevitably included erratic interactions amongst people(s) and difficulties presented by the physical realities of travel.

my chapters in the order of cultural geography, material industries, women's fashions, and, finally, women's bodies. The order of these topics reflects my interest in studying the extent of the specific debate on women's material culture within the over-arching discourse of reason. The conceptual movement from the larger spatial imaginary of the city down to the particular representations of women's bodies facilitates an analysis in which each chapter frames the one that follows it.

In the first chapter, "Material Geographies: Madrid and Lima as Cities of Governance and Luxury," I focus on the cultural geographies on Madrid and Lima, written by Julián de Velasco in the *Encyclopedia Metódica* and by Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa in the *Viaje a la América Meridional*, respectively. Through a comparative analysis, I trace a pattern that both authors demonstrate: the division of the city into spaces of governance and spaces of leisure and luxury. Governance, by which I mean regulation, and leisure are often in opposition to each other, although the latter is sometimes represented as appropriate for a civilized and productive society. The authors' focus on both social order and materialist leisure reflects eighteenth-century values and critiques.

Madrid and Lima are the protagonists in Velasco's and Juan and Ulloa's texts. Both authors employ what I term as an enumerative aesthetic that is characterized by detailed lists of quantitative features that translate into qualitative values. I examine the ways in which the cities are laid out in terms of their material features. City design and the circulation of inhabitants are themes that bring women and the material culture that surrounds them into these urban geographies. I will explore the representation of women as they are represented in the urban landscapes of Madrid and Lima -- women are

described either as governed by conventual or regulatory institutions, or as mobile individuals that circulate through the city. The quality of the enlightened city, and the desire to achieve order, is measured by the successful regulation of its dynamic inhabitants. When women are described within the context of convents and other institutions such as hospitals for women and penitent houses, then the city is considered orderly. In the case of women who are represented as independently passing through the streets and places of leisure, then the city they inhabit is qualified as potentially unstable. The way women are represented in terms of their dress, either modestly or luxuriously, becomes an indicator for the morality and socio-intellectual progress of the enlightened city.

In chapter two, "The Fabric of Progress: Textiles, Dyes, and the Circulation of Economic Prestige," I examine the place of three industries that are integral in shaping the social and cultural identity of their respective communities. I will focus on the production of woolens and lace in Spain in the encyclopedia entries "Paños" and "Encajes" authored by Antonio Carbonel. The third industry I will treat is the red dyestuff cochineal that was exclusively produced in New Spain, as Rafael Landívar represents it in his epic the *Rusticatio Mexicana*.

Local production and the commercial circulation of fabrics and dyes are prevalent concerns in the eighteenth century. Carbonel's and Landívar's works must be situated in the larger debate on progress that reaches beyond their own regions. The discourse surrounding woolens, lace, and cochineal dye contains assessments of economic and societal value. I suggest that Landívar's focus on the features of an autochthonous product and Carbonel's desire for the dissemination of production methods to the Spanish

public both serve to inscribe their respective communities within the eighteenth century's valorization of utility. Landívar and Carbonel bring otherwise marginalized groups – women and the Amerindians -- into the utilitarian discursive economy of Spain and Spanish America so that those communities as a whole appear or become internally stable and productive. Women and Amerindian laborers are folded into a discourse of labor and self-sufficiency that recognizes their respective industries as socio-economically valuable. I will also consider issues of excessive consumption and unsuccessful industry which Carbonel discusses explicitly.

In chapter three, "Articles and Articulations of Women's Fashions," I will examine two entries from the *Encyclopedia Metódica*, "Sastres y Cotilleros" and "Modas, Modista" both authored by Antonio Carbonel. I have chosen to analyze these two texts because their specificity within such an extensive work facilitates an in depth reading of how particular articles of fashion are significant to larger debates. In the first entry on tailors and corset-makers, I focus on the section on the corset-maker and Carbonel's treatment of the corset in particular. There is a strong sense of practicality in this entry, but it is also peppered with opinions condemning the corset. The second entry on fashion and fashion stylists functions as a platform for the author to rail against the changing and artificial nature of fashion.

Carbonel employs discursive strategies that combine scientific and economic reasoning to support his argument that relegates corsets and frivolous fashions to a category of irrationality. The articles and articulations considered, namely the corset and fashion stylists' adornments, are represented as harmful to women's bodies and to the socio-economic situation in Spain. The author uses women's capriciousness along with

general apprehensions related to luxury and anti-productivity, to moralize regarding fashionable practices. The material practices of corset-wearing and fashion-styling resisted the ideals of utilitarian order and the logical transparency afforded by the natural. I will focus on the mutual influence that material fashions and intellectual discourse have on each other, as the networks of women's fashions and intellectual ideals were tied together. The tension between the positive aspects of production and the negative aspects of consumption upon which Carbonel expounds the inherent conflicts in eighteenth-century ideals that encouraged cultural and economic advancement while also condemning luxury goods.

My final chapter, "Women's Bodies Revealed, Disruption in Potosí and Spain," focuses on women's bodies in public and how material fashions become secondary to women's sexual attraction. Women's bodies are represented as disruptive elements when revealed in public, partially or entirely. I analyze the problematic presence of women's bodies in Feijoo's epistolary essay, "Declamación contra las modas escandalosas de las mujeres, en carta de Teófilo a Paulina," from his *Teatro Crítico* and Arzáns' chapter, "En que se cuenta un extraño hecho de una mujer abrasada de terribles celos, y asimismo se cuenta los daños que se acarreó el poco recato de una doncella, su trágica muerte y encuentros sangrientos que por esto se aumentaron en esta villa," from his *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*. In Arzáns' text I will focus on how his story exemplifies the social dangers of women's immodesty. I will explore elements of didacticism in Feijoo's and Arzáns' texts, which both discuss the moral and social disruptions caused by women's bodies and how these disruptions may be contained. The narrative strategies of the texts parallel each other in that both authors employ neo-classical histories and relate

them to Christian morals in order to highlight the violent consequences of women's immodest appearance in public.

The circulation of material goods, individuals, and intellectual ideals guides the conceptual organization of this project and informs my analysis of cultural and economic networks in the following chapters. My examination of women's material culture attempts to discover the extent to which the debate on material culture functioned within the Spanish and Spanish American utilitarian discourse on urban, industrial, and moral order.

Chapter 1

Material Geographies: Madrid and Lima as Cities of Governance and Luxury

"Examination of the discursive and cultural production of space should consider not only the diverse ways in which spaces have been mapped in order to exercise control over, but should also inquire how the spatial nature of a territory modified and changed the lives of those who inhabited it." (Arias and Meléndez 13)

"…la ciudad latinoamericana ha venido siendo básicamente un parto de la inteligencia, pues quedó inscripta en un ciclo de la cultura universal en que la ciudad pasó a ser el sueño de un orden y encontró en las tierras del Nuevo Continente, el único sitio propicio para encarnar." (Rama 1)

It is the late eighteenth century and the city of Madrid is experiencing an era of order and utility. The city is replete with religious and government institutions that represent its past and present. Newly founded secular royal academies and social gathering spaces reflect Madrid's present and its future. Urbanites take leisurely strolls down the famous promenade, the *Paseo del Prado*, passing neo-classical fountains, an open air *salón*, and a new building called simply the *museo*. People who walk along the broad avenue are living illustrations of the rich material culture that has accompanied growing industry and trade around the Atlantic. Women are especially identified with a mode of fashion that requires costly fabrics and the importation of luxury goods from neighboring countries.

At the same time across the Atlantic in the vice-regal city of Lima the tensions between utility and luxury are in evidence. Lima embodies what Ángel Rama terms a "lettered city."[23] Born of colonial Spain's dream of order, Lima is designed according to

[23] Rama's concept of the letteredd city is that beginning with the conquistadors and their scribes, the colonial project imposed traditions that came from *letrados* and continued in the following centuries. An example is the superiority of the city over the country-side and the design of the cities themselves. Critics such as Jean Franco in her *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City: Latin America in the Cold War* have used Rama's term to argue the deterioration of the intellectual culture that perpetuated the tradition of knowledge coming from and being imposed upon Spanish, and then Spanish-American, sources.

a grid pattern of streets that demonstrate a desire for control. In contrast with the rigid lines imposed by city planning, the inhabitants of Lima exhibit such luxury that locals and travelers consistently remark upon their city's decadence. Women's sumptuous fashions are the most unique feature. The *limeñas* pass through public spaces and attend government functions in their short skirts made of delicate and expensive fabrics and wrap themselves in long shawls that disguise their whole countenance except for one eye. Such sumptuousness emphasizes the symbiotic relationship between a city's space and its inhabitants.

Eighteenth-century writings on the geography of cities were an exercise in the eighteenth century's ideology of reason and utility. Yet, utility implied a productive economy and industrial progress which potentially opened a dangerous door to the demand for material luxuries and the possibility of decadence.[24] The decline of Spain and its empire is apparent in eighteenth-century discourse, manifested in political and cultural production that was aimed at critique and improvement. Madrid and Lima were two of the most prominent cities that represented Spain and Spanish America's identity.[25] As Santa Arias asserts in *Mapping Colonial Spanish America*, the discursive and cultural production of space in the colonial era was a phenomenon that controlled and influenced people – both the inhabitants of a place and the readers who consumed geographical and travel texts. Geography and travel writing were literary genres that constructed images of space through discourses that judged specific aspects of a place. In the case of the eighteenth century, Enlightenment ideologies of order and utility become the language through which authors express the characteristics of a place and its inhabitants. As

[24] Ruth MacKay states in *Lazy, Improvident People* that "There was no treatise, no lawsuit, no petition that did not proclaim utility to be the final judge of the worth of artisans, vendors, and their products" (121).
[25] Mexico City was also one of Spanish America's most economically and culturally vibrant cities.

Elizabeth Grosz argues in her essay "Bodies and Cities," the relationship between a city and its inhabitants is not simply a question of people producing a city or a city imposing spatial order upon its inhabitants but a reciprocal connection.

Geography is a slippery term. Recent scholars recognize the need to view it as a set of discursive practices situated in distinct contexts, rather than as a formal and unified scientific discipline (Livingstone and Withers 3). David Livingstone asserts that the development of geography in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrated a desire to move from myth to map (34). The move away from myth and conjecture can be documented during the Enlightenment as an intellectual shift that produced different kinds of maps. Encyclopedists and travel writers exemplified this change as they proposed to report observable facts about places and peoples. For the purpose of this chapter, I understand geography to mean a mutable discipline that encompasses works that define, describe, judge, and narrate places and their inhabitants. Within the Enlightenment context, geographical writing takes on a complicated discourse that focuses on utility and commerce but also proffers moralized opinions regarding urban individuals who give in to disorderly indulgence.[26]

Modern geography often functioned in the service of the Spanish crown for political and economic purposes. This holds true for both works that will be treated in this chapter. I will examine the entries "Madrid" and "España" by Julián Velasco from the third volume of Sancha's *Encyclopedia Metódica*, and Antonio de Ulloa's chapters on Lima titled, "Descripción y noticias de la ciudad de Lima, capital del Perú y asiento de sus virreyes, su admirable planta, capacidad, grandeza y majestad de sus tribunales" and

[26] Rebecca Haidt in *Eve's Enlightenment* examines the social tensions that arose through women's fashions that permeated all social classes, making it more difficult to distinguish between them. See also Charles Walker's chapter on "Ordering the Disorderly" in *Shaky Colonialism*.

"Del numeroso vecindario que contiene la ciudad de Lima, sus castas, genio y costumbres, de sus habitadores, riqueza y ostentación de sus trajes" from his *Viaje a la América Meridional*.[27] Velasco's entry on Madrid is the central focus of my analysis, but I will draw from his entry on Spain for his social commentary that refers to Madrid. Although produced in distinct political and economic circumstances, these two texts served Spain's reading public. Chronologically first, Ulloa's *Viaje* was written per the request of the Crown in order to report on all of Ulloa's first-hand observations regarding Spain's American territories. Undoubtedly the *Viaje* also attracted much general interest from the European and American public; the fact that its translation to English appeared shortly after its Spanish publication is proof of this.

Sancha was a successful editor in Spain by the latter part of the eighteenth century. More of a businessman than a scientifically minded traveler, Sancha was interested in opening the Spanish market for encyclopedic publications. To clarify, when I address the *Encyclopedia Metódica* as a whole, I will refer to Sancha as he was the editor and publisher of the project. When I speak of specific entries I will refer to the individual author, who in the case of the geography entries treated in this chapter is Julián Velasco. Both of *Viaje* and the *Encyclopedia Metódica* are cases that represent internal and external Spanish policies as well as the larger Enlightenment interest in scientific and economic progress.[28] The emerging role of science as an authoritative source of knowledge coincides with utilitarian interests in commercial progress.

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[27] I will refer to the *Viaje* from here on as by Ulloa, following the reasoning of Andrés Saumell in his edition of the work that which presents a convincing argument that the writing style suggests that it was mostly written by Ulloa, due to the writing style.

[28] See *Política interior y exterior de los Borbones* by Josep Juan Vidal and Enrique Martínez Ruiz for a historical overview of the Bourbon dynasty during the eighteenth century in Spain. The authors discuss governmental reforms and their repercussions.

The Enlightenment's idealization of reason and productive utility change the way geography is written. Descriptive modern geography that focuses on relating material quantities and moralized qualities weaves together the material and the moral in such a way that production and consumption are valued in positive and negative ways. In the urban geographies written by Velasco and Ulloa the observations and opinionated representations of a place are rendered in an aesthetic of enumeration. Meaning, Velasco and Ulloa organize their texts with lists and precise empiricist observations that enumerate the many aspects of the cities they treat. The accounting of quantifiable features translates into the qualitative characteristics of Madrid and Lima; their respective inhabitants are represented in this same enumerative way.

The moralized sense of what was right and conducive to a productive society promoted an increase in commerce and cultural refinement. The vices of luxury and frivolous consumption were an uncontrollable result of these two goals. One of the common and most dynamic topics in Velasco's and Ulloa's works is the spaces of leisure and luxury where women and their fashions are part of public life. Both authors represent women and the material culture that surrounds them in two basic ways. Women are either written as governed by conventual or regulatory institutions, or they are described as mobile individuals that interact with their urban landscape. The quality of the enlightened city, and the desire to achieve order, is measured by the successful regulation of its dynamic inhabitants. When women are described within the context of convents and other institutions such as hospitals for women and penitent houses, then the city is considered orderly. When women are represented as independently passing

through the streets and places of leisure, then the city they inhabit is qualified as potentially unstable.[29]

Public figures and writers in Madrid and Lima at the time debated women's appearances frequently.[30] Manner of dress is represented as a material medium through which women may exercise practical economic sense and sexual modesty. Of course the opposite of economic rationality and modesty would equal vices that are traditionally understood as threatening to the ideal of dominant, patriarchal society. The emphasis placed on institutions that contained women implies that uncontained women created an unstable element for the general public. In Madrid and Lima, women who moved through the city streets in sumptuous fashions inscribed their city as one of grandeur and also of suspect moral quality. The way women are represented in terms of their dress, either modestly or luxuriously, in the enlightened city becomes an indicator for the morality and socio-intellectual progress of a place.

How city spaces, places, and inhabitants are constructed as part of the urban imaginary is central to understanding geography as a dynamic discourse that is informed by the Enlightenment around Europe and the Americas. Enlightenment traffic of ideas, personnel, and material goods, is not static but mobile (Withers 43). The eighteenth-century discourse of reason and utility becomes part of the representations of Madrid and Lima as authors selectively choose how to communicate the practical economics and moralized order of the places they describe.

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[29] Although Rama's "lettered city" refers to the regulatory design of cities in the colonial Americas, the *Encyclopedia Metódica*'s article on Madrid shows the same valorization of straight streets and utility.
[30] Mónica Bolufer Peruga discusses the discourse on appearances and women's dress in particular in *Mujeres e Ilustración*. She asserts that the artifice of dress was or at least gave women the potential to seduce and strategize. The debate over luxury also allowed women to enter the public arena in order to voice their concerns (208-209).

The city is a place for the completion, consumption, and ostentation of finished goods and intellectual endeavors. Therefore, the city becomes a complicated place that represents economic and intellectual progress. In addition to facilitating progress in abstract knowledge, the city also supplies the material goods to satisfy men's and women's desires for luxury and excess. Looking at Velasco's entry on Madrid and Ulloa's writings on Lima reveals the material, cultural, and mercantilist nature of the Spanish and Spanish-American city and how the authors as economic and cultural reporters perceive them.

The protean nature of the city consists of personal interactions between individuals, architectural works within urban space, and larger powers such as the State. As Henri Lefebvre argues, the city depends on the interface between relations of immediacy, that he terms "near order", and larger governing bodies such as the Church or the State, that he calls "far order" (100-101). The *Encyclopedia Metódica* and the *Viaje* are exemplary of Lefebvre's theory that cities, and in this case their geographical representations, depend on immediacy, here the individual authors, and also distance, here the governing body of the Spanish Crown. Velasco and Ulloa blend the lines between historical and literary genres, as they do not adhere to more contemporary ideas of genre, and their combinatory styles reflect the protean nature of the cities they describe. The city is significant to the eighteenth-century Atlantic world largely due to the burgeoning commercial industries and growing trade routes. The texts on Madrid and Lima illustrate how urban space is written regularly through quantitative descriptions of physical places, peoples, and goods that echo Enlightenment moral values that are couched in economic discourse.

Sancha's encyclopedia follows the popular eighteenth-century paradigm that brings together a wealth of knowledge for both intellectual and practical, productive use. The volumes on geography, which make up one fourth of the set, reflect the dual characteristics of being both scientific and practical[31]. As we have seen, while Sancha is the editor that oversees the compilation of the entire encyclopedia, Velasco is the translator and author of the entries on Madrid and Spain. The entry on Madrid from the *Encyclopedia Metódica* demonstrates a structured pattern of topics: the physical situation and appearance of the cities, the religious and government institutions housed therein, and the authors' observations regarding people and their spaces of leisure and luxury in each city.

The discursive visions of Madrid in the encyclopedia create highly localized content that moves back and forth between measured observations and opinionated commentary of the city's features in order to construct a desirable urban imaginary. According to the content of the entries on Madrid by Velasco, a desirable city is one that encourages and produces utilitarian industries. This is predictable enough, considering the Enlightenment's esteem for useful productivity. Orderly public places like plazas and streets are also desirable. An example of this is the broad straight avenues that provide certain governability as opposed to narrow twisted streets that facilitate illicit activities.

The topics covered in this entry appear as an enumerated sequence of names of places and people. The quantitative and qualitative descriptions in these lists include particular features of the city and so make the texts a rich source for literary and historical criticism. By considering the content and the author's movement between objective and

[31] The volumes 3-5 of the *Encyclopedia Metódica* are the ones dedicated to geography. The volumes are all titled as "Geografía moderna."

opinionated tones in "Madrid," one can see that Velasco's intent is to illuminate those features of Spain's capital city that were presumably most admirable for his readers. In this sense, the text is written in a patriotic style. The abundance of descriptive details adds an intimate, albeit incomplete, image for readers that would have bolstered the pride and interest for Madrid's inhabitants and, at the same time, attracted travelers.[32]

Ulloa was a traveler to colonial Spanish America who wrote two extensive works based on his travels, with the assistance of his colleague Jorge Juan. Both of these men were selected at a young age to participate in the French scientific journey led by renowned academician Charles de La Condamine.[33] The purpose of the journey to Spanish America was to measure the meridian from a location near the equator. The journey was beset by many difficulties, and it was several years before any of the group returned to Europe. After the group of French and Spanish scientists split and Ulloa and Juan compiled their own observations, as requested by the Spanish crown, which addressed much more than measurements of the earth.

The capacious work by Ulloa, *Viaje a la América meridional*, is the result of the Spanish crown's request for their own reports from the expedition and is first published in 1748 Like Sancha's encyclopedia, it combines objective, scientific language with charged comments on commercial and socio-cultural topics such as the mines in Perú and the characteristics of Lima. The singular purpose for the *Viaje* commissioned by the Crown was to legitimize the continuation of Spanish colonial rule. Ulloa's scientific

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[32] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra discusses the "patriotic epistemology" that emerged in Spanish-America's eighteenth-century, which focused on local intellectual and cultural production and resisted Spain's efforts to collect them into the newly formed royal academies. I believe that the *Encyclopedia Metódica* shows a similar patriotic style that is pitted against Spain's rival, France.

[33] Fergus Fleming writes on the purpose and difficulties of the la Condamine voyage in *Off the Map: Tales of Endurance and Exploration*. See Neil Saffier's *Measuring the New World* for a summary and further analysis of Ulloa and Juan's experience in La Condamine's expedition.

relations support the colonial project as he is working as an agent for Spain and brings back information that aids in Bourbon reforms for the centralization of power. As D.A. Brading points out in *The First America*, the extent to which the *Viaje* was a "zealous servant" for the Crown can be seen through the comparison of its content with the *Noticias secretas*.[34] This second work was explicitly written for the Crown and focuses on assessing commerce and the governance thereof. Also, it is clear that Ulloa's description of Lima in the *Viaje* glosses over many of its faults that are criticized by other foreign travelers to Lima (Brading 425). His opinionated narrative paints the luxurious and licentious customs of Lima's inhabitants which also implies a need for a guiding hand. I will be analyzing two brief sections on Lima that Ulloa includes in the second volume of his work. The first treats Lima's physical situation and government ceremonies while the second focuses on the inhabitants and their customs.

Madrid in the *Encyclopedia Metódica*

Spain's sense of nationhood bloomed in the eighteenth century in the face of its strengthening rival neighbors. Spain was competing with the successful rise of refined culture and commerce in Britain and France, and so Velasco's geography idealizes its capital city in a struggle to keep up. The encyclopedia's entry on "Madrid" lists material characteristics that equate to moral qualities of the city, such as sumptuously adorned cathedrals and sublime *paseos*. The author paints a picture of Madrid that begins with its physical position and appearance. He covers a broad range of topics from the city's religious and cultural history, its current notable institutions and the buildings from which they operate.

[34] The *Noticias secretas* was written at the same time as the *Viaje* but was exclusively for the Spanish Crown and its publication was prohibited.

Velasco shifts his tone when he moves into a picturesque depiction of the streets of Madrid, revering beauty and leisure rather than religious and government powers. The two thematic categories that I have identified to examine are spaces of governance and spaces of leisure and luxury. Velasco rebukes metropolitan women and the consumption of luxury goods when he accounts for population decline in his entry on Spain, bringing together the issues of governance and luxury. In "Madrid" these two classes of space exemplify the aesthetic of enumeration that characterizes the *Encyclopedia Metódica*'s geography.

The article as a whole sets forth a description of Madrid's public places and spaces through the lens of the authors' lived experience. Velasco organizes his exposition in such a way that the text proceeds from the old and religious to the new and secular. The author begins the entry by introducing Madrid as follows:

> *"MADRID,* Capital, y Corte del Reino de España y como tal uno de los principales Pueblos de la Europa. Hállase situado en terreno levantado a la parte oriental del rio Manzanares, con piso algo desigual por ocupar varias alturas, que se puede decir está como Roma sobre siete cabezas de montes, aunque sus subidas ha hecho suaves el arte, y puesta bajo de 40 grados con 25' de *latitud*, y 13 grados con 6' de *longitud*…" (8).

This quote itself is its own sort of map. It is mapping Madrid and also, by association, Spain so that it is raised up as prominent and prodigious by way of Rome's ancient power as an empire that reached into the Iberian Peninsula. The reference also links Madrid to Rome's modern spiritual and moral power as the head of the Catholic Church residing in the Vatican. Equally powerful are the scientific measurements represented through the

inclusion of latitude and longitude. The idealization of man's intellectual capacity to observe, measure, and dominate the natural world is here juxtaposed with the implicit reference to political and religious authority.

After the laudatory definition of Madrid, a brief physical description of the city opens the entry and delineates the situation of Madrid. It includes its physically raised position, the measurements of its size, the number of its inhabitants and houses, and the path of its rivers. Immediately following this the author begins to enumerate and divide into categories the various religious houses and related institutions. The primary placement and also the amount of space dedicated to this portion of the article makes it unmistakably clear that these sites should be considered the most significant symbols of the city, and so too for the lives of its inhabitants. The naming of parochial churches, saints and virgins, convents, and hospices gives the reader a sense of solid Catholicism in the urban space. Beyond listing many religious houses, Velasco selects only the most venerated buildings and individuals to describe more at length. These places and people who deserve Velasco's attention dot the imaginary map of Madrid with moral strongholds.

Madrid's Spaces of Governance

At the time the *Encyclopedia Metódica* entry was published, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, there were in Madrid 67 convents for religious men and women, various other churches and chapels, 15 hermitages, as many houses of education and reclusion for women and orphaned children, houses for repentant women of the "vulgo," hospices for the poor that double as "asilos de la industria" producing textiles, hospitals for the poor of both sexes – one of which is still under construction but whose "edificio

suntuoso" is already being enjoyed by the sick (10). A final addition to the lengthy list of religious institutions is the category of the "antiguas y muy ilustres" congregations who are, according to Velasco, employed in the cult to God and the Virgin and perform charitable acts include caring for individuals who have fallen into precarious and undesirable states – the poor, widows, prisoners, and female orphans in need of dowries.

The map of charitable institutions in Madrid is gendered, as the quantity of houses for governance that are for women, orphans, and the poor far exceeds the quantity of similar institutions that Velasco lists for men. Unmarried women, for example, are a case for regulation that takes many different forms. Widows and female orphans without dowries represent problematic elements in Madrid that dominant society would rather see governed by husband and family. Wealthier members of illustrious congregations financially support modes of governance under the auspices of moral obligation. For example, marrying off female orphans by providing them with dowries consigns individual women to a system that is meant to govern social norms and aid in the city's socio-economic order.

The listing of names, places, and founding historical figures creates a hyperbolic sense of urban success. That is to say, as a city Madrid satisfies the physical and social needs necessary to maintain a well-governed community. The satisfied needs of the city are represented in the form of its institutions that functioned to maintained moral and social order. The author demonstrates Madrid's capability to care for the moral well-being of its productive citizens and to contain or reintegrate those individuals who are unproductive, such as the indigent, and the socially detached, such as orphans and unmarried women. A less than desirable social status becomes equal to destructive moral

qualities. This is an example of materialist order and productivity being tied discursively to good moral qualities; non-productivity and disorder are then tied to vice. What is apparent in the enumeration of religious institutions is that women and feminized groups of people – the poor and children in general – are used to prove these institutions' ability to domesticate Madrid's population, in the sense of taming and containing. For Madrid's urban geography, Velasco writes in orderly control over what are perceived and defined as the most dynamic human elements. The governance of dynamic, disruptive characters allows for utilitarian spaces of leisurely enjoyment in the cities most attractive places – which will be explored shortly.

In Velasco's modern geography of Madrid, religious spaces blend together aspects of governance and luxury. The patron saint of Madrid, San Isidro Labrador, is a primary religious figure featured in the entry. The style of this section is not descriptive but rather a matter-of-fact recounting of the location of San Isidro's chapel and his remains, the remains of his wife Santa María de la Cabeza, and the dates when the cult of San Isidro and the construction of the Church of San Andrés began in his name. The most florid language is reserved for the author's description of the San Isidro Basilica,

> "La Iglesia Real de San Isidro Labrador, hijo y Patrón de esta Villa, es también una de sus mayores grandezas. El edificio es suntuoso…gran número de Capellanes de altar y coro, y sirvientes para los Divinos Oficios, que se celebran con la mayor ostentación y fruto de los fieles. Toda la Iglesia tiene grandes Capillas con exquisitas y primorosas efigies, y adornos" (9).[35]

[35] "Ostentación" is an important term in Ulloa's discussion of Lima and signifies the dual qualities of richness and decadence.

The ostentatious wealth that Velasco describes here is fitting with the overall discourse of materialist morality. The aesthetic of enumeration that prevails in the author's quantifying of religious houses and naming of saints is suspended in this moment as he inserts the description of material splendor. The quantifiable materiality that represents the architecture of Madrid's Catholic ritual places signals the Church's grandness. However, is the author's intention to demonstrate this sumptuousness in order to imply the religious and moral fervor of *madrileños*? Or, is the description meant to simply show Madrid as a place whose material brilliance rivals that of other European cities?[36] In my opinion, the answer is a combination of both preoccupations; quantifying evidence of morality and materiality are interwoven throughout the entire text.

I suggest that the consistently moralized content is not only due to religious zeal but is also a reflection of the Enlightenment tendency to organize observable knowledge, including a city's buildings and peoples. Two thirds of the *Encyclopedia Metódica*'s entry on Madrid is spent simply naming, quantifying, and locating religious and governing institutions. Such categories are meant to regulate elements that are inherently uncontrollable, that is to say, individuals. Institutions like the churches and the hospitals for the poor are employed as symbols of morality and Velasco emphasizes their importance with the description of their sumptuous appearances and the material wealth of Madrid's affluent congregations.

Wealth and the work that produces it provide for and justify certain places for leisure. The square form of the *plaza* to the broad, straight line of the *paseo* exemplifies Madrid's move from the old and traditional to the new and progressive. One of the only

[36] See Joan DeJean's *The Essence of Style* for a history of how France became the symbol for luxury and how this translated into political power.

features found in both the texts on Madrid and on Lima that relates to individual pleasures is that of the *plaza* and the *paseo*. Both the *plaza* and the *paseo* are places of circulation, pleasure, and leisure for Madrid's inhabitants. Due to this, the *plaza* and the *paseo* reflect certain aspects of Enlightenment ideology -- aspects that promote organized and orderly places to gather and take leisurely exercise. However, these spaces of gathering and leisure are also highly problematic because they allow for the mixing of men, women, and a variety of social classes. Certainly, *plazas* and *paseos* are naturally spaces that lend themselves to all kinds of social interactions and illicit activities but Velasco excludes these human interactions from his encyclopedia entry and instead focuses on the inanimate material features of Madrid's places of sociability.

Leisure and Luxury in Madrid

How does leisure fit into the ideology of utility that so imbued the eighteenth century? There is a fine line between leisure that is considered appropriate or useful and leisure that is simply considered the laziness of unproductive individuals. In Spanish the distinction between two very similar words, *ocio* and *ociosidad*, expresses the difference between productive leisure and leisure that is simply the vice of laziness. The first, *ocio*, refers to the brand of leisure that is accepted and even considered productive in the long term because any hard working person needs leisure time to regenerate their energies. The second term, *ociosidad*, indicates the vice of laziness which was vehemently condemned in the eighteenth century by economists and moralists alike. According to the ideology of reason, unproductive members of society have no use in society at all and

do not deserve leisure time.[37] The rejection of non-productivity can be seen in the working houses for the poor that were mentioned earlier. The *plazas* and *paseos* may be viewed as spaces of governance to a certain degree because their measured and planned lines, as they are represented in the text, create a knowable map along which Madrid's inhabitants move.

The description of the *plaza mayor* is an example of discursively measured city space:

> "La plaza mayor es también un edificio, que merece elogio por su grandeza. Fue hecha por dicho Juan Gómez de Mora año de 1619. Es un quadrilongo de 434 pies de largo, 334 de ancho, y 1536 de circunferencia, fundada sobre pilastras de piedra, que forman soportales muy capaces, con cinco suelos y 466 ventanas, y otros adornos que ya no tiene, por haber padecido tres voraces incendios…Las Casas del Duque de Liria, las del Infantado, Alba, Marqués de Villa Franca, y Astorga, Conde de Oñate, la de la Compañía de los Cinco Gremios, la del nuevo rezado de los Padres Gerónimos, y otras muchas que se omiten por no dilatarse, son muy buenas y capaces" (13).

The *plaza mayor* is first described by way of its historical and architectural place and then in a geometric and graphic sense. Velasco's description is in accordance with the aesthetic of enumeration that quantifies physical features to imply qualitative characteristics. The author, however, omits the plaza's specific functions for the population of Madrid or the inhabitants' daily interaction within its contours. Being the grandest in scale and formal capacity, it is appropriate that the author strictly lists its

[37] In *Materiales para escribir Madrid* Edward Baker discusses the eighteenth-century debate over cafés and their place in Madrid. He notes the difference between workers who needed *honesto entretenimiento* after a long day, and those who simply sought to kill time at all hours of the day (11).

notable features as an edifice and entity unto itself. This is similar to the way in which Madrid's churches, convents, and jails are listed and defined in the author's objective reporting. The facts relative to its history, size, and classical structure speak for themselves because the *Encyclopedia*'s contemporary readers would have easily understood what kinds of formal and informal events took place amongst the population in the *plaza mayor*. This does not mean that well-known information would always be excluded, but Velasco chooses to focus on the city without much interruption from its inhabitants; he leaves most social commentary for his entry "España." Stating the quantities of the *plaza* serve two main functions: to put down as a published record its objectively measured and counted physical features, and to create an imposing visual for readers who are strangers to Madrid's greatest *plaza*. Spain's patriotic pride manifests itself through its grand description of Madrid's *plaza mayor*.

The enumeration of the different houses and places that make up the structure of the *plaza mayor* is another element that similarly serves a purpose to record and impress by listing these structures and bringing to mind their productive qualities. This section of the above quote consists of name dropping of distinguished individuals and also touches on the house of labor guilds and one religious house, "…Las Casas del Duque de Liria, las del Infantado…de los Cinco Gremios, la del nuevo rezado de los Padres Gerónimos…" I would like to draw attention to the latter two *casas* mentioned, the labor guilds and the religious house. By mentioning them together, the author describes the juxtaposition in the *plaza* of institutions of economics and of morality. Velasco highlights once again the complex union between interests in material wealth for commercial circulation and the traditional power of the Church's institutions. Velasco

combines the two in his description and, although representative of distinct values, they are nonetheless equally important in Madrid's organization.

The five main guilds of the city and court of Madrid are the *joyeros, merceros, sederos, pañeros* and *lenceros.* The second half of the eighteenth century, most especially during the reign of Carlos III, saw an increased imposition of centralized control over interior and exterior policies became aptly known as *absolutismo ilustrado,* or enlightened absolutism (Munck 36). The textile industry was one of the most significant contributors to Spain's economy and so was an industry that demanded the Crown's attention and reform plans in order to improve it.[38] In the context of urban geography, the fact that the author selects the house of the five main guilds as a feature to be specifically mentioned, amongst the many others, illuminates further the *Encyclopedia*'s strategic discourse of productive utility. Housing the five main guilds in the *plaza mayor* makes them readily accessible and governable. The centralized control from the Crown and its affiliate economic societies exemplifies the orderly material image that threads throughout the text.

The author's selection of assorted features to emphasize around the *plaza mayor* are telling in that they demonstrate his strategy to draw the reader a plan of Madrid that is utilitarian and visually pleasing. The *plaza mayor* is surrounded by a combination of a religious house, the "nuevo rezado de los Padres Gerónimos,*"* a collection of houses belonging to high Spanish nobility, and labor guilds of economic interest. Together these various institutions symbolize the socio-economic and moral well-being of the *madrileños*. The square is a microcosm of what I mentioned earlier as requirements that

[38] The "España" article in the *Encyclopedia Metódica* exhaustively discusses the textile industry in Spain and its colonies. In my second chapter I will discuss the textile industry in depth.

satisfy the material and moral needs of Madrid's inhabitants, which Velasco establishes by carefully enumerating the luxury of its architecture.

The *Paseo del Prado*

Visual pleasure and leisure activity, or *ocio,* are the high points of the section on the streets and *paseos* of Madrid:

> "Las calles de Madrid pasan de 500. Son anchas, bastantemente rectas para una población antigua…Hay muchas plazas o plazuelas después de la mayor, y algunas muy capaces…en muchas de estas plazuelas y calles hay fuentes públicas…todas de excelente agua delgada, cristalina y sana, como lo es toda la de Madrid…" (E.M. 14)

The representation of Madrid's avenues is an illustration of symbols of hierarchical authority. In this case the symbolic markers are relatively implicit, referring to and qualifying the places of leisure that belong to the affluent *madrileños*. Of course, it is not only the affluent social class that frequents the *paseos* and *plazuelas*, but they are certainly the most visible actors in the text.[39] The expansion and development of Madrid went hand in hand with the expansion of science as part of Spanish culture and sociability.[40] Science at the time is a discipline that permeates thought and material production; the refinement of culture and sociability are marked by logical city design. The streets from the beginning of the *Paseo del Prado* to the *Palacio del Buen Retiro* are critical to the history of the city and to making visible the influence of the Enlightenment movement in the exteriors of the metropolis (Lafuente 53).

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[39] Dorinda Outram asserts in *Panorama of the Enlightenment* that architecture and ritualistic ceremonies were used to mobilize and visualize the symbolic power of the State. She correctly summarizes that the great majority of European states experienced shifts in power, warfare, and certainly struggle amongst their neighbors so that symbols of enlightened authority were crucial (210).

[40] See "Lugares exteriores" in *Los mundos de la ciencia en la Ilustración española* by Antonio Lafuente and Nuria Valverde for discussion and illustration of Madrid's intellectual spaces.

The *Encyclopedia'*s qualified assertion that the streets of Madrid are "bastantemente rectas" for an older community underscores how important it was that a city appear orderly and progressive. City planning has always required engineering and scientific processes and one of its most obvious features is its streets. As Rama established, during the colonial era and the eighteenth century in particular, grid-like city planning was a manifestation of colonizers who wanted to impose governable spaces that effaced organic city development. Older European cities like Madrid could only aspire to streets that were "straight enough." The streets, buildings, and plazas in a city have a reflexive relationship with that city's inhabitants. The fact that Madrid's "straight enough" streets symbolize Madrid's status as a progressive and ordered place implicates the progressive, ordered nature of its inhabitants, or vice versa. The "straight enough" lines of the streets are reflected in city maps of the eighteenth century that look like grids – emphasizing the rational order of the city, even if Madrid in reality has a much more organic form due to age and historical development.

The *Paseo del Prado* is a jewel of pride for Madrid and for the contributors to the *Encyclopedia Metódica*. Velasco describes it as comparable to any other avenue in the whole of Europe. The article states, "…solo el paseo del Prado no deja nada que desear de cuantos tengan las mejores ciudades de la Europa, y aun se puede decir, que es el más magnífico, hermoso, y cómodo de toda ella" (14). The overall picture painted in the full description is one of cascading fountains, space for passing coaches and pedestrians, a museum in *medias res*, botanical gardens, and a section of street known as *el salón*.

Velasco declares that the *Paseo del Prado* is perhaps the best and most beautiful in all of Europe. Madrid's main avenue is used here as an idealistic symbol that says Spain's

urban center is on par with, or even better than, the other great cities around Europe, many of whose inhabitants looked on Spain as backward. The author leads the description with the declaration that "one may even say" that the *Paseo del Prado* is the most magnificent, beautiful, and comfortable in all of Europe. Representing this avenue in such a laudatory and hyperbolic way says that its qualities were all that could be desired in Enlightenment Europe – ordered and rational design, utility, and sublime beauty.

Notable landmarks that gleam with the shine of Enlightenment values of science, order, and leisurely sociability characterize the intellectual discourse of the time. One that stands out immediately as being typical of eighteenth-century culture is the street known as "el salon." Between the fountain of the goddess Cybele the fountain representing Neptune, "…hay una ancha calle que llaman el salón" (14). The salon in its practical meaning was a gathering of individuals, largely attended by men but generally run by women. Salon culture based itself on intellectual conversation and socialization with individuals as diverse as writers, scientists, and travelers. The "salón" in the middle of the *Paseo del Prado* then, was a place for gathering and was representative of eighteenth-century intellectual, secular sociability. The salon description suggests also that it was a place of mixing sexes and social classes.[41] In addition to the intellectual aspect, it was also a place for material ostentation and spectatorship. This function applies to passing people and places alike. The botanical gardens and the new founding of a museum that came to be the Prado Museum are striking examples that warranted the author's making specific mention of them in his description of the *paseo*.

[41] See *Tertulias de Madrid* by Antonio Espina for his discussion of the social customs of the salon in Spain.

When Velasco mentions the museum he seems unaware of what precisely its functions will be. Consequently, he limits himself to the facts of its architecture and the aesthetic potential of the building itself. He notes that it is, "un suntuoso y rico edificio que se está construyendo por dirección del Maestro mayor D. Juan de Villanueva, y llaman el Museo, que será sin duda una de las mejores obras de España" (14). A sense of vagueness and curiosity is perceptible when the author says the sumptuous building under construction is called "the museum," with no explanation of what that may mean. Since the museum was still in its infancy at the time, its brilliance could only refer to its architecture and its famed architect, as it had yet to be completed. Reverence is paid to the architect and not a reference to the refined culture of art collections.[42] Villanueva's work is in the process of becoming another quantifiable element for enlightened material culture and social leisure. Velasco inscribes the urban geography of Madrid with symbols of man's power to produce sumptuous works that require scientific precision, which in turn validate leisure.

In addition to the design of the *paseo* itself, the provision of clean water from aesthetically pleasing fountains is another marker of utility and refinement. The availability of clean drinking water for the city's inhabitants is a sign of technological knowledge and intellectual enlightenment. "…en muchas de estas plazuelas y calles hay fuentes públicas…todas de excelente agua delgada, cristalina y sana, como lo es toda la de Madrid…" (14). The crystal clear cleanliness of the fountains' water is a synecdoche for the city itself. Madrid is a city that satisfies the material and physical needs of its people. The significance of satisfying physical needs for hygiene and health derives from

[42] The development of the museum and its origins in cabinets of curiosities is an area of study that is large and complex. The limits of this chapter do not allow for a complete discussion. A resource that I have found useful is Patrick Mauries's *Cabinets of Curiosities*.

natural philosophy that purports the moral, utopian rightness of that which is natural. In fact, in the description of the *Paseo del Prado*, the author depicts in detail several of the fountains that dot the famous avenue. To represent the water as clear and pure signals that there is no contamination, no uncontrolled element that may threaten the public's health – a nod to regulation within luxury. The text brings together the language of utility and of beauty, a combination that characterizes the whole article, but most especially in this final section that describes Madrid's spaces of leisure.

The public water fountains are a beautified version of the pattern of enumeration that Velasco uses to quantify the convents and academies which included sporadic insertions of florid language. Even in comparison with the description of the *plaza mayor*, a place of duty and of visual pleasure, the fountains along the *paseo* are sublime. Velasco paints the reader a picturesque urban landscape of crystalline waters pouring out of multiple fountains; the physical beauty of bubbling spouts cannot be ignored as part of Madrid's enlightened imaginary.

Relating the beauty of the fountains exemplifies the combination of material beauty and is a reference to Greco-roman historical and cultural connections, a repetition of the reference to Rome in the entry's opening paragraph. The attractive design of fountains is done in such detail that it allows the reader, whether an inhabitant of the city or not, to recognize and imagine the idealized plan of the city that the author offers here,

> "…frente de la puerta de Atocha…hay otra fuente de un Triton, y una Nereida abrazados a una columna, teniendo por delante el escudo de las armas de Madrid, y en lo alto, sobre una taza, cuatro niños al rededor de una palma que remata en

> un grande surtidor de agua, y en los lados del estanque hay otros dos surtidores, que todo forma una hermosa vista" (14).

The neo-classical tendency to depict pagan traditions along side of Christian ones demonstrates the kind of relationship between materiality and enlightened morality that permeates the whole article. Velasco celebrates the grandness of classical tradition as representative of Madrid's intellectual heritage and modern character. Having Madrid's coat of arms placed in front of the central column of the fountain's structure ensures this connection. Madrid's connection to its Roman ancestry is consistent with the author's select features that he chooses to list in order to create a representation of the city that is most favorable within the eighteenth-century context.

Velasco writes the physical city but its people are only implicitly written into the text. Urbanites who pass time seeing and being seen on the *Paseo del Prado* bring to mind the image of public sociability and also the larger issue of population. Population is a charged polemical issue for Spain and its colonies in the eighteenth century. It is not explicitly treated in the article on Madrid, but it is an important topic in the article on Spain. The juxtaposition of morality and materiality in the *Encyclopedia Metódica*'s geography figures prominently in the way population is represented through the lens of moral obligations and material, economic values. It is through Velasco's discussion of population that he criticizes the decadence found in the city.

In "España," Velasco delves into the problematic depopulation of the peninsula, pointing out some of the reasoned behind it. The most commonly recognized causes include the fact that in previous centuries Spain expelled whole groups of people and later was losing countrymen to their colonies in Spanish America. However, most

closely related to the eighteenth century and to the fashionable image of the *Paseo del Prado* is the "conspicuously excessive luxury of women that discourages men from marrying, and if they do marry they do not wish to have children because they have no means of supporting them" (92). The moral obligation to marry and continue the human species is thwarted by the gendered vice of luxury. Women's tendency to spend excessively on luxury goods is named as one of the many causes of Spain's depopulation. It is noted as a more modern cause as opposed to the older catalysts such as the expulsion of Muslims and the emigration of great numbers of men to the Americas.

Madrid's colonial sister-city, Lima, embodies the spectrum of governance and leisure with its orderly, straight city streets and its hazards of material luxury through which women are responsible for ruining family fortunes, as we will see in the following discussion of Ulloa's account.

Lima in the *Viaje a la América meridional*

Ulloa's geography of Lima is similar to the overall discourse found in the *Encyclopedia Metódica* because he moves easily between material measurements and opinionated observations laden with moralized values. Ulloa spent several years of his life in Lima, Perú, and this certainly shows in his intimate descriptions of the city's functionaries and the customs of its inhabitants. There is a distinguishable pattern that the author follows with respect to the topics that he covers. Ulloa's aesthetic of enumeration is manifest in a pattern that begins with Lima's physical situation, then its religious and government institutions, ending with observations on the ostentation of women's dress. The order of the topics treated corresponds to what I have called in my discussion of Velasco's entry on Madrid spaces of governance and spaces of leisure. All

of the institutions and fashionable practices featured in Ulloa's chapters may be viewed as spaces or manners of utilitarian order – from the straight lines of urban planning to the ostentatious women's fashions that the author criticizes and the vice-regal government attempts to restrain the urban population.

Lima is a booming center of commerce and material culture in the eighteenth century and Ulloa boasts his desire to "…dar a conocer la justicia con que merece aquella ciudad ser la capital del Perú y la reina de las ciudades de aquellas partes meridionales…" (39). Much like Velasco's grandiose praise for Madrid and Lima, Ulloa extols the well-deserved, glowing reputation that Lima enjoys. The physical situation of Lima is the first description that serves to substantiate and explain one of the reasons for Lima's greatness. It is striking to note that Madrid is praised in the *Encyclopedia Metódica* for its physical situation which is the opposite of Lima's; yet, Ulloa describes how it is ideal. Lima sits low in the Rimac valley and therefore is naturally protected by the surrounding land. This allows its inhabitants to "señorearse" over all the space within the valley. The physical description of the city reflects Ulloa's scientific training and empirical sensibility. For example, he carefully lists the latitude, longitude, and altitude of Lima and locates the accurate place of Lima in the world. From the very beginning Ulloa's geography utilizes the aesthetic of enumeration in order to imply and to demonstrate the inherent positive qualities of the place he treats.

Spaces of Governance and Spectacle in Lima

Ulloa begins the description of the city itself with the principal bridge that leads into the main entrance to the city, as if following the eye of the traveler. The reader, then, follows the path of the traveler, moving into the city and immediately experiencing a

carefully planned description of the *plaza mayor*. The author concisely lists the form of the plaza and then the architecture that makes up its surrounding buildings. The sense of square geometry that shapes the image he creates is more salient than the author's neat narration. "…tránsito a la plaza principal poco distante, la qual es quadrada, muy espaciosa y bien acompañada de suntuosas obras" (42). The fact that the plaza is square is not unusual since that is the traditional shape found in Spain and other European countries. What is remarkable is that the square linear image of the plaza is enhanced by the way in which Ulloa goes on to depict the buildings along each side. With a sense of scientific deliberation, he moves from east, to west, to north, and finally to the south. All of the edifices named fall into the category that I have described as places and representations of governance; all are institutions headed either by the Church or the State. The fact that these buildings are so materially sumptuous only adds to their status as symbols of power.

Two of the plaza's architectural works stand out as Ulloa describes them with flowery words of praise. The cathedral and the vice-regal palace, not surprisingly, are the two architectural focal points. The cathedral, described first, stands on the eastern façade and the vice-regal palace, described second, stands on the north façade, and is described in all its past glory. The cathedral is compared to that of Seville, the second largest and one of the most impressive cathedrals in Christendom. Seville's cathedral would have been a familiar landmark with which Spanish and Spanish-American readers could relate to the comparison. Ulloa writes,

> "…la iglesia imita en su arquitectura interior a la que luce en la de la catedral de Sevilla, aunque no es de tanta capacidad. Exteriormente, hace ostentación del arte

> en su magnífico frontispicio, cuyo centro ocupa la principal portada, y le acompañan dos torres que aumentan su hermosura…y a pequeñas distancias se levantan sobre aquel suelo pyrámides medianas que sirven de ornato a toda la obra" (42-43).[43]

Once again, the very visual description of material wealth and physical beauty communicates to the reader the power and centrality of the Church in the city of Lima. It follows logically that this portrait of the main plaza's eastern façade, as a core place and institution of Lima, implies the Christianity-based moral values of the city's inhabitants. The two pyramids that are mentioned to be nearby are a remarkable feature. They function not as a traditional Christian emblem but rather a sign of an older cultural tradition and also symbol of the Masonic society during the eighteenth century. The authority of Christian tradition and progressive intellectual interests are represented together. Morality and empirical materiality come together at this moment in the text and, I believe, it is revealing that Ulloa begins his description in the material and symbolic center of the dominant institutions of power. Ulloa's description evokes a visual image of the vice-regal palace that exhibits opulence that is meant to impress upon the reader its importance as the center of government administrations and regulatory controls.

We must remember that Ulloa's description refers to the palace before the earthquake of 1746. Ulloa began writing his *Viaje* upon his return to Spain, in the same year as the earthquake, and the first edition of his work was published in 1748. Ulloa chooses to write the memory of Lima's vice-regal palace, instead of its post-earthquake

[43]See Virgilio Filippo's *Imperialismos y masonería*. This work looks at the case of freemasonry in Argentina but is useful for understanding the society's role in the colonial project.

state. What could be the reason for his description of a lost Lima? In the beginning of his chapters on Lima he asserts that it is the pre-earthquake Lima that he will describe because he wants to avoid discussing painful tragedies. The ruin of the city post-earthquake would not properly represent its greatness. Ulloa departed Lima for Spain only some months before the earthquake; he could not have offered an eye-witness account but neither does he dwell on a broken Lima. Describing what the palace was before the earthquake is a trope that suggests Lima's inherent power and its potential to be restored and even improved.[44] If the author had described Lima's main plaza and vice-regal palace in particular as they stood post-earthquake the city would have been lessened in terms of a colonial asset, and its well-deserved reputation would have been diminished. If it appeared to be less great than the city of Madrid in the material richness of its architecture, then the power of the vice-regal government would have been weakened symbolically.

The plaza's fountain, located at its center, is the only feature of the place that is discussed purely with a sublime sensibility that does not directly identify it with one of Lima's political, economic, or religious institutions. Square visuals of plaza's four sides contrast with the fountain's softer, rounder lines of material beauty. The description of the fountain demonstrates Lima's cultured beauty in the center of its main square. Ulloa describes the impressive image of the fountain, and when he refers to the waters that spout from the central figure they are part of the decoration. The *pila* or *fuente* in the main square distinguishes it from other *plazas*, and the author fondly remembers it in his

[44] See Charles Walker's chapter "Stabilizing the Unstable and Ordering the Disorderly" in *Shaky Colonialism* where he lays out the history of rebuilding after Lima's earthquake. The viceroy used the discourse of improvement that supported rebuilding projects with the plan to enhance the power of the vice-regal office (74-80).

work for its magnificent beauty.[45] The fountains in "Madrid" exemplified the enlightened combination of beauty and natural order that satisfied the need for clean drinking water. The fountain in Lima's *plaza mayor* functions more as a symbol of the city's appearance than its dedication to its inhabitants' physical needs. Though it is a public fountain, Ulloa espouses its beauty but not the cleanliness of its water.

Beyond the limits of the *plaza mayor*, Lima's grid of streets in the city center and in the neighborhood *San Lázaro* across the river is proof of the city's orderly design as it was first laid out a century earlier by colonizers. Lima's grid is a step above Madrid's "straight enough" streets. The *San Lázaro* neighborhood in particular is the epitome of a lettered city version of urban planning. The neighborhood across the river from the center of the city grew during the eighteenth century and was mainly inhabited by affluent *limeños.* Its design mirrors the grid of streets that came with colonization inside the city walls. The promenades where the inhabitants stroll reflect the eighteenth century's valorization of leisure and hints at Lima's reputation for socialization between the sexes and castes.

> "En la vanda opuesta a la ciudad de la otra parte del río, se halla un arabal con el nombre de San Lázaro, también es muy capaz, el qual se ha acrecentado de pocos años a esta parte…Las calles están empedradas y las atraviesan acequias de agua que…pasan la mayor parte por conductos de bóveda, y sirven para su limpieza sin hacer estorbo ni imperfección" (44).

The broad, straight, cobbled avenues that Ulloa praises really belong to the promenades across the river in the San Lázaro neighborhood, although he says that all the

[45] See Ruth Hill's section on *pilas* in *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America*. She thoroughly discusses the significance of fountains in travelers' and locals' accounts for their beauty, and in the case of Carrió de la Vandera, as a critique of urban fountains' unclean water (66-68).

streets of the city are wide and straight. It becomes clear that not all the streets were as lovely and suitable for promenades as the San Lázaro area when the author speaks of the dung that fills the streets and air of central Lima. Pointing out this difference, Hill writes "On the way out of the city, crossing the River Rimac, those same persons could enter a different world: one with a leisurely rhythm, lush greenery, wide streets, fresh air, and fountains" (44). The San Lázaro neighborhood that Ulloa praises is in fact the same area that Hill examines known as *La Alameda* and *Los Peines*. The promenades were frequented by multitudes with a variety of questionable motives, and the area was especially known to be a place for transiting lovers.[46]

Ulloa, however, focuses on the orderly lines and quantity of the streets. "Todas las calles…corren del *norte* al *sur,* y las otras, de *oriente* a *occidente,* formando cuadras…que tienen 150 varas cada uno…que en la de *Quito* son ciento solamente" (Ulloa 44). The square, directional visual appears again in Ulloa's description of the layout of the streets. Similar to the authoritative square of the *plaza*, the design of the streets is a strong point for Lima; the large number of streets that Ulloa quantifies for the reader emphasizes the significance and success of its population.

A city's sociability, though, is another kind of intangible institution made up of hierarchies of various groups of people. The plaza was a space of circulation and interaction for its inhabitants, who moved and mixed through it. Its representation here, however, does not include any bodies. Similarly to how Velasco writes "Madrid," Ulloa fragments "Lima" into sections that separate his treatment of architecture and of people.

[46] Hill quotes from Durret's *Voyage de Marseille a Lima* where the author goes into detail about the promenades of Lima and of the custom for lovers to follow their mistresses' coaches on foot and buy highly priced goods from slaves who proffered their wares to the passersby (44). Durret published his travel work in 1720.

The plaza is a place for people to gather, socialize, and trade. If we follow the sharp, square image that Ulloa gives, the buildings and the institutions that occupy them all reflect regulation in the religious and civic lives of Lima's inhabitants. The city's dominant authorities make the plaza into a closed-in space, while its boundaries are porous and allowed the circulation of individuals and their respective activities regarding social and economic interests.

The reception given for an incoming viceroy conflates Lima's spaces of governance with those of leisure and luxury. This sumptuous official ceremony and its many consequent festive days in Lima are part of Ulloa's laudatory narrative. However, his discourse of praise is double-edged as it is also a transition into his critique of the *limeños*' imprudent luxury.

> "En todas las *Indias* es uno de los mayores actos en que manifiestan su opulencia la entrada del que gobierna, y este mismo es el que descubre en *Lima* su mayoría pues, saliendo á brillar en él carrozas y coches y á lucir galas, jaeces y joyas, llega á tanto el porte de la nobleza que hace componer libreas de aquellas telas mas ricas y costosas para ostentar en el adorno de los criados el poder de sus señores, que, no hallando en sus personas competente desahogo á la generosidad, procura explicarse en las de sus dependientes" (58).

Although the Spanish Crown's *leyes de Indias* prohibit the grandiose reception of a new viceroy of the kind that took place in Lima, Ulloa points out that the city's inhabitants continue on with their costly traditions.[47] Travelers like Ulloa remark upon the material excess of the aristocracy and lower classes alike. Women's risqué clothing and the

[47] Charles Walker in *Shaky Colonialism* traces the various European and Spanish American authors who critiqued Lima for its decadent ways. In particular he addresses the sumptuary laws passed that directly affected *limeñas* and the fashion of *tapadas* (131-215).

customs of corrupt religious men are signs of the city shady character (Walker 13). Before and especially after the earthquake, Lima's own inhabitants, including its viceroy, were outspoken in saying that the earthquake was divine punishment for the decadence and immorality of the city (79). As we have seen in Velasco, the women of Madrid's excessive luxuries are condemned as socially harmful. But many characterizations of Lima as decadent to the point of incurring God's wrath and causing the city to be reduced to rubble, constitutes a much more pervasive critique.

Ulloa's explanation for continuing with the traditional welcome of the viceroy is that grandiose ceremonies are part of a tradition so that no local political leader dares be the first to abolish such an old custom (63).[48] Lima's city council along with its inhabitants would welcome the new viceroy with the personal, fashionable luxury for which they are famous. In addition they would use their extended belongings like horses, carriages, and servants as part of the spectacle. Exorbitant vice-regal spectacles are integral to demonstrating the power of the vice-regal office. Stephanie Merrim suggests that baroque-style spectacles caused wonder and were used as a mode of control over the heterogeneity of the Spanish American city (154-155).[49] Ulloa describes a scene where the city council and Lima's upper class citizens utilize their servants like props that are extensions of their masters' own bodies. In this way, more than just the power of the vice-regal office is at stake – Lima's aristocracy satisfies their vanity by showing off for the public.

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[48] Noted by editor Andrés Saumell in the *Viaje*, in 1749 the Spanish Crown passed a law that prohibited viceroys to enter the city under a canopy (carried by local authorities).

[49] Merrim examines the case of Mexico City and the role of the "spectacular city" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, she also mentions that parallel with Lima and I believe that her argument for spectacle and power can be applied to mid-eighteenth century Lima.

The various events that constitute the new viceroy's reception include a specific circuit that the viceroy and his retinue, or *cortejo,* followed throughout the city, inviting a multitude of spectators. Ulloa enumerates the significant stops and rituals that occurred on the very first day of festivities: the cathedral and monastery of *Monserrate*, an ambulatory parade through Lima's streets, arrival at the *plaza mayor*, reception by the archbishop and the ecclesiastic city council before entrance into the church, mounted parade to the vice-regal palace, and finally an "audiencia" and a "magnífico refresco" with Lima's elite (64). The ritual circuit itself reflects a certain value in order, but it is also a showing of power through material brilliance.

Material grandeur encompasses nearly all the city for the several days that the celebration of the new viceroy lasts. The viceroy and his family spend the evening at the vice-regal palace preceding the start of the public celebrations through the streets of the city. The palace "se adorna para este caso con toda ostentación." The visual pleasures in the palace go beyond its baroque decorations. For example, the celebratory activities that take place for the viceroy's reception include the company of the city's illustrious persons, an ostentatious feast, and the showing of a play.

"Ostentatious" and its variants are terms that are repeated so often that they become characteristic of Ulloa's treatment of Lima and its culture. To be ostentatious is a double-edged term, like Ulloa's account of Lima's material magnificence. In adjective form, "*ostentoso*" signifies an impressive visual – something that is a deserving spectacle. In verb form, however, "*ostentar*" refers to a vainglorious, self-representing spectacle. We have seen this kind of slight but categorical distinction in the terms o*cio* and *ociosidad,* as used by Velasco. Those who stroll along the *Paseo del Prado* only deserve

to do so if they are productive citizens indulging in appropriate "ocio," but it is a slippery slope to the vice of laziness, "ociosidad." The deserving spectacle of Lima represents its greatness while it also reflects the ostentation of its inhabitants who are the agents of its decadence.

The streets of Lima are earlier described in the text as wide, straight, and parallel; and as I noted, the linear form of the streets mirror the city's inhabitants and the neo-classical order. For the celebration of a new viceroy, the grid-like streets of the city become just as showy as the *limeños* themselves. Cleaned, framed and decorated with triumphal arches, the streets are transformed into a parade route that is a condensed space in which "no luce menor el arte que la riqueza" (63). The people who accompany the viceroy along his parade concourse are fundamental figures that help construct the sumptuous ceremony. Their material pompousness corresponds to that of the triumphal arches. The viceroy and his family ride through the city on horseback but he alone is escorted underneath a *palio* or canopy. The individuals from the city council go on foot to carry the viceroy's canopy and dress themselves formally in a costume that is solely reserved for this particular ceremony. Ulloa describes them as "vestido con ropones de terciopelo carmesí forrados en brocado del mismo color y gorras, trage que solo usa en esta funcion" (63). The royal treatment afforded the man who is meant to represent the Spanish Crown from a distance undoubtedly is a reason the ceremony is officially prohibited in 1749. However, Ulloa notes that the *limeños* did not allow such laws or criticisms to stop them from their pleasurable festivities.

The nightly festivities in the vice-regal palace are remarkable due to the mixing of government space and luxuriously leisure. In the evenings, a similar entourage would put

on a great feast, the "refresco magnífico" that Ulloa describes. The food provided and the way in which it is served measures the extent of sensual overindulgence. The feast fascinates the author as much as the city's adornments. *Dulces* and *comidas delicadas* are served to everyone on silver platters while the illustrious persons of Lima socialize with each other. Notably welcome at this nocturnal feast are the ladies, most of who dress in their signature, controversial *tapadas* style. The women covered their upper bodies completely with shawls that served as veils -- hiding their countenances all but for one eye. A mysterious fashion, the *tapada* was at once alluring and unsettling and in this sense similar to Ulloa's apparent attraction to and subtle criticism of the sumptuousness of the viceroy's feast.[50]

Ulloa pays careful attention to the palace's decoration and the impressive feast put on for the new viceroys. He points out the permissiveness of women's presence at the nightly celebrations. Specifically, the author notes that the celebratory function permits "todas las señoras" of the city to attend in the salons, galleries, and gardens of the palace. The reason Ulloa specifically lists the rooms and spaces that the ladies are allowed to enter is unclear. Perhaps it is because they are excluded from other spaces that remain solely for male officials of the city; or it may be that an outsider finds it striking that the women were allowed to pass through most of the palace.

The author paints for the reader the social landscape of the upper echelons of Lima's population, which effuses sensual luxuries and flirtatious intrigues. Ulloa speaks none too subtly of the *limeñas*' charm: "puedan lucir entre mil agudezas los chistosos ofrecimientos, la prontitud de los dichos y los secretos discursos que, como parto de sus

[50] Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder explore the two-sided reaction to veiled women in early modern Spain and Spanish America in "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima."

sutiles entendimientos, dexan confuso y admirado al mas advertido forastero" (64). The women's subtle intelligence and propensity for "secretive talks" leave strangers in confused awe. The *chistoso,* or playful, offers could be interpreted in more than one way, depending on the women's ultimate intentions. It appears that Ulloa wants to imply that the women's flirtatious offers are in jest. However, the licentiousness of the recurrent surreptitious talks alludes to lovers' trysts for which the *limeños* are known.[51] Ulloa then moves his cultural geography of Lima's ostentatious celebrations into an examination of distinguished families and the charming women themselves.

Spaces of Leisure and Luxury

The author justifies his select treatment of Lima's culture by declaring that he feels obligated to consider the customs of the city because, "…como se irá viendo no son tan conformes con las de las otras ciudades que no den motivo suficiente para ello" (68). The non-conformist customs that the author treats belong to three general categories – diversity of castes and their characteristics, noble families, and fashion. The fashionable ways of Lima's population are the most suitable case for examining the inextricable themes of materiality and morality that define the appreciation and condemnation of the city.

Ulloa chooses to describe the singular customs that are unique to Lima. His relation of the illustrious families of Lima is an example of his method. The aesthetic of enumeration that I have pointed out in the sections on the plaza and city streets makes a

[51] Walker offers a brief list of writers, including travelers to Lima during the colonial period and current literary critics, who comment on the common practice in Lima to have a mistress and lay much of the responsibility upon the women whose dress allowed them mobility and freedom to pass through the streets with lovers undetected (133-135).

re-appearance here as the author describes the urban elite in a systematic way. Ulloa separates social classes and writes,

> "Las familias de españoles son en gran numero pues se considera que podrá haber 16 a 18 mil personas blancas, según el computo mas prudente…hay como una tercera o quarta parte de nobleza, la mas distinguida del Perú y originada de la mas conocida y sobresaliente de estos reynos" (68).

The categorization of the distinguished social caste as "Spanish" and "white" does not mean that everyone belonging to the group comes from Spain or actually has pale colored skin.[52] In fact, one of the defining characteristics of Lima's nobility is that many of them originate from the Inca royalty. It was common during the time of conquest Spaniards to marry *coyas*, the daughters of Inca nobility.[53] Castes and the concept of race in eighteenth-century Perú is a complex issue that I will not treat here but will as I continue to trace Ulloa's perception of the trappings of materiality and luxury. If we accept Hill's argument that economic status plays a strong role in racial distinction, then it is logical for Ulloa to refer to the upper socio-economic class as *blancos* though the adjective may not correspond to the color of their skin.

Lima's eighteenth-century nobles are described by Ulloa through their *gran decencia* and their costly modes of transportation. Their circulation through city streets allows for comfortable mobility and also the opportunity to see and be seen. This is comparable to the circulation of *paseantes* along the *Paseo del Prado* in Madrid and the

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[52] See Hill's *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America* for her insightful discussion of how race was more of a socio-economic category than a reference to skin color as it is today.

[53] Ilona Katzew's *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth Century Mexico* and Magalí Carrera's *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* treat the visual culture that represented the identities and racial categories that resulted from Spanish colonization. See also Charles Walker's discussion of tensions derived from such a heterogeneous society as Lima in his chapter "Stabilizing the Unstable and Ordering the Disorderly" in *Shaky Colonialism.*

spectacular parade of a new viceroy in Lima. In all these we see how the physical act of movement that connected places and ensured interactions amongst different peoples represents Enlightenment geography on a large scale. Circulation of people through urban space is a phenomenon that is mirrored in the traveling of goods, ideas, and individuals along networks of trade and intellectuals.

Let me turn back to the question of materiality in Ulloa's portrait of Lima. Families of the highest distinction, and also those who enjoy a moderate fortune, necessarily employed a great number of free servants and slaves due to the luxury transports the wealthy families own. Simply the maintenance and driving of the luxurious carriages demanded a higher quantity of domestic servants and slaves relative to other places that did not so commonly use luxury comforts. Referring to Lima's upper and middle class's transports, Ulloa relates, "...la hechura (de las calesas) es muy ayrosa, y el todo de ellas, de un costo exorbitante, pues llegan a valer de ochocientos a mil pesos, siendo todas doradas y de mucho lucimiento" (69). Ulloa offers the reader another visual that demonstrates the exorbitant movements of Lima's inhabitants while signaling the imprudent material excess that prevails in the city and throughout the text.

Between describing the decadent qualities of the distinguished white families and quantifying the fiscal value of their carriages, Ulloa inserts a description of Lima's streets covered in filth. His odd combination of positive and negative aspects of Lima contrasts starkly with the "Madrid" article in the *Encyclopedia Metódica* which strove for a uniformly laudatory portrayal of the city. Instead of imposing a false sense of urban utopia, Ulloa juxtaposes Lima's filth with its inhabitants' material brilliance. In fact, he reasons that the popular comfort of personal carriages is practical due to the intolerable

air. Heavy traffic along the streets caused them to always be full of manure that consequently dried and Lima's sun and wind created a dust that pedestrians would inevitably inhale (69). Such conditions, of course, caused respiratory problems. Ulloa's complex layering of orderly city streets upon great material luxury and then upon intolerable filth parallels the complicated representation of Lima's women.

Women's presence throughout the city during the day is the most extensively treated aspect in the section of Ulloa's chapter on Lima that is titled "Del numeroso vecindario que contiene la ciudad de *Lima,* sus castas, genio y costumbres de sus habitadores, riqueza y ostentation de sus trages" (67-79). The *limeñas*' unique sartorial fashions are what attracted Ulloa's critical voyeurism and that of other travelers as well.[54] Ulloa draws his readers a visual portrait of Lima's men's fashions as well, though the amount of space dedicated to this is minimal relative to that dedicated to the women. Men's clothing style is as luxurious as the city's own sumptuous style, but it is quickly discarded as a worthy topic because it is so similar to men's fashions in Spain. In the author's taxonomic depiction of Lima's customs and peoples he creates many categories distinguishing the material and moral qualities of places and social groups. Women who pleasurably indulge themselves in luxurious dress are their own category altogether. According to Ulloa, uniqueness and divergence from the European fashion norm explains why it is necessary to give an adequate account of the women's dress.

> "Todos visten con mucha ostentación, y puede decirse sin exageración que las telas que se fabrican en los paises donde la industria trabaja para conseguir sus

[54] Durret's *Voyage de Marseille a Lima*, Concolorcorvo's *Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes,* and writings by Lima's viceroy, according to Walker's analysis, specifically discuss, with varying degrees of criticism, women's dress and/or men's constant efforts at seduction as a practices that degraded Lima's productivity and morality.

> invenciones se lucen en Lima mas que en ninguna otra parte…es nada en los hombres respeto de lo pródigas que son las mugeres en vestirse y adornarse, asunto que sería injusto el no tratarlo en la extensión que requiere" (71).

"Pródiga" describes a person who wastes and consumes their wealth on useless costs, without moderation or rationale. Following the logic of this term, then women practiced no control over their indulgent vices, as a result of their lack of reason. This wasteful practice is so particular to the women of Lima that Ulloa insists that his description of the city would be incomplete without treating the topic at length.

The *limeña*'s body is the ultimate space of leisure and luxury. Women of all castes are mobile and complex embodiments of material ostentation. Their public presence in the streets of the city and also at official functions means that their personal ostentation circulates through the city. Consequently, Lima can not be a regulated despite its grid but is instead a dynamic and uncontrollable locale. Ulloa appears to be paradoxically fascinated by and critical of women's fashions; perhaps his mixed reception of Lima's women is an example of the confusion he alludes to earlier. The *tapadas* style is without question the most debated fashion that Lima's women practiced. A combination of nun-like modesty and licentious disguise exacerbates the relationship between the moralized order of the city, as represented by its authoritative institutions and grid-like street design, and its Sodom and Gomorrah reputation. Women move through Lima enveloped in their profligate clothing, evoking a parallel to the mobile luxury of the carriages. The fine materials that both the *señoras* and the women of all

castes use are the principal object that Ulloa utilizes to prove the costliness of feminine dress.[55]

The author's relation of the quantity and types of fabrics that constitute a woman's costume is exemplary of the aesthetic of enumeration. "En la elección y gusto de los *encajes* de que se ha de componer el vestuario…es tan regular este en aquellas señoras que, no ciñéndose a solas las casas de nobleza, viene a ser común en todas las demás mugeres…" (71) With the exception of the "infimo grado de las *negras*" all of the ladies of Lima indulge themselves in rich materials.[56] The considerable consumption of lace and delicate linens verifies the women's expensive tastes because they compose their entire dress with fabrics that were generally used for minute adornments only. The symbiotic relationship between the city's exorbitant luxury and that of its female inhabitants is especially remarkable here. Ulloa insists upon the fact that luxury and leisure are not restricted to the upper economic classes but instead are common to the majority. The author enumerates the various pieces of dress and the materials they are made of to further prove the uniqueness and costliness of fashions in Lima. According to Ulloa, the pieces of clothing that make up the *limeña*'s dress are few but tells his readers that they seem to lack decorum (72). The author enumerates the pieces of a woman's dress, which include the footwear, petticoat and undershirt, a short open skirt, and a loose blouse that is cinched at the waist.

Women styled these few pieces in such a way that their costumes illustrate luxury and a sexualized confidence. While the amount of material demonstrates richness, their

[55] See chapter two for an examination of the Spanish and Spanish-American textile industries in the Enlightenment.
[56] For more analysis of race and imperial discourse in Spanish America see *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America* edited by Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara.

short skirts show enticing parts of their bodies. The quantity of lace used indicates a dress' cost but the garters, fringes, borders, and embellishments are what best represent the women's expensive taste. In Lima, just as the streets are decorated with triumphal arches for the viceroy and the nobles and middle classes transport themselves in sumptuous carriages with well-dressed servants, the women have their own particular way of showing off. They subtly reveal their legs with near-transparent skirts that make visible their hems and garters adorned with gold and silver and perhaps sprinkled with pearls. Unnaturally small feet and veils made up the more remarkable elements of *limeña* dress and the controversial *tapada* fashion is most significant in Lima's urban landscape because it imperiled social morality.

The debate that criticizes the way that the women of Lima covered their heads and faces was fairly well-known among travelers and local authorities. For this reason, it must have surprised his readers that Ulloa barely scratches the surface of the problem. As I pointed out in the section on the evening celebrations for new viceroys, the author remarks on the licentious custom of the *tapadas* attending festivities and flirting with the men. However, when describing the women's sartorial customs, the author restrains himself to offering a depiction of their dress without explicit judgmental comments. Layered on top of form fitting blouses, "...en tiempo de verano, se rebozan con un paño largo, cuya tela y hechura es semejante a la de la camisa y cuerpo del jubón, y una y otras de cambray o clarín muy finos guarnecidos de encages…" (73).[57] The many layers of fine fabrics transform the women's bodies into spaces of leisure and luxury. There is a stark contrast between the long wrap used to cover their whole upper bodies including

[57] Ulloa also notes that many women wore corsets underneath the structured *jubón*. See Chapter 3, which treats corsets as part of the debate over the "natural" morality that speaks against the artifices of women's fashions.

their faces, with the exception of one eye, and the short skirt that let their ankles and garters show through. Ulloa's reasoning for detailing the few articles and the excessive amounts of rich materials is to reiterate and strengthen his critical perception of Lima's alluring luxury and decadence. The women are quantifiable proof of the city's character.

Velasco and Ulloa wrote their cultural geographies on Madrid and Lima using a common method, which I have termed the aesthetic of enumeration. The pattern of quantifying material features that translate into moral and rationalist qualities is reflected in the Enlightenment's affinity for systematization.[58] Velasco and Ulloa differ in many ways—such as the political and economic contexts in which they published their works and the ways they either glossed over negative aspects or praised grand places and people. Despite their differences, both authors bring the question of productive utility and morality back to the polemic on material luxury.

Women and women's material culture appear in both works as the dynamic indicators for the rationality and the moral stability of urban space. Enlightenment discourse uses women as double-sided symbols: when moderate in dress and conduct women signify productive and useful potential, but when mobile and self-indulgent they signal the disruption of social and economic order. The circulation of ideological debates and material goods is an example of a measurable, definable economic order. The textile industry is a case that is enormously important to the Spanish empire at the trans-national and local level. As I will argue the following chapter, women are inscribed as useful to the textile industry, and so to society at large, and, in some cases, as being in need of appropriate, utilitarian occupations.

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[58] Ernst Cassirer in *The Philosophy of Enlightenment* lays out the foundations of systematic aesthetics that developed in the eighteenth century (338-360).

Chapter Two

The Fabric of Progress: Textiles, Dyes, and the Circulation of Economic Prestige

"*One of the issues members of the Economic Society immediately took up was women's role in the nation's economy. The crux of this issue became jump-starting Spanish industry…Failing to recognize that the time of all but the most elite women was taken up with unpaid domestic labor, these thinkers sought in women's work a panacea for Spain's industrial weakness*" (Smith 76).

In eighteenth-century Spain women are weaving woolens and laboring over lace, preparing for their sale and exportation. In Oaxaca, Mexico, Amerindians are carefully harvesting precious cochineal insects to turn into scarlet colored dye. Mexico's red dye from the cochineal insect and Spain's textiles cross paths in mid-Atlantic. The flow of material goods is also represented in written works. The language of commercial fabrics and dyes is a language of local patriotism and the empire of fashion. This kind of discourse in the texts analyzed in this chapter pinpoints the sites of productive industry and the places that have the potential or need for improved industry. The geographical location of places and people who produce and consume textiles and dyes generates a conceptual and practical network of goods and the values attributed to them in the enlightened text. Material utility, including the usefulness of individuals, is paramount in the successful construction of autonomous and self-sufficient communities dedicated to the production of textiles and dyes.

In this chapter I will discuss the woolens, lace, and cochineal dye industries, exploring their significance in the cultural and fiscal economy of Spain and its vice-regal territories. These industries exemplify how the production and circulation of certain commodities, as well as the knowledge related to those processes of production and

circulation, helped to consolidate Spain's reputation relative to other countries. Spain provided several kinds of woolens (*paños*) as well as laces (*encajes*) to Britain, France, and many other European countries and American territories. In the eighteenth century countries such as Britain and France imported these fabrics and then turned them into finished goods because their industries were further advanced. Woolens are very strongly linked to Spain's cultural and economic identity because for centuries one of Spain's largest productions was fine wools. Laces were also identified with Spain but limited to specific regions such as Catalonia and Valencia.

Three separate texts are analyzed in this chapter. The first two are entries from the *Encyclopedia Metódica*, titled "Paños" and "Encajes," respectively. The entry on woolens, "paños," offers the reader a strong sense of the textile industry in Spain. As one of the most successful industries in Spain and its colonies, woolen textiles came to represent the Crown's interests and also define the values of material production for individuals involved in this industry.[59] Not all fabrics are created equal, however. While woolen fabrics range from rough and utilitarian to fine and decorative, lace is inherently a delicate, feminine material. The entry on lace, "Encajes," comes later in the encyclopedia. The place of production and consumption of woolens and lace are described and evaluated in their respective entries. Both entries differ from those that were the focus in the first chapter in two significant ways. First, the entries are included in a cluster of volumes devoted to arts, manufactures, and occupations. The second difference is related to the first, as the three volumes that comprise this category were written not by Julián Velasco but by another author, Antonio Carbonel.

[59] Carla Rahm Phillips in *Spain's Golden Fleece* gives the long history of wool production and exportation that was fundamental to the livelihood and culture of the Spanish people.

The third text I will discuss comes from Rafael Landívar's *Rusticatio Mexicana*. The fourth canto of his epic is titled "Cochineal and Purple."[60] The canto focuses on the local context of material production of dyes and the Amerindians who have the knowledge and ability to manufacture them. Dying fabrics has always been an important industry around the world. Certain dyes produce truer colors and so are more desirable for high-end fashions. Cochineal is the dye that produced a perfect scarlet and its variations; the production methods of cochineal dye were carefully guarded by the Spanish Crown.[61] As a whole, Landívar's work reflects the encyclopedic tendency to bring together empirical knowledge about the natural world, which we have already seen operating in the *Encyclopedia Metódica*. In this case, Landívar's subject is the natural and cultural environment of New Spain.

Landívar was a Jesuit scholar born in 1731 in New Spain, where he lived until his exile in 1767. Landívar immigrated to Italy like many exiled Jesuits where he lived the remainder of his days. There, he completed and published his most renowned work, the epic poem the *Rusticatio Mexicana*. It is divided into fifteen books, or cantos, that treat subjects of New Spain's nature, geography, material goods, and the culture of the Amerindians. The *Rusticatio* describes natural surroundings and other material realities in a neoclassical form that is configured through a scholastic pragmatism. Landívar frames knowledge about New Spain through visual language of the beautiful and the sublime (Higgins 113, 120). The fourth canto that I analyze in this chapter marks a shift from geographical scenarios to a poetic exposition of the dye industries.

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[60] I have chosen to use the English title as the original text was written in Latin and the translation by Andrew Laird I am working with is from Latin into English.

[61] Amy Butler Greenfield's cultural history of red dyes examines the ways different countries, cities, and artisanal guilds protected their production secrets. The cultural and political tensions this created were a significant debate for governments and the general public.

Landívar's work is further removed from the Europeans' modernizing version of natural philosophy as he wrote his *Rusticatio* in Latin – a language that was no longer common vernacular in the eighteenth century but was used by a tradition of writers and scholars. In New Spain humanist literature and other works in Latin reached their peak. The Jesuit tradition for two centuries past used Latin in their colleges for educational and scholarly purposes. Landívar and his contemporaries represent a group of Jesuit scholars from New Spain who, after the expulsion in 1767, published their works in Italy.

Local production and the commercial circulation of fabrics and dyes are prevalent concerns in the eighteenth century. Carbonel's and Landívar's works engage in the larger debate on progress that reaches beyond their own regions and the particular industries they discuss. The discourse surrounding woolens, lace, and cochineal dye contains assessments of economic and societal value. I suggest that Landívar's focus on the features of an autochthonous product and Carbonel's advocacy for the dissemination of textile production methods to the Spanish public both reflect the goal of inscribing their respective communities within the eighteenth century's discourse on utility. Landívar and Carbonel bring otherwise marginalized groups – women and the Amerindians -- into the utilitarian discursive economy in Spain and Spanish America so that those communities as a whole might become internally stable and productive. Does the inclusion of marginalized groups of individuals into public debates make their experiences legible? When women and other groups are used as markers of progress or self-sufficiency, how does that effect their positions in their communities? A close reading of Carbonel's and Landívar's texts shows how this inclusion brings them closer

to being recognized productive members of society due to heightened visibility as integral elements of progress.

The idea of secrets as part of a national or societal patrimony crops up in Carbonel's and Landívar's texts. The tradition of controlling the knowledge of production methods will be examined in the entries on woolens and lace. As the century progresses the practical value of publicizing industry methods increases and the *Encyclopedia Metódica* is a manifestation of this tendency. The *Rusticatio* is a product of empirical observations that Landívar lays out with a poetic didacticism. The indigenous knowledge held by the Amerindians and *criollos* about the production of cochineal dye is not devalued by Landívar's precise descriptions due to his insistence that cochineal cannot be cultivated anywhere else or by anyone else.

I consider the texts by Carbonel and Landívar as micro-histories that reflect the material economies and values of Spain and Spanish America, revealing a complicated story of lived experiences and far-reaching discourses. Literature becomes a medium that maps out two very different things – the geopolitical places where goods are produced and those who by virtue of their involvement in their production are brought into economic utility. The authors' focus on natural resources and manufacture is clearly a shared theme, although their styles differ. Carbonel writes in encyclopedic prose while Landívar writes his work in Latin verse but both texts are narratives that articulate socio-economic contributions to a patriotic and didactic discourse.

Individuals who are involved in the textile and cochineal industries are a significant factor in terms of the value of each industry. In addition to material value for the Spanish empire, either in monetary terms or in terms of practical use, the benefit that

people derive from their industry is a theme that both authors explore. Lived experience is a central thread to the stories that Carbonel and Landívar are telling. Young women and girls were largely an untapped reserve for labor, as they were not as active in agricultural work (Boxer 99). The role of gender and social class in production and consumption reveals the nature of commerce and the utilitarian discourse in which the authors write on woolens, lace, and cochineal dye.

Paños

Preceding the entry "Paños," the author Carbonel includes a preliminary discourse to introduce the history and use of the textile industry. In Carbonel's view, the sartorial luxury that comes with textiles has become a necessity, albeit a frivolous one. "Es verdad que la molicie y el lujo dieron nacimiento a todas las artes, pero estas han venido a ser necesidades, y lejos de los tiempos en que hubiera sido crimen ejercerlas, hoy se hace un servicio a la Sociedad en describirlas" (Carbonel 1-2). The author judges that explaining the production of material goods such as woolens is beneficial for Spain because such knowledge would strengthen its industry. Disseminating the methods of production, however, runs the risk of perpetuating luxury and so is contrary to the very goal of utilitarian industry. Carbonel echoes general Enlightenment sentiment as he views the luxury products that inevitably come from the textile industry as frivolous vice. Indulging in such a vice is perceived as effeminate, an issue that will be more thoroughly treated in the following chapter (Hunt 79-81). Carbonel's initial warning against luxury is superceded by his didactic goals, which are manifest throughout his entry on woolens.

"Paños" is a dense and lengthy text relative to other entries in the volumes on industry. In terms of space, it takes up nearly one third of a volume. In my analysis I

highlight sections that pertain specifically to Spain's and Madrid's woolens industry. These have to do with the taxonomic organization of woolens in terms of their location and variety, and the individuals who lead, direct, and work in the industry. All of these topics are framed within the discourse of moralized economic utility. "Paños" is written with a utilitarian goal: the dissemination of historical, methodological, and social knowledge about wools and woolens.

Carbonel builds his entry from an overview of the broader context of the historical use of woolens and the woolens industry in Spain and the locations of textile production before moving to the specific aspects of the industry at the local Spanish level. He begins by summarizing the history of the textile industry in Spain, moves on to describe the practical methods it employs presently, and then gives several examples of various individuals' involvement. Throughout the entry Carbonel relies upon concrete details. Despite the fact that he includes opinions as well, his tone expresses his sense of objectivity and his focus on practical goals. For example, the author points out the shortage of textile mills or smaller workshops as well as indicating the lack of industrious advancement.

"Paños" is broad term that encompasses all kinds of woolen fabric, ranging in quality from rough and simple to fine and decorative. Their production is one of the most significant industries in Spain. Before speaking in detail of Spain's *paños* industry, Carbonel first glorifies the timeless use and beauty of woolen fabrics:

> "La hermosura del *paño*, su flexibilidad y fuerza, tan propias para resistir el rigor de los climas, y precaver de la intemperie de las estaciones, han debido prefijar la aceptación de los hombres, luego que conocieron esta tela o tejido, y asegurarle

> una existencia para todos los tiempos, y en todos los parajes en que la lana se pudiese emplear en vestidos" (191).

Carbonel universalizes the natural and aesthetic value of woolens and re-enforces it with the more than two hundred pages dedicated to the *fábrica de paños.* Woolen fabrics are a mainstay in Spanish clothing and Spanish wools continue to be exported to other nations. Towards the end of the eighteenth-century woolen fabrics no longer hold a monopoly over other textiles because linens and cotton fabrics become more prevalent. [62] Despite this, woolens are still in high demand and their production is tied to Spain's cultural and economic identity. The economic and utilitarian universality of woolen fabrics is an obvious element for Carbonel to praise. Why does he begin with beauty, then?[63] Perhaps he does so because the appreciation of fashionable material goods related to moral development marked both in Spain and Spanish America. But in addition to the positive qualities attributed to fine material goods, their inherent frivolity engenders anxiety. The tension between economic, aesthetic, and moral considerations pervades Carbonel's pages.

In his effort to define and contextualize the position of Spain and Spanish America's textile industry in an emergent Atlantic economy, Carbonel is precise in describing the economic hierarchy of production, exportation, and importation. "…y España, que subministra el material a los antecedentes *(Francia, Inglaterra, Alemania y los Países Bajos)*…hace tentativas para no ser tributaria a la industria de las naciones que

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[62] See *Clothing the Spanish Empire* by Marta Vicente for a history of family organization in the calico trade based in Barcelona. Refer also to *Women and the Material Culture of Needlework and Textiles 1750-1850* edited by Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes. For a history and analysis of the cotton industry in Spanish America see Richard Salvucci's *Textiles and Capitalism in Mexico: an Economic History of the* Obrajes, *1539-1840.*

[63] Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor asserts that for women of port cities in North American colonies, attractive and fashionable material goods serve the refinement of individuals and that refined sensitivity leads to positive moral development (175).

ella hace a su turno tributarias con los materiales primitivos" (191). The author informs his readers of the place held by various European nations' in the networks of textile trade. He lists the countries in order of how prolific they are in producing and exporting their finished goods. By establishing the hierarchical network of international trade, Carbonel delineates the socio-cultural status of each country, whose identities and reputations are shaped by the material goods they produce and consume.

The author establishes a sense of objectivity by providing a clear economic order that does not weigh heavily in favor of Spain or any of the other countries mentioned. However, Carbonel's factual description of economic relationships is complicated by a symbolic and financial hierarchy defined by industrial advancement. Producing raw materials is fundamental to any industry, but this is not the most prestigious or advantageous economic position. Especially in the eighteenth century when technological and cultural advancement was prized, the countries that excel in the production of finished goods enjoy reputations for refinement and progress in general.[64]

Carbonel affirms that France, England, Germany, and the Netherlands are highly successful in the finished goods industry. He critiques Spain's role as the provider of material goods that are dependent upon other countries' industry. However, his critique is not unbalanced. The author says that Spain is in fact a tributary to the finished goods industry of other countries and is endeavoring to change that. At the same time, he seems to suggest that those other European countries are tributaries of Spain. Carbonel crafts his words carefully to criticize Spain's economic faults but balances this negative

[64] In *The Essence of Style* by DeJean, the author explains that political and cultural reputations were transformed starting at the end of the seventeenth century, exemplified by Louis XIV of France. Military or territorial conquests were no longer the most important measure of reputation. Economic and cultural advancement increasingly were a factor.

depiction by labeling the more industrious nations tributaries as well. The metaphor, moreover, naturalizes the hierarchies of commercial exchange by likening them to geographic elements.

Woolens are patriotic goods for the Spanish empire because of the long tradition of quality wool production and exportation.[65] While the production of raw material goods is less appreciated in the eighteenth century than in earlier periods it is the industry upon which Spain and its writers can rely to argue for their country's contributions to the European economy. The production of wool and woolen fabrics also has great potential for industrial improvement that may help Spain pull itself up into the realm of finished goods and a more self-sufficient economy.

Following this discussion of the broader context, Carbonel then focuses on the textile industry in Madrid. His concentration on Madrid reflects his desire to improve national commerce by strengthening industry in the city, the center of Spain geographically and politically. The author initiates the section on Madrid with the local history of *paños* in the capital. According to Carbonel the industry of finished woolens at a commercial level had disappeared two centuries earlier but was re-established at the close of the seventeenth century. A woman named doña Beatriz Lozano renewed the woolens industry in Madrid by opening a mill.

> "En el año 1693 se fabricaban *paños* finos en fábrica que estableció Doña Beatriz Lozano…En el 1694, Raymundo e Vacas y Dionisio de Yun, fabricantes de mantas se ofrecieron a poner en Madrid fábrica de *paños finos*, aprontándoles la Villa, a quien se sometían, los caudales necesarios para comenzar" (404).

[65] Hartigan-O'Connor proposes the idea of "patriotic goods" in the sense that certain goods are used in the eighteenth century for the political ends of bolstering national self-sufficiency (162).

Carbonel explains that Doña Lozano's mill failed due to her "cortos medios." However, the very next year, in 1694, two men received State money to begin their production of fine woolens. Production then flourished in the form of multiple textile mills that appeared throughout the eighteenth century.[66] The mill established by Lozano was producing fine woolens but still failed due to lack of resources. But then *manta* manufacturers were financed by the government to produce fine woolens. The story of these mills fits the gendered labor structure that emerges over the course of the eighteenth century. The demise of Lozano's mill is surely due to a variety of reasons, but it falls in line with the traditional order of male *oficiales* and female *hilanderas* in the woolens mills.

Multiplying the organized production of woolens became a trend in subsequent years as several more textile mills were financed by the Crown in order to foment national industry. These were headed by men, according to the information that Carbonel offers. The increase in textile mills in the eighteenth century in Madrid and the surrounding provinces projects an appearance of economic and industrial advancement. The progress of industry was a factor that writers such as Carbonel could use to refute the Spain's reputation for backwardness. Woolens mills also provided an internal source of labor and dress, which I will treat shortly.

The number of textile mills did increase in Madrid but they were still very scarce. This explains why Carbonel writes at length about those that did exist and encourages that more be established. Compared to woolens production in other regions of Spain, the mills in Madrid were far inferior in terms of quantity, size, and quality of product.

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[66] I have not yet been able to find any further information on doña Lozano so the details and context of her story are unknown.

According to the author, many kinds of textile mills were tried in Madrid but mostly failed, in part because the *madrileños* were "no muy trabajadores" (192).[67] The main mills for woolen textiles during the time Carbonel is writing are in San Fernando, Guadalajara, and Brihuega. He boasts that they consist of 300 looms for *paños* and 506 for *sargas* (also a fabric made from wool but of a rougher weave). These statistics serve to concretize Spain's utility. The similarity between Carbonel's enumerative descriptions and those of Velasco and Ulloa noted in the previous chapter is striking, indicating the degree to which quantifying material features and/or objects on the basis of observation was inherent in Enlightenment discourse.

Alfonso Esquena's textile mill in Madrid is a bittersweet story of textiles as patriotic goods. Esquena is one of three manufacturers who are brought from Palencia in northern Spain to Madrid, where he proposes his project to the *Junta de Comercio* in 1738. After examining Esquena's proposal the *Junta* supplied him with a location and loaned him a portion of the necessary equipment while refusing to comply with some of the conditions he had requested (405). An important part of Esquena's proposal was the assurance that he would keep his production methods exclusively under his control. It was traditional for artisans, because it was in their best interest, to only share their knowledge with their workers. This secrecy of production methods, however, dooms Esquena's mill to fail. Carbonel relates that Esquena was "…imitando perfectamente a las Inglesas, con el punto, granite o remusgo, perfecto blanco." Despite the fact that Esquena was producing perfect woolens that rival the English styles the Spanish Crown's financial support was insufficient. Finally, as Esquena's mill was struggling the Crown

[67] Mackay in *Lazy, Improvident People* traces out Spain's long-endured reputation for laziness and argues that the historical evidence contradicts this myth. However, in the eighteenth century central Spain and Madrid in particular struggled with advancing the industry of finished goods.

re-possessed the mill's equipment and the building out of which it worked. The story does not end there, however. Some time later in the 1750's, Carbonel is not clear on the time frame, the Crown proposed to Esquena, "si quería manifestar el secreto, y hacer públicas las reglas que se habían de observar…instruyendo teórica y prácticamente a todos los que quisieran imponerse para hacer otros iguales establecimientos, podría exponer a la Junta los auxilios…" (406). The calls for public access to knowledge for socio-economic improvement caused tension between the manufacturer's traditional custom of trade secrecy and the Crown's interest in fomenting the Spanish economy. In the end, Esquena's mill flourished once he divulged his production methods publicly. The tale of Esquena's mill comes with a moral behind it. Those manufacturers who did not publicize their knowledge were economically marginalized to the point that their businesses were at risk.

As we have seen, translated and adapted encyclopedias that circulated widely in the eighteenth century often drew on multiple source texts. But this entry on woolens is more obviously a pastiche in the way that Carbonel structures it. Several sections on textile mills, types of fabrics, and the micro-histories of various manufacturers come directly from Eugenio Larruga's *Memorias (instructivas) políticas y económicas* (1787-1800). Borrowing from a work of "memorias" complicates the utilitarian parameters of Carbonel's encyclopedic text. Larruga's work also lays out empirical information regarding Madrid but the title suggests its personalized quality. Breaking the generic barrier with Larruga's *Memorias*, Carbonel uses the quoted text to complement and complete his own comments on the individuals involved in textile mills, production, and consumption.

The male o*ficiales* of the textile mills and the female *hilanderas* are utilitarian assets in Spain's economy; their participation offers a solution to the material needs of urban and rural populations.[68] In Carbonel's section on textile production in Spain, the division of labor is strictly gendered. Women's connection to weaving and materiality defines them as producers and consumers of fabrics. The connection of femininity to material goods does not qualify them, however, to be the managers or lead manufacturers of textile mills. The education of women in skills for weaving is specific to their gender as it was considered that their natural obligation is to domestic occupations. The norms of women's work corresponded to women's position as *hilanderas* and suggest that doña Beatriz Lozano's role as a manufacturer official might have fallen intolerably outside the official norm.[69] [70]

The question of women's productivity as workers and consumers for the economic and social modernization of Spain begins to be publicly debated in the *Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País*. In 1775, Manuel José Marín poses the question of whether women should be admitted or not to the economic society. The members of the economic society debate the question for twelve years before finally accepting women for membership. One of the main reasons women were allowed in as members was so that they could offer advice on women's role in the economy. Their role was dualistic: "A number of Society members felt women's increased presence in industry was in fact crucial…As these architects of a new Spain called for poorer women

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[68] Carbonel also mentions children as possible workers but the author's focus, and that of this chapter, is on women's work in textile industries.

[69] Isabel Morant Deusa in "Reasons for Education" included in the volume *Eve's Enlightenment* points out Josefa Amar y Borbón's position on women's education that depends upon women's responsibility to their feminine virtues of restraint, modesty, and other customs of morality (59).

[70] One theoretical example on women's historical and material association with textiles is Luce Irigaray's statement, "Meanwhile, woman weaves to sustain the disavowal of her sex" (116).

to become robust producers, they looked to elite women to become constant consumers" (Smith 75).

Carbonel's discussion of the textile industry refers only sporadically to its gendered make-up. Women are barely visible in the texts and perhaps the scarcity of explicit mentions to women workers can be explained by the readers' tacit understanding of women's participation in the production of woolens. However, when Carbonel speaks of the utilitarian importance of textile mills rather than of their organization, he argues that textile mills producing woolens in Spain are for the benefit the nation. Spain's economy and its inhabitants would gain by being self-sufficient in its material production. Women's role as utilitarian economic figures is written in a positive way, reflecting the Enlightenment ideal that all individuals fulfill their obligations of being productive. The author refers to the practical success, and potential success, for the woolens industry as a system that allows women to support themselves:

> "Para esto se han establecido en varios pueblos cercanos a Madrid escuelas de hilar lana y estambre…por cuyo medio se sustentan muchos centenares de mujeres y niñas, y se enseñan a varios aprendices las diversas operaciones de estas fábricas; y se les da de comer y vestir" (Carbonel 407).

Women who are materially productive lessen whatever fiscal burden they may represent to their families and also will reduce Spain's importation of luxury goods – moving them slightly up the ladder in the Atlantic economy. The moral significance of utility and modesty in women is an important value that Carbonel emphasizes in his socio-economic discussion of woolens. In a didactic manner, the author presents a positive example of women and girls from communities outside Madrid who sustain themselves by working

to produce textiles and modest fabrics. The reasons for this are economic and are underwritten by the general understanding of women and girls as a burdensome responsibility for families and the nation.

Lace in Spain

The lace-making industry is also viewed by Carbonel as an industry with great possibilities for women's productivity and education. The analysis of the *Encyclopedia Metódica* entry on "Encajes" reflects the fact that lace and lace production relate specifically to women – women's work, education, and fashions. Delicate, decorative, and seductive are terms that one could use to qualify lace both now and in the eighteenth century. Some types of lace are differentiated by Carbonel according to the material used, the complexity of design, and the fineness of the finished product. This variety brings to the forefront the themes of material delicacy, mutable fashions, and women's labor. Historian Alan Hunt, in his *Governance of Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law*, asserts that delicate and indulgent material goods are inevitably categorized as feminine and related to women, more so than goods that are perceived as necessary (80-81). In Carbonel's entry on lace, he demonstrates distinct categories of lace mainly in terms of their geographical place of production. Some places are known for producing more luxurious lace than others, but even more economical products fall into the category of unnecessary adornment.

The author's explanations reveal a network of inter-regional, and sometimes inter-national, competition for socio-economic prestige and success in industrial lace production. As a producer, Spain finds itself at the bottom of the hierarchy that Carbonel delineates in the text. Carbonel structures this entry in a similar way to that of *paños.*

He very briefly defines the three categories of materials, historicizes them from Greco-Roman and biblical times, and finally treats the current nature of the lace industry in Europe and some of its American colonies according to specific locales. The language for the aesthetics of lace is distinct from woolens because it insists upon finery, proportion, vulnerability to fashion whims, and women. The decreased visibility of Spain in this entry and the increased visibility of women are the major factors that reveal Spanish and Spanish American cultural associations with luxury fashion. As a patriotic good, Spanish lace production cannot be easily categorized and championed because the great majority of lace for mercantile purposes comes out of Cataluña, distanced from the Crown in Castilla.

In comparison to "Paños", the entry "Encajes, blondas y punto" positions women at the forefront of the industry as producers and consumers. Even in leading and managing roles women far exceed men. Lace is a feminine material despite the fact that there were men who consumed it and some who were involved in its production. Lace production represents a utilitarian occupation for women and girls. In contrast to woolens, lace production cannot be used for the basic needs of clothing although it can provide a means of living and a practical education. Due to the fact that making lace is immensely time consuming, it also served as a way for women to keep busy. For example, women cloistered in convents or penitent houses did not produce lace to earn wages; but if it was not a way to earn money it was at least a way to avoid the vice of laziness.

Defining Lace

"Textum é lino, vel é bombyce, vel ex auro, vel ex argento, denticulatum, varisque figuris descriptum" (Carbonel 200). Carbonel chooses to define lace in Latin -- a language that is only accessible to some European and American lettered readers. It is the only piece of the text in Latin, and a reader who could not understand would be able to rely on the rest of the entry in Spanish. The definition that describes *encajes* as fabrics made of valuable materials and identified by varied designs is mirrored in Carbonel's opening sentences in Spanish. "Es el encaje una obra delicada que sirve para adorno y ostentación el más hermoso, el más fino, y el más caro" (200). According to Carbonel's description, lace is beautiful, ostentatious, and expensive. These first lines firmly establish lace as a luxury item, although there are taxonomic gradations that separate the finest from the basest. The distinctions that Carbonel makes in this first part of his narrative serve to clarify confusions caused by misunderstood or misused terms; he establishes a delimited vocabulary for discussing lace. In order of finery and value *encajes* are superior to *blondas* because the white silk these are made of is of lesser quality. Both of these categories are further divided into laces made with either *punto* or *palillos*. *Punto* refers to laces that are stitched or embroidered using needles while *palillos* denote work done with knitting needles. According to Carbonel's entry, the latter produces finer and more desirable lace.

Part of lace's symbolic value is due to the story of its origin in indeterminate antiquity. "Este adorno ligero, de un trabajo inmenso; pero de unos efectos muy hermosos, sin duda tiene su origen en la mas remota antigüedad…El uso de la aguja habiendo nacido al mismo tiempo que los vestidos" (200). The author uses lace's antiquity as a narrative strategy that enhances its status as an integral cultural product and

so justifies its inclusion in the *Encyclopedia*. His strategy also historicizes lace and traditions of beauty that require intensive labor. Lace is a delicate and indulgent fabric whose redemption lies in its method of production. Lace is time and labor intensive. The individuals who dedicate their time and energy to making lace are industrious – a moral and social quality that I will examine later in Carbonel's treatment of lace-making in Spain. Its beginnings sprout from the invention of the needle, which occurred at the same time as clothes. And when did the need for clothes materialize? With reference to the moment when clothes became necessary, Carbonel implicitly introduces the fall of Adam and Eve as the origin of fabrics. The needle, then, is a morally purposeful tool that one uses to join pieces of clothing together in the effort to hide nakedness. Although lace-making may have developed from an ancient desire for modesty, its production and consumption as a luxury good are a far cry from those early expressions of sartorial modesty.

The Place of Lace

Carbonel discusses the production of lace in the context of specific cities and countries. The production of lace and its commercial success distinguishes cities in terms of both their utilitarian economy and their cultural identity. Carbonel is establishing economic networks mediated by a singular fashionable product. Reputations are formed on the basis of the quality and quantity of lace produced and sold. Brussels, for example, is renowned for making the finest and most valuable lace which it then exports internationally. Valencia, Spain is one of the cities known for its lace production; it is especially important to Carbonel's discussion of industry in Spain because it is exemplary for its contribution to the economy and women's self-sufficiency.

Under the subtitle "De los varios *Encajes* de Bruselas, Malinas, Valencianas y fábricas de Diepes y del Puy" the author explains that beyond the nomenclature that describes lace styles and designs, different kinds of lace are named according to where they are made: "…se conocen también con el nombre de los parajes donde se fabrican los mas sobresalientes, como son de *Bruselas*, de *Malinas*, *Valencianas*, etc." (205). The famed lace-making centers represent their countries; thus, the categorization of lace according to the place of production may suggest the idea of "patriotic goods." However, Carbonel does not use Valencia's mercantile success with Valencianas lace to refute Spain's reputation for backwardness. The geo-political situation of Valencia in the eighteenth century may explain why the author does not explicitly identify it with Spanish industry. The community of Valencia was in fact the *Reino de Valencia*, an autonomous region dating from the conquest of the *Taifa de Valencia* until 1707, when it was stripped of its autonomy and assimilated under the centralizing Bourbon monarchy.[71] So in the eighteenth century Valencia may not have been seen as entirely part of Spain, and in part because it retained unique socio-economic characteristics.

The author's exposition, however, does loosely identify Spain with the famed lace-making centers. The three cities that the author names (Brussels, Malinas, and Valencia) had been, under the rule of the Spanish Empire into the early eighteenth century. At the time Carbonel is writing his entry, though, only Valencia is still ruled by the Spanish Crown. Despite Spain's territorial losses during the War of Succession, the Spanish public surely kept in its memory the connections between all three cities. I believe it is most likely that Carbonel first discusses Brussels, Malinas, Valencia, and

[71] Valencia was also known for its silk production (Boyd-Bowman 240).

others so that by comparison he may then critique Madrid's almost total lack of lace industry.

Women's Work and Trade Secrets

Perdidas, devotas, labradoras, operarias, encajeras, and *oficialas*: these are the kinds of women that dedicate their energies to lace-making, according to Carbonel's entry. Women are almost exclusively attached to lace-making and consumption which is evidenced through gendered Spanish language. The fact that making fine lace, a luxury item, requires intensive labor may reveal why its production is gendered as feminine. First, I would like to consider production and the various categories of women who produce and manage lace-making. From age to national origin to socio-economic status, a complex array of individuals makes up the process. The two stories that I look at in this part of Carbonel's lace entry demonstrate a shift in the representation of women and girls involved in lace production. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the intensive labor required for lace-making is viewed as a gendered social solution for women and girls who are not part of productive society.

Discussions of labor and the context in which women and girls dedicated themselves to productive occupations highlight the questions of women's usefulness in society and for what purposes they should be educated.[72] Carbonel narrates two stories related to Madrid's lace-making industry. The first deals with Doña María de Veny, who founded a lace mill; the second relates the story about Don Miguel Archer and his wife Doña Catalina Sanso who opened a lace-making school in the second half of the eighteenth century. In Carbonel's view, women are the figures responsible for the

[72] See Morant Deusa's on women's education (51-61). The *Junta de Damas* and prominent women authors like Josefa Amar y Borbón were proponents of women's education in terms of practical training according to their class and family situations.

establishment, success, and failure of commercial lace-making in Madrid. Unlike the barely visible *hilanderas* of the woolens industry, Doña Catalina functions as an equal partner with her husband. Women's entrepreneurship and skill brings together a productive group of women and girls. Even if their mills and school do not succeed in the long term, their industrious ventures illustrate how important women's work and educated participation are in the economic progress and stability of eighteenth-century Spain.

Carbonel explains that previous to and separate from lace workshops, only women and girls in convents, penitent houses, and/or hospices dedicated their time to making lace because their hands would have otherwise been idle (201, 209). Doña Veny's mill targets the same set of "lost" women in Madrid to work under the supervision of trained *maestras* in lace production. In the author's brief recounting of Veny's project he emphasizes the social purpose of the Crown. As part of the agreement between Veny and the Crown, it was mandated that she bring in "…la porción de mugeres que se hallaban en diferentes hospitales de esta Corte, y otras perdidas por falta de empleo, se recogiesen y aplicasen a dichas labores…se lograría fuesen útiles y trabajadoras" (215). For the Crown, Veny's mill had a dual purpose. It would boost Madrid's lagging industry and would at the same time transform wayward women into productive laborers, thus providing a response to the larger debate over how women could contribute to society and what their participation would mean.

Improved national industry and the culture of secret-keeping in the lace-making trade were at odds with each other. The Spanish Enlightenment wanted to disseminate specific knowledge regarding production methods and the individuals involved in that

labor. Remember that in his *Aviso del editor,* Sancha declares that the purpose of the *Encyclopedia Metódica*'s volumes on arts and industries is to give the Spanish public practical tools through information. Dissemination of knowledge in order to foment industry and improve Spain's poor reputation regarding order and utility is the purpose of Carbonel's text. This explains perhaps a general culture of artisans' secret keeping; the stories included in the entry on *encajes* end in mercantile and/or organizational failure. As we saw in the discussion of the woolens industry, the success and failures of individual mill owners often tell a larger story.

Doña Veny is the first person to establish a lace-making mill in Madrid. In 1691 she petitioned the Crown for a location and made arrangements that would serve both her individual and the Crown's goals of augmenting lace production in the capital. The Crown agreed to allow her nine years of production without having to pay any tributes to the government. It is clear that the Crown was actively trying to boost material production. Veny came originally from Flanders. The Netherlands were under Spanish Habsburg rule at the time, and so Veny's move from there to Madrid demonstrates Spain's individual and economic connections in Spain's imperial geographic network. Veny brought with her the knowledge about the production methods of a *maestra* in lace-making, knowledge that through her project she certainly shared with the women who labored in her workshop. According to her agreement with the Crown,

> "Que todas las mujeres y niñas que quisieren aplicarse a esta labor estuviesen obligadas a aprender cuatro años de valde…se había de prohibir a todas y a cualesquiera otras personas la referida enseñanza, para que al término de los nueve años, solamente ella y las maestras…la pudiesen ejercitar" (215).

Carbonel lists the orders in the agreement but does not explicitly say who wrote the rules. However, he begins by saying (Veny) "le pidió al Rey…", indicating that the working and teaching in her mill were presented by her. Though it was the responsibility of Veny to teach women and girls her knowledge of lace-making, she practiced the traditional rules of containing that knowledge within a specialized group of people. The idea, of course, is to protect their niche in the economy. During the time she was establishing her mill in Madrid, the Crown was not yet establishing reforms that centralized the administration of material production and trade guilds.[73] Veny was afforded a location by Carlos II's administration but, the difficulty that Veny's project faced was that all other fiscal responsibility laid on her shoulders. Her relative autonomy and secret-keeping tradition was coupled with the fact that she had to import any materials and *maestros* from international locales with her own resources.

Carbonel explains to the reader that Veny's project had some measure of success, but ultimately failed and was dissolved completely. Although he does not lay out the details of Veny's failed business venture, it is possible to consider the narrative he has given the reader and deduce likely causes. I suggest that the tension between the government's attempt to establish lace production and the individual's fiscal and secret-keeping responsibilities hampered Veny's success. The Crown's financial support was minimal, as it only contributed a building for the workshop. Veny was responsible for all other costs, which were considerable. Moreover, Veny had come from the lace-making center in Flanders to initiate her business. The task of creating a successful business that

[73] During the time of Veny's lace mill, the five main guilds in Madrid maintained administration of trades. In 1760 the Bourbon reforms, led by Carlos III's minister Leopoldo de Gregorio, the Marqués de Esquilache, created broad moves of centralization under the Crown. For example, management of textile mills was transferred from the *Cinco Gremios Mayores* to the *Junta de Comercio* (Stein and Stein 37-42). See also Vidal's *Política interior y exterior de los Borbones.*

depended on specialized skills, foreign materials, enormous time, and labor would certainly have been daunting.

The story of the married couple Don Miguel Archer and Doña Catalina Sanso depicts a greater didactic commitment and increased governmental regulation, both of which emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century. The label for their project is that of an *escuela*, or school, rather than a mill. Beginning in 1760 Archer and Sanso were funded by the Crown, "…para que tomasen casa oportuna a la enseñanza de las niñas, y que en ella pudiesen poner el escudo de armas Reales baxo la condición de haber de tener la casa en lo interior de la Corte." The language here speaks to how the debate over women's productivity and utility expanded to consider the education of girls. The Crown funded a lace-making school that would bring girls into the system of utilitarian production at an early age in order to further Madrid's industry. In addition, the Crown became a recognized partner in Archer and Sanso's project by allowing the couple to put the royal coat of arms on their products as long as the school remained geographically within the administration's boundaries. The lace-making school and the Crown were thus spatially and visually tied.

Despite the new and vital support from the Crown and the emergence of an increasingly important discourse on education, the actual presence of lace-making changed little from the time of the story of Veny's mill in the last decade of the seventeenth century. Compared to established lace-making centers, Madrid's lace industry continued to stumble along with sporadic successes and failures that do not advance it at all. Within Spain, Catalonia is the shining star of the lace-making industry: "…se emplean muchos millares de mugeres dedicadas a su fomento, con lo que hace la

Provincia considerable comercio de este ramo, no solo en España, sino también en América…" The women of Catalonia have moved beyond early attempts to utilize poor women and instruct young girls in order to advance industry. With the comparison between Catalonia and Castile, the women in Catalonia are represented as masses of dedicated producers in a booming trans-Atlantic economy, rather than participants in a project of didacticism or rehabilitation. Carbonel sets up a simple duality of good and bad, productive and insufficient and asserts that Castile would benefit equally from commerce in the lace industry but, "…la inacción de las mujeres, siempre hará dificilisima su propagación" (215). *Madrileñas* are the bad example that the author uses to demonstrate the social and economic ramifications of inactive, lazy women. While the lace producers of Catalonia are not the only industrious and successful women in Spain, but Carbonel chooses them to concretize his critique of Madrid.

Consuming Lace

The flip side of production is, of course, consumption. Lace, a delicate and inherently feminine fabric, corresponds to a markedly gendered pattern of consumption with an especially strong connection to frivolity. Because lace is not seen to have a practical use as woolens do, Carbonel represents the exportation of lace as a lucrative commerce because it is sold at high prices relative to its cost of production. Therefore, even if lace is modestly consumed for minimal adornments, it remains a luxury product. When the consumption of lace is judged to be in excess, the women who partake are reputed as over-indulgent and wasteful.

Carbonel does not speak of Madrid's women as remarkable consumers of lace although in other entries of the *Enyclopedia Metódica*, such as in "España," their

excessive spending on fashion is problematic enough to contribute to the population decline. Specific cities and specific groups of women are identified as excessive consumers of lace. Mexico and Lima are explicitly identified as places where women purchase large quantities of lace that are exported from Cadiz (207). Lace from France, the Netherlands, and Spain gathers in Spain's southern port city to be exported to the Americas. The two urban centers in Spanish America, Mexico City and Lima, may be partially defined by their materially indulgent women for multiple reasons. The over-spending by women in Spanish-America echoes the polemical view of the Americas as being weaker than the Old World.[74]

Promoting the production of lace for commercial and industrial improvement is predicated on the increased consumption of lace for its fashionable uses. Lace is a luxury product which by its very nature is anathema to Enlightenment values of modesty and utility. This creates an inescapable dilemma. For example, lace is a luxury product, but because its industry improves Spain's economy and also provides appropriate educational and laboral opportunities for women and girls, its consumption for frivolous fashions is considered acceptable, at least up to a certain point.[75] The moral and economic concern over adequate production and appropriate consumption of lace is a constant because the continually changing cycle of fashion is interminable. Carbonel declares to his readers that even the most forgotten of fashions, such as different styles of lace, will always come back into vogue and be celebrated as innovations (201).

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[74] Antonello Gerbi and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra are two scholars who have established a firm historical understanding of the debate over the Americas' inferiority from the perspective of Europeans, a bias that extended into natural and social characteristics.

[75] This kind of accommodation is seen in other eighteenth century writers. Josefa Amar y Borbón, for example, specifically argues for moderate fashionable dress for women and girls because having a pleasing appearance is part of their obligations to the public and the family. See her *Discurso sobre la educación física y moral de las mujeres*. Also, the *Encyclopedia Metódica* entry on corsets advocates similar moderation in the use of flexible stays, which I will examine in the following chapter.

Methods of lace production, the labor it requires, and the characteristics of its consumers are three points in Carbonel's discussion that reflect a narrative pattern that relates cultural identities to material production; this pattern is found in other eighteenth-century writers.[76] We will see the same three themes highlighted in Rafael Landívar's canto on the cochineal dye produced in New Spain. While Carbonel describes and demonstrates Spain's industry and inhabitants in his encyclopedic entries, Landívar represents his community of producers and products on the basis of New Spain's natural wealth.

Sublime Nature and the Cochineal Dye Industry

Scholars such as Antonello Gerbi, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, and D.A. Brading have shown in their works that in the eyes of European intellectuals and economists, Spain's American colonies were inferior to Europe socially, intellectually, and physically. In this discourse of European superiority, Spain's colonies were often used as a factor to re-enforce Spain's reputation for backwardness.[77] Part of Spain's effort to improve its reputation resulted in the Bourbon reforms that worked to centralize information from Spanish America under the rubric of the Crown's patrimony. However, many *criollos* in Spanish America reacted as well to the movement to centralize empirical knowledge and cultural production and to the broader critiques that lay behind it. Antony Higgins argues in *Constructing the* Criollo *Archive* that Landívar's humanist epic depicts New Spain's nature, culture, and material production in the language of

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[76] Among the eighteenth century authors who address these economic matters, see Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes' *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria*, Gaspar Melchor Jovellanos' *Discurso sobre el estudio de la economía civil*, and Bartolomé Arzáns' *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*. This last text will be examined in my final chapter, Arzáns discussion of silver mining will not be my focus.

[77] See Antonello Gerbi's *Dispute of the New World* for his extensive treatment of Enlightenment writers such as Buffon, Voltaire, Raynal, and De Pauw, who influenced the debate on the natural weakness of the Americas.

beauty and concrete observations. The *Rusticatio Mexicana*, therefore, is an example of *criollos*' scholarly efforts to establish and maintain autochthonous knowledge.

Higgins is one of the few scholars that have studied the historical and cultural context of the *Rusticatio* in depth. Using Michel Foucault's concept of the archive, Higgins explores Landívar's text as a work that expands the "*criollo* archive" and the representation of *criollo* subjectivity through a combination of scholarly erudition and the organization of scientific knowledge.[78] Higgins' particular archive theorizes a network of texts, individuals, and institutions, in which Landívar and his *Rusticatio* are influential factors. In my own analysis, I focus on how the linked representation of material practice and intellectual production forms Spanish American cultural identity and economic value.[79]

Landívar's canto on the red dyestuff cochineal, or *grana*, is a brilliant poetic description of New Spanish material and social economy through the story of a tiny insect. Cochineal yields striking crimsons as well as softer pinks and roses (Butler Greenfield 69-86). The dye was in high demand in eighteenth-century Atlantic commerce, as it had been in earlier centuries. Its scarcity and the true scarlet that it produces make it highly valuable. Merchants of other European nations strived to import more cochineal in order to dye their woolens and export them.[80] Landívar writes on two dyes in the fourth canto of the *Rusticatio*, cochineal and purple dye, or Tyrian purple dye.

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[78] As Higgins explains it, Foucault's concept of the archive refers to a problematic that designates a broad network of texts and institutions (Higgins 9).

[79] Andrew Laird's work *The Epic of America* provides an extensive introduction to Landívar's work, in which he delineates the history, scholarly influences, and development of Landívar's sublime aesthetic. The translation Laird includes in his work is an English prose version by Graydon W. Regenos; this is the translation from which I will cite.

[80] An example of this is the British effort to freely import cochineal for dying. As early as 1707 the proposal of a bill for such commerce was presented to British Parliament, "Reasons humbly offered…for a free importation of cochineal for a limited time" (author unknown).

Cochineal is the focus of this section because it is unique to New Spain and so more definitely informs its autonomy. Moreover, Landívar favors cochineal, as evidenced by the greater number of verses he writes to describe its beauty and methods of production.

The production and commercial trade of cochineal dye is a laborious process. Amerindians that generate the raw materials for the dye begin by cultivating fields of protected nopal cacti that house and nourish the insects. The nopal is key to the production of cochineal because it is the only plant on which the insects live. By keeping away a multitude of predators and protecting against the natural forces of wind and rain, the Amerindian farmers are able to raise cochineal insects to maturity. Once fully grown, they are harvested from the nopal habitats and are dried by exposure to the sun or to fire. The resultant dried grains are then exported to places around the world. A great majority of the raw dyestuff was shipped first to Cádiz and then flowed out to other regions. The development of cochineal insects that will produce the perfect red and also the practiced uses of the dried insect powder originate with indigenous Mexican tradition; creoles and Europeans that adopt cochineal and its materialist uses as gifts of nature are disseminating practical and utilitarian knowledge in a trans-Atlantic economy.

Landívar's pastoral description of the dyes from his native land is informed by a sublime aesthetic. The sublime language and visuals of the fourth canto, however, move away from the neoclassical notions of beauty. As Higgins rightly asserts, Landívar represents the subjects of nature through their strange forms, whose remarkable visual impact is tied to positive material values (170). Within the symbolic framework of the sublime, the author illustrates real material practices that represent and concretize Spanish American utilitarian values.

Both Mexican nature and the industry that it facilitates are described in this canto. Cochineal dye is the fruit of nature, and nature is celebrated as the basis for commercial production. In the context of eighteenth-century trans-Atlantic trade and the growing dissemination of knowledge about material production, New Spain's unique dye must be claimed and protected at all costs. Landívar's representation of cochineal and the violent beauty of its production is a move that separates New Spain from its colonial mother and other nations that would appropriate indigenous and creole knowledge for their own economic benefits. This first description of the nopal, home to the cochineal insects, reflects the canto's georgic, sublime mode through which the author illustrates New Spanish agriculture and industry (Higgins 160).

> "…the rich nopal grows in the fields, rising six cubits above the ground and supported by a feeble trunk with not a single twig of waving leaves…interwoven with hard strands of fiber, protected by white prickles and covered with green skin…although the branches are solidly constructed, the interior is succulent and provides at the proper time nourishment for cochineal insects" (Landívar 149).

The language that Landívar uses, such as "rich" and "succulent," elevates the nopal to a state of natural, valuable beauty unblemished by the harsh realities of nature. Its beauty is not derived from its superficial appearance, but rather springs from Landívar's representation of the cactus' striking qualities of feebleness combined with solidity and succulence. In fact, the precise depiction of such an unusual plant may have seemed incredible to European readers that were unfamiliar with Spanish American nature.

In addition to the glossy and marvelous images of the cactus, the nopal and its insect inhabitants are concretely located and empirically described. New Spain's most

lucrative commercial goods are natural raw materials such as the cochineal dye. Like Carbonel's writings on woolens and laces that belong to Spain, Landívar's beautiful description of the nopal functions as a claim to indigenous and local wealth. Wealth of beauty, industry, and productive knowledge are a combination that "…show a preoccupation with Mexican or American cultural identity – a preoccupation which was to become increasingly pronounced" (Laird 20).

In the fourth canto, New Spain's natural landscape of the nopal and the cochineal insect is written in terms of mother-nature. Landívar represents the nopal in terms of a nourishing mother, and in this way strengthens his homeland's unique characteristics with images of fertile potency. The nopal is feeble but woven with strong fibers. It wears a solid outside but is succulent on the inside. The nopal is stark but complex and productive. Its utility begins by nourishing the cochineal insects that in turn are utilized by the Amerindians to produce scarlet dye. Cochineal was not only funneled into Europe to be used a textile dye. Since its trans-Atlantic trade began in the sixteenth century, cochineal was also used as a pigment for cosmetics and artists' paints. Medical writers, even, maintain that cochineal has beneficial effects on wounds, jaundice, and the heart. The characteristics and uses of cochineal dye reveal its complex nature, reflecting the nopal's seemingly conflicted qualities. Cochineal tints and decorates, functioning as a luxury good whose use is not purely utilitarian. According to medical knowledge, cochineal also nourishes. The red dye, through the prism of its many uses, mirrors the dual attributes commonly assigned to women – beauty and valuable productivity.

Story of the Cochineal Insect

The use of cochineal as a dyestuff certainly was disseminated around the Atlantic community but its methods of production remained either unknown or not replicable. Landívar insists that cochineal production methods are intrinsic to New Spain and its indigenous population even though he includes the kind of derogatory comments about the Amerindians that were typical at the time. This internal and secretive discursive strategy claims production knowledge in a way that mirrors Carbonel's entries on Madrid's and Spain's textile industries. Both works publish natural, empirical, and utilitarian knowledge while still holding tightly to goods and products that characterize their respective countries' cultural and economic worth. Following this line of similarity, Landívar also categorizes production methods in gendered or racial terms. The Amerindian laborers who cultivate cochineal are principally defined by racial characteristics rather than their gendered qualities, as was the case for the women who worked in Spain's lace-making industry.[81] In the following analysis of Landívar's narrative describing cochineal cultivation and manufacture, I consider the kinds of qualities that distinguish the Amerindian producers as a group. The line dividing gendered characteristics and racial ones, though, is often blurred.

The cochineal insect is the real star of Landívar's fourth canto and the author describes it in detail. He tells his readers that the insect is narrow, pure white, and has no legs or feet. Besides the implied innocence of the insect's "white as snow" physical appearance, the naturalist description falls into line with eighteenth-century methods of scientific observation methods. Landívar's description of the insects' civic nature is an

[81] By "racial" I refer again to Hill's argument in *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America*, in which she discusses a more nuanced theory of race regarding the eighteenth century. Past racial categories do not correspond to contemporary concepts based simply on color. Geographical and socio-economic factors were aspects that designated groups (197-238).

entirely different discourse. In the sixth stanza of the canto, the author personifies the cochineal insect. Cochineal insects inhabit a stately palace, bring forth numerous young, are of a gentle nature, and abhor any and all social disorder (Laird 150). This is the perfect Enlightenment community minus the intellectual prowess. The cochineal insect's habitat, inherent nature and society combine decorous beauty with order. Landívar's insect is inculcated with more than simple order; it actively does not indulge in "threats, nor does it wantonly attack a defenseless foe" (150). In addition to their pacific nature, the insects are honorable in the sense that although they may have bellicose desires they do not succumb to such temptation.

At sexual maturity, the males are distinguished from the females by a red dot on their abdomen – part of nature's wisdom according to the author. The insects' outward physical appearance is described by Landívar in order to categorize them according to their gendered differences. The description of superficial features is then followed with differences in behavior, which resemble personality traits. The males are "indolent" while the females are "frail;" neither of these characteristics connotes traditional masculine strength which would be a trait for protection. Hence, the creatures are sexed according to nature's wise order, but the two categories are so slightly differentiated (a single red dot on the male for example) that at best the males are useless in the dominating sense of masculinity and so tend more closely to the females in look and character than in the human male and female sexes. While children are often grouped together with women as individuals in need of protection or who are simply gentler than adult men, in the cochineal insect world the offspring imitate their parents. In their little "city," the young population represented by Landívar is not identified as either feminine

or masculine because there is not a meaningful difference between the two. As such, the text presents its readers with insects that are vulnerable in almost every way, while at the same time they are exemplary in terms of their pacific nature.

From Cochineal Insect to Cochineal Dye

Let us return to the "white as snow" insects and see how Landívar repeatedly represents these creatures in a feminized and victimized manner. While the insects -- the raw material for cochineal dye -- are a peaceful and innocent society, the group that cultivates and harvests them is clever, knowledgeable, and violent. Landívar attributes these characteristics to the Amerindians through his descriptive story of cochineal production. Before the industrious Amerindians begin harvesting the insects, cochineal are bombarded by natural predators. Landívar writes of the painful dangers, "…cruel spider winds her web around the insect…a villainous chicken snatches them up in her greedy mouth…vast numbers of birds snatch up these insects in their fierce beaks…triumphantly inflict unspeakable death" (151). Just as the cochineal insects are personified as peace-loving and orderly social creatures, a host of other animals are personified as villains that voraciously murder them. Landívar's categorical organization between predators is part of the larger body of knowledge that he produces throughout the *Rusticatio* as he portrays New Spain's natural and cultural features.

The author sets up the cochineal insects as blameless, orderly, and vulnerable so that the reader is then impressed by the violence done to them. It is a horrific and disruptive turn of the poem that the sublime beauty of the nopal and the tranquil cultivation of the cochineal become a site of natural disaster. More encompassing and

damaging than the sporadic attacks made by other creatures, however, are the methods of production that the Amerindians have developed and perfected over countless years.

An interpretation of Landívar's Amerindian figure is difficult to characterize in any single way. He seems to create a tension between *criollo* pride in the utilitarian beauty and knowledge rooted in New Spain and the violent identity he writes into the Amerindians' actions. These conflicting images demonstrate Landívar's resistance to classical precepts of beauty and his expansion of the sublime to include material practices.[82]

The contrast between peace and violence in the cochineal insects' natural world works as a set up for Landívar to move into production methods for cochineal dye and explain why they are necessary. The Amerindians have to work very deliberately in order to quell the natural attacks that would befall their cochineal crops. As protection against the evil spider and the "bold hen" young boys are tasked to "strike terror" into the predatory creatures (151). The language the author uses is one of a timeless war waged between wild nature and fierce Amerindians that have managed to domesticate it. The fierceness required for production makes it fitting that the labor is gendered – performed only by men and boys according to the text. The young boys are responsible for the time-consuming work of warding off creatures that would consume the cochineal crop; the more complicated work belongs to the adult men farmers.[83]

As the complexity of the protection and harvesting of the cochineal insects increases, so does the cleverness and cruel, methodic violence of the Amerindian farmers.

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[82] In the title of his fifth chapter, Higgins refers to the representation of cochineal as "after the sublime" because Landívar employs pastoral images as a framework for scientific knowledge.

[83] Landívar does not specifically address who the laborers were, beyond their status as Amerindians. According to Peter Guardino in *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850,* cochineal dye was produced by indigenous males (20).

Both characteristics, requiring mental and physical strength, are described as inherent and unique to the Amerindians and also as invaluable to cochineal production. Their cleverness resides in the ways, born from practical experience, that the farmers protect their crops from nature's most potent weather conditions. The farmers erect awning-like structures with thick matting stretched across the top to save the white insects from gusting winds and sweeping rainstorms. This kind of intelligence is different from the abstract philosophizing of intellectuals. Its goal is the maintenance of the Amerindians' -- and, by extension, New Spain's -- livelihood. In terms of commercial success, the laborers must protect their raw materials by way of domesticating methods that come from tradition.[84]

Landívar narrates the harvest of the cochineal insects in a dramatic fashion. He represents their deaths as tragic, part of their macabre fate. Due to the author's vivid language, it is likely that the reader will be most impressed with the emotional tone of the text and be focused on the natural toughness of the Indians. The author characterizes the cochineal insects' mass deaths in these verses,

> "…the poor creatures may then be swiftly put to death. The Indians spread them on mats and cruelly dip them in hot water until they are sure that the innocent creatures have met their dreadful doom. Or it may please them, in their blind lust for filthy lucre, to kill these guiltless white creatures with fire" (153).

A long epistemological and discursive tradition influences Landívar's narrative about the Amerindians fierceness and cruelty against the gentle white insects they cultivate. This quote is a depiction of the savageness and closeness to nature that defines the

[84] There is a certain amount of presumption in my reading of the laborers as men and boys only. Landívar specifies that the boys chase off predators, but for the rest of the production process that he relates is carried out by the "Indians" and "Indian people."

representation of the Amerindians in Spanish and creole histories of New Spain. If the reader is caught up in the spectacle of natural beauty and cruelty, she may miss the fact that the author is laying out step by step the methods used to produce cochineal dye. If the emotive personifications and generalizations of the objects of study are pushed aside, what is left is a history that highlights methods of production. Landívar's treatment of cochineal production has similarities to the instructive narrative in the encyclopedia entries we have discussed earlier. However, his text should not be misconstrued as knowledge dissemination for the mere purpose of increasing industry in general.

The author makes it clear in following stanzas that while the scarlet dyestuff is exported and consumed around the world, its production is only possible in its native land. "But that this vision of wealth not deceive anyone, let him realize that heaven has reserved this industry for the Indian farmers…" (153). Even though Landívar berates the farmers by saying they kill innocent creatures because of their lust for "filthy lucre," he shortly warns his reading public that cochineal production belongs solely to them. Indeed, his first phrase reads as a warning that any who attempt to steal the wealth of knowledge and commerce from the indigenous people of New Spain will certainly fail.

Landívar offers a two-part explanation for the exclusive involvement of the Amerindian farmers in cochineal production. The first factor is that they have been divinely ordained to assert themselves over their natural environment and to transform soft white insects into dry red grains for cochineal dye. Second, nature itself has created the indigenous people in such a way that they alone are capable of enduring hardships from climate and the constant vigil required to maintain a healthy cochineal insect crop. The farmers in their essence are physically heroic according to their abilities to withstand

nature's torments and even resist sleep in order to follow through with their herculean task of cultivation.

Conclusion

Landívar and Carbonel share a discursive pattern in which they explicitly attribute value to laborers who have not previously been recognized for their contributions to the public good. Positive moral and economic value, however, cannot exist without the consumers who desire luxury items. The unbreakable relation between production and consumption is why the works on textiles and cochineal dye are at the same time both didactic and critical. The three industries considered in this chapter – woolens, lace, and cochineal – all represent their production in terms of valuable laborers that improve their respective economies. The material goods themselves come to be things that indicate the cultural and economic value of the places from which they come. While the labor and the goods produced are highly praised, their consumption is often shown in a negative light when it is deemed to be in excess. Luxury consumption, then, also forms cultural identities and social critiques. The debate on the ubiquitous phenomenon of the fashion industry is one that does not make permit room for recognizing any benefits that arise from production. Fashion and its imperial influence will be analyzed in the following chapter, including an examination of Carbonel's critique of one specific article of clothing and the women who style such fashions.

Chapter Three

Articles and Articulations of Women's Fashions

"El traje de diversos pueblos es parte de su historia: depende en parte del clima, sigue las costumbres;…Se pudiera inferir de su compilación y grado de riqueza el de la corrupción de costumbres" (Carbonel, "Modas, Modista" 506).

Shaping the appearance of the human body is as much an art form as it is a precise manufacture. The corset in its various forms has existed for centuries, with examples from ancient cultures onward. Its purpose is to artificially form the female body into an hourglass shape that exaggerates what nature provides but is pleasing to the eye. While during certain periods in history the corset was available only to noble and elite women, in the eighteenth century corsets were worn by the full spectrum of social classes. Thus there was a range of corsets from luxury articles to less expensive homemade ones. Women stylists worked behind the scenes on the finished look of the corset and also other decorative articles of fashion such as fabric embellishments and hair adornments. The stylists who made their living by designing and manufacturing these artifices of fashion were vehemently condemned in Enlightenment discourse for their frivolous place in the economy and for their manipulative designs that disguised a woman's natural appearance. Fashion stylists thrived economically but challenged utilitarian ideals about the role of women's fashion in a commercial economy.

As discussed in the introduction, didactic works that treated women's fashions and occupations were both common and controversial in the eighteenth century. The focus of these works was on practical utility and the importance put on material practices that corresponded to natural needs and appearances. Considering the *Encyclopedia Metódica* and looking backwards at its predecessors – the French methodic encyclopedia

by Pancoucke and the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and d'Alambert – we see that all three publishers and the respective writers who contributed encyclopedic entries discuss the role of women's fashions and fashion stylists in society. Straight-forward explanations and vehement opinions on women's fashions and fashion stylists were considered sufficiently significant to include in compendious works that were intended disseminate knowledge for the public good.

The didactic thrust of much of eighteenth-century writing stems from the Enlightenment ideals of utility and knowledge that is observable by the human senses.[85] One of the most important and obvious senses for human sociability is sight. Fashion and the fashioned body are determined by what is pleasurable to the eye. Corsets and other frivolous manipulations of fashion may have been railed against by moralists and economists but men and women still found them desirable for appearances' sake. Moreover, they could also be useful. Corsets and corset makers were a distinct subset of tailors and seamstresses because of their highly specialized expertise. The general design for corsets consisted of stiff-finished cotton or linen fabrics doubled over stays that were made of different kinds of boning, though the corset-makers produced a variety of corsets that were economically affordable to most.

The increasing scholarly interest in material culture and socio-economic histories has led to studies that investigate the topics of commercial circulation, material fashions, and social practices.[86] Socio-economic historical studies have uncovered lived

[85] Rousseau was one of the most influential writers on education in the eighteenth century. His theory of a natural education in which people learn by way of their own senses is reflected in the overall valorization of scientific observation and practical utility.

[86] The bibliography on material culture in Spanish America tends to focus on socio-economic interactions and cultural hybridity. Because this chapter focuses on two entries from a Spanish text, I will not refer to studies that exclusively treat Spanish America. Significant contributions are Mariselle Meléndez' work

experiences that have enriched our understanding of eighteenth-century society and women's participation in the economy in particular, crossing between domestic and public spheres.[87] Rebecca Haidt analyzes the place of the body in eighteenth-century Spain and the social and material significance of women's fashions.[88] Haidt argues that the scientific interest in naming and knowing the body in the eighteenth century was a part of intellectual and material culture that is represented in literature and social experiences. Topics related to fashion and dress are treated in *Clothing the Spanish Empire: Families and the Calico Trade in the Early Modern Atlantic World* by Marta Vicente. The author tells the micro-histories of families, in Catalonia primarily, who made their living producing and exporting calicos – an increasingly fashionable fabric in the latter half of the eighteenth century.[89]

In this chapter I will examine two texts, both of which are entries from Sancha's *Encyclopedia Metódica* authored by Antonio Carbonel, in this broader context of debates about the place of fashion in the eighteenth century moral and material economy. The entries are titled, respectively, "Sastres y Cotilleros" and "Modas, Modista." In my discussion of the first entry I focus on the section on the *cotillero*, or corset-maker, and the corset. There is a strong sense of practicality in this entry, as Carbonel offers instructions on the methods the corset-makers employ and the guild laws by which they

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Raza, género e hibridez en El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes, and Hill's *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America*.

[87] Haidt examines how the financial possibility of owning and wearing popular fashions created a visual culture that blurred class boundaries in eighteenth century Spain (Jaffe and Franklin Lewis 115-127). For a more general discussion of women in public and private spheres in the western world, refer to Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert's *Connecting Spheres*.

[88] See Haidt's book *Embodying the Enlightenment*, her chapter "The Wife, the Maid, and the Woman in the Street" in *Eve's Enlightenment*, and her article "A Well-Dressed Woman Who Will Not Work: Petimetras, Economics, and Eighteenth Century Fashion Plates."

[89] DeJean's work on early modern France offers insights into the inter-connected topics of material fashions and socio-political practices. See *The Essence of Style* and *The Age of Comfort*.

abide. For example, he explains how to wrap the boning of a corset with thick fabrics in order to protect the wearer. However, it is also peppered with opinions condemning the corset, which will be discussed shortly. The second entry on fashion and fashion stylists has an expository element as well, but the entry functions as a platform for the author to rail against the changing and artificial nature of fashion. At the close of this chapter, I will turn to Benito Jerónimo Feijoo's discourse on "Las Modas" in which the author reflects on common concerns and critiques of fashion that circulated as part of the discourse of utility and reason. Feijoo will serve to put the descriptive and popularizing entries from the *Encyclopedia Metódica* into a larger and more philosophical context.

In both entries, "Sastres y Cotilleros" and "Modas, Modista," Carbonel uses strategic persuasive arguments that combine scientific and economic reasoning to support his factual claims and opinions regarding corsets and material fashions. The fashion phenomenon -- its products and producers -- belong to the category of women's material culture. The articles and articulations of fashion considered by Carbonel are represented as harmful to women's bodies and detrimental to socio-economic order in Spain.[90] The author uses the feminized quality of fashion along with Enlightenment concerns over luxury and anti-productivity to offer moral judgments regarding practices that women employ to artificially manipulate and decorate their appearances. Corsets and stylized appearances directly violated the natural.[91] The material practices of corset-wearing and fashion-styling resisted the ideals of utilitarian order and the logical transparency that the

[90] Similarly, Martín Gaite in *Usos amorosos del siglo dieciocho*, ties the decadent sumptuary fashions to changes in moralized issues such as marital relations.

[91] A specific definition of the "natural" would be difficult to articulate, in terms of how it was understood in the eighteenth century as part of social, scientific, and moral discourse. Concisely stated, what was natural was good and advantageous. Natural philosophy and science were mediums to gather knowledge about the tangible and intangible world.

natural afforded. The corset's cinching of the waist ensures the desired hourglass figure that stereotypically characterizes a woman's body. If, then, the attractiveness of women's hourglass figures is part of the biological or natural relationship between men and women, women who wore waist-cinching corsets were emphasizing the natural, rather than disguising it. Yet, corsets and other decorative fashions were artificial manipulations and because of this, they were targets for criticism.

I argue that the fashion article of the corset and the fashion industry more generally, affected the shape of intellectual discourse; and these two entries illustrate the larger network of women's fashions and knowledge dissemination that laced together intellectual discourse and material practices. Furthermore, I suggest that the discursive struggle between the positive aspects of production and the negative aspects of consumption reveals a tension in the Enlightenment project. This tension highlights the issue of the eighteenth century's utilitarian discourse's incapability of realizing its ideal goals of socio-economic order without opening a door to any excessive or non-productive customs. Frivolous fashions are an example of irrational customs. Management of materialist social norms, such as fashions, and economic resources reflected the tense but inevitable relationship between theory and practice.[92]

What Carbonel does in both of his entries demonstrates the tension he struggles with that comes from the conflict between his need to provide practical information and his conviction that corsets and the fashion industry as a whole are detrimental. Carbonel divides his entry, "Sastres y Cotilleros," into a concise definition of both occupations, an expository section on tailors' and corset-makers' labor, and critical admonitions on

[92] A useful study on this topic is Dick and Lupton's *Theory and Practice in the Eighteenth Century*. I consider this work further in the fourth chapter.

corsets themselves. There is a clear division between the didactic parts of Carbonel's text and the moments in which he chooses to express his abhorrence of women's wearing of corsets. Carbonel treats the tailors and their products respectfully which indicates his acknowledgment that the work of tailors and seamstresses are useful elements of the economy. The author avoids denigrating corset-makers directly, but he spends half of the entry on corsets, explaining that although the practice of "imprisoning" children in corsets has been discarded, women have kept the fashion. Carbonel explicitly critiques women who wear corsets and individuals who enjoy the appearance of corset-wearing women. Carbonel's rationalist ideals motivate him to protest corsets and bring them into dominant discourse of natural socio-economic order.

In the entry "Modas, Modista" Carbonel follows a similar thematic pattern of definition of terms, exposition of materials and methods, and expression of his utilitarian convictions. This entry on fashions and fashion stylists is saturated with invectives and condescending remarks regarding the fashion industry and fashion stylists' work. The main body of the entry consists of Carbonel's discussion of fashion stylists' and what he considers to be their anti-productive business. During instructional paragraphs on adornments and designs the author expresses his distaste with dismissive or sarcastic language. For example, he describes measurements as "más o menos…" rather than provide clear instruction. He states that the great "triunfo" of the fashion stylists' art are adornments applied to bodices, implying that the greatest achievement of stylists is a specious decoration. Carbonel reserves his harangue against the fashion phenomenon for a supplement he adds to the entry. When I examine "Modas, Modista," I will consider the supplemental piece on fashion first because his over-arching comments on fashion

serve to frame the author's earlier treatment of fashion stylists. I turn now to Carbonel's entry on corsets and corset-makers.

Corseted Women

Eighteenth-century ideals led Carbonel and others to condemn the consumption of frivolous goods. However, because consumption was necessary to production, concessions had to be made if the Spanish economy was going to continue to grow. For example, Carbonel articulates one such concession in his description of the newer, and supposedly softer, corset that became popular at the time, saying that the newer "corsés ligeros y flexibles" have replaced older more restrictive ones. He concedes that fashionable corsets were changing according to good taste and reason. An example of another accommodation was seen in his entry on lace; it was a frivolous material but Carbonel encouraged its industry in order to foment the economy. Economics is a significant factor for the corset-makers in Spain. Regarding aesthetics and the material nature of eighteenth-century corsets, the author concedes,

> "…estos corsés ligeros y flexibles, que el gusto y la razón han substituido a las cotillas antiguas, sirven en el dia en vez de ellas para debajo de los vestidos de la corte, y para aquellas personas que están enamoradas y prendadas de aquella gracia imaginaria de un talle tieso y entablado" (510).

The minor change in the material design of the corset, though, is represented as a mark of advancement that reflected rationalist ideals. According to the author, light and flexible corsets were replacing older styles that, presumably, were the more "barbaric" stiff versions. It may be true that styles were changing, perhaps due in part to Enlightenment

ideology, but the newer corsets performed similar constricting functions.[93] That is to say, the newer corset cinched the waist just as the older *cotilla* did, though it supposedly did not compress the bust quite as much but instead lifted it. Carbonel distinguishes the *corsé* from the *cotilla* here; however, throughout the entry the terms are used interchangeably, as there was little difference between the two.

The kind of compromise that Carbonel makes regarding older and newer styles of corsets indicates a complicit acceptance of women's interest in fashion and material appearance. That is to say, it was expected that women would spend time and economic resources on their appearances. Furthermore, it was desirable for women to present themselves in attractive ways that also demonstrated modesty and moderation.[94]

The corset was one of the most controversial and most commonly worn articles of women's clothing. Previous to, during, and after the eighteenth century, corsets have been a piece of sartorial fashion that is strictly gendered and sexualized.[95] Corset-wearers consisted of women and girls spread across the social classes because, like most items of clothing, corsets were available in a wide price range that allowed them to be ubiquitous and accessible.

Corsets brought visual attention to certain parts of women's bodies that emphasized their femaleness – the small waist and lifted breasts. Due to the corset's emphasis on the artificial manipulation of women's sexuality, influential writers like

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[93] According to Lord's work, the English corsets were very restrictive and made with stiff boning, although they were advertised as having improved comfort (120).

[94] Amar y Borbón in her *Discurso sobre la educación física y moral de las mujeres*, treats the complicated topic of women's dress. She promotes a moderate stance that encourages women to dress and appear proper and attractive. Amar y Borbón also singles out the corset as an article to criticize. As an influential writer during her time, her argument against restrictive corsets is another example that demonstrates the prevalence of the debate.

[95] The corset was not always reserved solely for girls and women As Carbonel indicates, it was commonly worn by children. However, during the eighteenth century, the custom was discarded.

Rousseau stood firmly against the use of corsets. Such a fashion was immodest and, therefore, inappropriate for women to wear. Medical views generally advised against wearing tight laces as well, especially those that were worn to hide pregnancies. However, there were occasional dissenters who declared that corsets, in fact, did not cause any serious ill effects, and these views fueled a burgeoning industry (Kunzle 69).

Whether corsets did in fact cause serious damage to the woman's body or not, it is certain that the corset manipulated a woman's shape and thus the corset formed a woman's material identity. Women and fashion engaged in an ongoing dynamic. The things that made up women's material culture affected their lived experiences as much as women affected changing fashions. Corsets are an example of how things can shape individuals. Theorizing things, according to Bill Brown discussion of thing theory, is somewhat different from speaking of discrete objects. Things at once denote a generality and particularity that pertains to everyday life.[96] Admittedly things are encoded with significance by society and by individuals, which is apparent in Carbonel's critique of the corset. However, methodologically speaking, examining the social history of things "in motion" illuminates their subjects.[97] Carbonel's socio-cultural examination of the corset illustrates the ways and reasons women wore corsets as well as why the corset fashion was ardently debated in the eighteenth century.

The corset was the first article of women's fashions to sexualize young girls and shape them for a future role in society, either as decorative object or as agent of

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[96] Phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty, as quoted by Brown, states that "the body is a thing among things" (4). Thinking of the body as a thing reduces the gap between the materiality of people's bodies and the materiality of other things. Although I do not agree that the body is a thing that can be equated to inanimate things, I find this quote by Merleau-Ponty helpful in understanding that the body can be shaped and influenced just as other material things can be.

[97] Bill Brown in "Thing Theory" discusses the problematic of theorizing things, and he argues that material things affect and manipulate individuals as much as individuals influence the existence and meaning of things (1-21).

reproduction.[98] The shift from young girl to young woman includes internal perception of oneself and also the external perceptions of others, generally of men. The sudden change from one kind of clothing to another that includes a woman's corset as a foundational garment visually indicates the shift into womanhood. It is a coming of age marker. Being recognized as a young woman changes an individual's social participation as well – corseted girls join the group of women rather than children. Specifically, corsets function to narrow the waist, which in turn emphasizes the fullness of the hips and bust. As the corset manipulates the shape and material appearance of a woman, the artifice of tight-lacing objectifies the feminine body by drawing attention to particular areas of the body. Drawing attention to the femininity, or woman-ness of the body, also highlights the individual's sexual body.

Popular and fashionable, the daily practice of corset-wearing in Spain collided with dominant discourse that praised the natural. Artificially changing the appearance and physicality of women's bodies subverted the possibility of observable, natural truths. Carbonel writes with distaste in his entry on corsets and their makers,

> "Ya empezamos a desengañarnos de aquella costumbre bárbara de encarcelar a los niños en unas cotillas cargadas de ballena, cuya cantidad exorbitante las pone de tal modo duras, que se oponen a la libertad de los movimientos. Las mujeres se las han reservado para sí, por algunos motivos particulares…" (510).

Desengañarse -- that is, to produce disillusionment -- is precisely what the emerging scientific methods of observation were meant to do. Attention to physical features was intended to reveal truths about the world that could be universally depended upon

[98] Summers discusses the topic of sexualizing young girls, along with an examination of the prevalence of corset consumption across class boundaries, in her in depth study on corsets, stays, and tight lacings during the Victorian era (9-36).

because they were observable.[99] Through his exposition of visible facts about fashion, Carbonel reiterates what many others in the eighteenth century had argued -- the corset is a barbaric form of restraint that cannot be anything but harmful to the body because it impedes the movement and growth that nature dictates.

Spanish society's realization that corsets impede natural order is the disillusionment to which Carbonel refers. Wearing corsets is a backwards custom that is indicative of an uncivilized society, regardless of the general popularity they enjoyed. Such barbarous customs are the polar opposite of reasonable customs and productivity, for which the Enlightenment project aimed. Carbonel says that the custom to "encarcelar a los niños" has been discarded; he is clearly pleased to report that society has stopped imprisoning children in stiff, heavily boned corsets.[100]

Corsets and Imaginary Forms

The disuse of corsets would effect the disillusionment to which Carbonel refers. Such disillusionment would not be an inwardly focused act that benefits the corset-wearer only, but would also benefit the viewer who is otherwise deceived by the corset's artificial effects. Yet, corsets, and the corporeal fashioning that they facilitated, stubbornly remained in style due to demand. Carbonel specifies that, "Las mujeres se las han reservado para sí, por algunos motivos particulares," which he goes on to explain are to present an imaginary form that some people find desirable (510). Against the better judgment of doctors and other intellectuals, women kept the fashion. Perhaps it was not

[99] For example, Feijoo was one of Spain's most prolific Enlightenment writers, whose purpose was to explore and reveal truths about nature, society, knowledge, superstitions, medicine, and more. His work is just one example that illustrates a movement towards knowledge and practices that come from rational thought and knowing through individual experience.

[100] The argument against corseting children goes hand in hand with "natural education" and child-rearing discourses, such as Rousseau's argument for mothers to re-assume their "natural" roles and cultivate their children within the family (Dick and Lupton 201). For all the regulatory practices that appeared during the eighteenth century in Spain it is ironic that at the same time freedom of bodily movement is promoted.

considered so barbaric if women chose to impose upon themselves tight-lacing for the sake of fashion and attractiveness, despite the general awareness that corsets could damage the body. Choosing to suffer for material fashions was certainly distinct from ignorantly wearing corsets, but that did not make it rational. Women who wore corsets continued a deceptive and barbaric fashion, and their deception perpetuated people's desire for what Carbonel refers to as imaginary appearances.

However, referring to a woman's choice to wear corsets is somewhat misleading because it overlooks the cyclical nature of production and consumption of material goods. The material reality of clothing options included stays for women as part of their appropriate attire. Carbonel demonstrates this fact in his description of the multiple "laminas" that specifically show the many styles and uses for corsets. "Láminas" are plates of images and were a very important aspect of the didactic intent of Carbonel's entries. A few of the figures include "cotilla grande" that is made to wear under court dress, the corset that is open in the front, and a corset for women's equestrian attire (514).[101] Despite the debates, corsets continued to be produced and so continued to be consumed. Economic and aesthetic cycles would not suddenly stop due to writers who berated corsets. Carbonel squarely lays the blame on women's preferences but the use of the corset was part of a long tradition that defined the attractive female body as an hourglass.

In eighteenth-century Spain, corsets changed according to the styles of French fashions that traveled over the Pyrenees. The importation of French fashions into Spain caused much cultural and economic anxiety. Feijoo discusses the geographical origins of

[101] Unfortunately, I do not currently have access to the volume of plates for the *Encyclopedia Metódica*. I hope to include the images in future research.

fashions and what many considered the unfortunate influence that French culture had on Spain. The French style of corset that became popular in the later eighteenth century corresponded to the French fashion of low-cut bodices. The corset, worn under the dress, had laces that tightened and compressed the waist but forced the breasts upward. Low necklines were the newest and most scandalous feature of fashionable clothing, and the corset that squeezed the torso so tightly that the tops of breasts were lifted was a foundational piece. (Lord 115-129).[102]

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, Spanish women's costume changed significantly. French fashions were not rejected, but the *basquiña*, or shawl, was added to the mix. The *basquiña* was considered particular to Spanish women's sartorial ensembles, a fact that was commented on by travelers. The long pieces of material were worn exclusively for public outings and they covered a good majority of the body, from the shoulders down. Veils that hid or disguised the countenance were also commonly worn. Under the *basquiña* the corseted body and low-necked dress were still similar to French influenced European fashions (Plaza Orellana 32-34). Interestingly, the Spanish-specific outer layer is strikingly similar to the *sayas*, or shawls, for which the women of Lima were so infamous.

The rational ideals that Carbonel articulates do not conform to artificially manipulated waistlines. The author communicates his sense of superiority by insinuating the backwardness of "aquellas personas que están enamoradas y prendadas" with an artificial form. Presumably, the majority of readers have advanced to more rational sensibilities and seek transparently real appearances. Carbonel describes the corseted

[102] Feijoo condemned low-cut necklines and the socio-sexual disorder they caused. I will treat his ideas on fashion at the end of this chapter and will explore his view opposing scandalous women's fashions in the following chapter.

look as imaginary, but it is still very real and a tangible part of material culture and women's bodies. The object of Carbonel's critique changes in the moment when he refers to "those people" because he shifts from speaking of just women who wear corsets to include others whose tastes lead them to desire the artificial appearance that corsets create. Thus Carbonel opens his criticism to both men and women. The terms that the author employs to expand his negative opinion, "enamoradas" and "prendadas," also serve to denigrate irrational passions.

The author describes what people are attracted to as "…aquella gracia imaginaria de un talle tieso y entabaldo," making such people appear as ridiculous as those who believe in superstitions. This is quite an accusation within a discourse extolling the rightness of natural, empirical realities. Anyone who pleasurably enjoyed and/or suffered for "imaginary" bodies disrupted the utopian ideal of a fully rational society. The sensual passions that Carbonel speaks of are much more than imaginary and fantastical, according to his own comments. His language insinuates a kind of obsession with the stiffly formed woman's waist that can be described as fetishist. A fixation with, or reverence for, the corseted body reflects an attachment to the physical appearance and feel of tightly constricted woman's waistline.[103] I would like to suggest, though, that Carbonel's expressed distaste for the corset is also a kind of fixation. If the eradication of the corset from women's fashions may be considered for a moment, would it aid the cause of utilitarian social order? Beyond questions of fashionable desires and tastes the continued production and consumption of stays and corsets were an integral element of the Spanish economy, and corset-makers were contributors in that economy.

[103] Bordo discusses the concept of the body as "cultural plastic" that can be artificially manipulated and changed, challenging determinist views of the body (653-654). Enlightenment ideals of regulating and utilizing the natural struggled against artifice but, nonetheless, represented control over nature.

The Corset-Maker

As in many other areas of the economy, those who were involved in the design and manufacture of clothing were organized into guilds. Carbonel explains that the corset-makers were a guild unto themselves in Spain, rather than being included in the tailors' guild. Due to this, Carbonel's entry on tailors and corset-makers required particular adaptations and special attention to the section on corset-makers and their guild laws. Spain's exclusive organization for corset-makers was unique in comparison to its neighbor France. Spain's distinct guild for corset-makers facilitated intensive regulation that was specifically focused on this particular article of fashion. Spain saw a slew of new regulations during the Bourbon reforms of the latter half of the eighteenth century, and sartorial production and consumption were a part of these centralizing changes. On July 17, 1766, the Conde de Aranda approved an overhaul of the antiquated guild laws. Carbonel lists these laws in an appendix added to the end of his entry. Twenty-four articles in total, the new laws established specific responsibilities and obligations for guild members and officers (517-521). In general, the updated laws set strict protocols that had to be followed at all times, for specific costs, and with quality production methods. For example, any corset-maker who wished to be examined for approval must first donate ten ducats at the treasury office; and every year on the day of the Annunciation, five guild officers must be named. Guild reform focused on standardization of practices and strict regulations that could be overseen by government officials. This centralization of resources and knowledge is reflective of the same interests in utilitarian employment material culture that I have been discussing and that Carbonel exemplifies.

Carbonel was an encyclopedist, and his didactic purpose of disseminating useful knowledge clashed with his negative opinion of corsets. The author is torn between his stated disapproval of the corset and the utilitarian necessity of describing its methods of production. Carbonel dutifully includes all twenty-four articles of the *cotilleros'* guild laws, but he devotes surprisingly little attention to the explanation of corset production methods. He explicitly advises the reader that, "De este arte, solo describiremos lo que es indispensable para dar una idea general, porque todavía depende de un uso, que no está aun abolido, y que por otra parte facilitará la inteligencia del trabajo de la costurera para ciertos vestidos…" (510-511). Carbonel's didactic obligation does not hinder his slights against corsets and, by extension, the corset-making trade, but it complicates his production as an encyclopedist. Carbonel compromises between his didactic role and his anti-corset position. His compromise consists of not providing a full explanation of production methods and instead providing only a brief description. First, Carbonel offers a reason as to why he will not provide an explanation of production methods by implying that the popular fashion of the corset will be obsolete in the future. In his words, the art of corset-making still exists because the single purpose for which women use them is "not yet abolished."

The oblique reference to a future abolition of this particular fashion acknowledges Bourbon reformation practices that included numerous pieces on sumptuary legislation. The most infamous sartorial regulation in eighteenth-century Spain was the prohibition put forth by the Marqués de Esquilache, banning wide-brimmed hats and long capes, which led to the *Motín de Esquilache* (Díaz-Plaja 205). This regulation was approved in the same year, 1766, as the corset-makers' guild's amended ordinances. The prohibition

of a particular kind of fashion was only one aspect of greater political, economic, and cultural issues. The fact that the sartorial law is noted to have sparked the uprising against Esquilache concretizes the significant link between clothing and an individual's or a community's larger political or cultural circumstances.

However, despite the imposition of some sumptuary regulations, corsets were never legally abolished in Spain. Other European nations paralleled Spanish disapproval of corsets, exemplified here by Carbonel's opinions that rely upon medical and intellectual discourse. The first and only comprehensive law that abolished corset-wearing appeared in Austria in 1785 and prohibited stays in any public establishment, such as schools for girls and convents. No such law was approved in France, though Marie Antoinette was famed for appearing in public un-corseted. Her scandalous behavior was believed to be the result of Rousseau's influential natural education project (Kunzle 72-74).

Carbonel wholly opposes the use of corsets but he still offers some instruction on production methods. He justifies this with a concrete and very practical reason. Basic instruction on the methods of corset-making would help seamstresses better craft certain kinds of dresses. As seamstresses were considered to be useful and productive contributors to the national economy, aiding them in their work was a reasonable justification for demonstrating how to make a corset.[104]

The corset polemic, however, disrupts the pretense of objectivity in Carbonel's text. Here his tone is much more opinionated. Carbonel refers to a general authority regarding damage that corsets cause, and so presents an argument that is founded in

[104] Carbonel's reference to the entry on the seamstress, or "costurera," in the *Encyclopedia Metódica* is intriguing because the entry is non-existent. To be clear, I have searched the encyclopedia for it and have been unable to locate any entry on the seamstress occupation.

reason. The author reflects and supports the encyclopedia's didactic purpose for improved industry with his instructional overview, but Carbonel closes his discussion of production methods with another call to banish the disputed fashion. Asserting that they are "perjudiciales por muchos motivos," the author contends that it would be beneficial for all types of corsets be banished gradually. Once again, Carbonel calls upon the authority of wise men and medical doctors to strengthen his critique of a sumptuary custom.

The term he uses for banishment is oddly materialist. "Desterrar" is a word that usually refers to the physical banishment of something or someone from the place where it resides. The importance of local cultural geographies, treated in the first two chapters, reappears here in a negative form. Material goods such as woolens and cochineal dye were encouraged for the economic purposes of industry, and they formed part of a region's identity. The same holds true for corsets, except that corsets are seen as anti-utilitarian and irrational products.

The suggestion to "desterrar" corsets highlights Carbonel's commitment to advancing Spanish interests and its reputation within enlightenment culture and toward a social order based on reason and natural utility. As a frivolous and deceptive good, the corset represents a specious and antiquated custom. To banish it, however, would also mean the banishment of the corset-makers's livelihood. Carbonel avoids any possible connection between the corset-makers and his fanatical opposition to corsets. The article of clothing is treated as a separate and exclusive object that is, in and of itself, bad. The only individuals that the author connects to his critique of corsets are the women who

wear them and those who enjoy their appearance. Laborers who produce the good are absent from Carbonel's suggestion that corsets should be banished.

The fashion industry as a whole is similarly treated as an entity as if it existed on its own. I turn now to Carbonel's entry on "Modas, Modista." To clarify the entry's organization, that exclusively treats "Modas" is the supplement, which I will examine first. However, the fashion industry is also commented upon in the main body of Carbonel's entry. In this entry the author describes the universality of fashion as an imperial force that affects social, economic, and gendered order. Carbonel also defines the occupation of the fashion stylist and persuasively argues that stylists actively damage society.

Moda

The fashion phenomenon is disturbing to proponents of the Enlightenment because its purpose and reason for being is to invent physical appearances within varieties of clothing and accompanying adornments. The frivolous character of fashion and fashion styling defines them as useless and wasteful; for this reason, the discourse on fashion is an influential debate that circulates throughout the Atlantic region. People react to different fashions in many ways, either negative or positive. In this sense, fashion can be understood as a dynamic and capricious aesthetic code.[105] Variety and change are fundamental aspects to understanding the cycle of fashions. Carbonel pinpoints the constant innovation as fashion's inherent detrimental artificiality. The nature of fashion is dynamic and frivolous. It is endlessly changing and reforming at the whim of fashion designers and their consumers. This inconstancy opposes in every way

[105] The clothing-fashion code is best described as an aesthetic code for is variability, as opposed to more static sign codes (Davis 11).

eighteenth-century intellectual efforts to organize and use knowledge that was based in observable facts.

As I summarized earlier, the organization and content of the entry demonstrates the author's struggle between the need to fulfill the encyclopedia's promises of methodic instruction, and the fashion industry's incompatibility with the encyclopedic ideal of utility and order. The balance between instruction and critique is a repeat of the author's entry on corsets. Carbonel begins with a definition of the *modista* occupation in terms of economic and social utility characteristics. Following the judgmental definition of the *modista*, Carbonel provides detailed instructions on what and how adornments are fashioned. In this way, he complies with his role as a didactic writer on arts and occupations. Unlike in the previous entry on "Sastres y cotilleros," this entry has a supplement that Carbonel has added, and his diatribe on the fashion phenomenon is the most explicit here. I will first consider Carbonel's harangue against fashion's imperial status, and then analyze his treatment of the *modista* and her work. My analysis inverts the order of Carbonel's entry because although the treatment of the fashion industry appears last it represents the author's fundamental opinions of the topic and so the supplement on fashion offers a framework for the body of the entry.

The supplement is a textual space that allows the author to openly write his opinions without the guise of definition or instruction. Carbonel's supplement on fashion is not part of his adapted translation, but is instead his persuasive argument opposing fashion and attempting to prove its wasteful disorder. In the supplement, Carbonel directly inscribes his own moralist judgments couched in the discourse of utility and social order. Criticisms on fashion are mainly reserved for the supplement but they also

appear throughout the main body of the entry in relation to the fashion stylists' occupation. The denigrations of fashion in the main body of the entry generally come from the references to frivolities and manipulations, by which women and feminine men are seduced.

> "Parece que las mujeres han creado las *modas*, y ellas han hecho ciertamente de la variedad misma un arte y una ley. La necesidad de llamar la atención y de excitar deseos… en medio de una multitud de competidores, ha debido llevar la imaginación a buscar la diversidad de formar, y la seducción de apariencia que estimulan la curiosidad, y ocasionan placeres con el atractivo de la novedad" (Carbonel 595).

Creation is a complicated term that places fashion and its irrationality in the realm of women's work; although women created fashion, according to Carbonel, they have not produced anything. An act of creation would usually be heralded as positive or, at least, respectable. The most obvious example of women's creation is the reproduction of children. In this case, however, the author phrases his statement about women having apparently created fashion, so that he questions the creation itself. As Carbonel asserts that the art and "law" of fashion is simply the variation of already existing goods, his logic indicates that women have created something from nothing. The impossible idea of "something from nothing" correlates to Carbonel's definition of fashion as an art that exists only to manipulate goods that have already been produced. However, fashion is something significant because it foments industry and affects society's material culture to such an extent that Carbonel compares it to empire.

The author speaks of fashion as an empire that circulates widely, with tangible and sometimes lamentable effects; but it is itself intangible. It is not something that can be delineated in any concrete way, though, because the fashion industry revolves around constant, cyclical change and newness. In fact, objects of clothing may be distinguished from the broad social phenomena of fashion.[106] The desire for frequent change and newness is may be considered an impulse natural to humans, and women in particular, whose material results are the re-arrangement of clothing and adornments. Therefore, women's "creation" of fashion represents their craftiness and guile more than their industriousness.

The craftiness of fashion is a powerful characteristic because it facilitates women's ability to form and re-form the appearance of their bodies, from their coiffure down to their feet. Material plasticity of physical appearance subverts the idea of a pre-determined natural body.[107] Observation of the natural world was idealized in eighteenth-century discourse because something that was visible was definable and controllable to a certain extent. To obfuscate the natural appearance of the body meant that a spectator could not trust his senses to understand what he saw, and so the mutability of fashion caused disorder.

Variety and differing fashions were a common reality that unsettled social interactions. Social interactions never were, or are, orderly, but a utopian social order was an Enlightenment ideal. The spectacle of fashions displayed on women served to "llamar atención y excitar deseos" (Carbonel 595). Carbonel implies that these desires

[106] Georg Simmel theorizes fashion as kind of force that was driven by individuals' want to grasp the general and the particular. He indicates that fashion is a phenomenon constituted by social energies that influence social life overall. As such, clothing may be entirely distinct from fashion (Carter 61-67).
[107] Bordo treats the cultural plasticity of the body in the contemporary context of plastic surgery. She argues that difference and novelty is a significant part of sex appeal (659).

and attentions were uninvited. Such uninvited excitement clashed directly with the desires for a social order that would function with peaceful constancy. Fashion is so blatantly inconstant and frivolous that it was an easy target for utilitarian discourse. Utility disregards actions and pleasures that do not satisfy a need, a productive need. One could argue that as sexual excitement may logically lead to reproduction, it might therefore, be useful to the reproduction of society. However, women's attractive, changing fashions in public forums are perceived distinctly.[108]

The carnal reactions engendered by fashion also disrupt the theory that an individual's capacity for reason leads the way in actions and social customs. The ideology of reason and utility that drove the Enlightenment movement combined with the impetus of frivolous change that motivated fashion engendered the friction between corporeal pleasures, unpredictable material and social dynamics, and the satisfaction of a purely ordered reason.[109] The theoretical intent to employ unfettered reason, especially in public matters, was always doomed to fail because of its impossibility. Fashion's inconstancy was an element that would always escape systematic order.[110] The order of gendered difference that distinguished feminine and masculine characteristics as essential to men and women was corrupted by fashion's seductive frivolity.

Luxury fashion was strictly gendered as feminine but this does not mean that men did not succumb to its sensual temptations. The notion of men emasculated by fashion and women corrupted by the vice of over-consumption and vanity was a prevalent debate

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[108] I will analyze the question of women's sexual attraction in public in the following chapter.
[109] Svendsen, in his work *Fashion: A Philosophy*, asserts in first chapter that the entire reason and impetus of fashion is the new; this does not necessarily mean something original but simply a change or re-doing of a previous fashion.
[110] Enlightenment figures, such as, Kant recognized that the use of pure reason may be an important goal but it would not guarantee positive outcomes.

in the Enlightenment. The fashion vice, or vicious fashion, as I would like to term it, led to a deterioration of men's natural rationality and obligation to the socio-economic order. Carbonel communicates his concern about fashion and its damage, saying, "Los hombres hechos mujeres han aprendido de estas a gastar modas…todo se ha sojuzgado al imperio de la *moda*, que se ha hecho tan respetable como universal" (595).

Men that have become women is a transformation that Carbonel states as a fact, rather than arguing that fashion may feminize men. Feminine men, or *petimetres*, were characterized by their vain concern over appearances and their interest in material fashions. Due to their social conduct and material practices, the *petimetre* was considered a feminine man. The *petimetres* were a concern amongst a variety of writers because they were not identifiable as "man" (Haidt, *Embodying* 108-109).[111] The cycle of changing fashions, from the fourteenth century to the present, has not been an influence solely upon women, but has drawn upon recurrent instabilities in Western men and women (Davis 17). Gender identities that encompass masculinity, femininity, and androgyny are one of the categories that Davis presents as an example. I suggest a less one-sided influence – that changing fashions corresponded reciprocally with social and individual uncertainties. A causal relationship would be too linear to describe the relationship between dynamic sumptuary modes and the particular socio-political circumstances of a place and time. For example, the intellectual mode of encyclopedias was a genre that was in many ways was an "other" due to its newness, encyclopedias' recurrent prohibition by government censors, and their constant protean redactions and editions.

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[111] See also, Haidt's article, "Fashion, Effeminacy, and Homoerotic Desire (?): The Question of the Petimetres."

Rather than echo others' critique of the *petimetre* and gendered otherness, Carbonel uses his comment about men "turned into women" as a transition into his critique of fashion's power status. By following up his reference to "hombres hechos mujeres" with his declaration that fashion has subjugated *everything*, the author is proving that fashion's empire is so powerful that it has affected the natural stability of the gender binary. Carbonel asserts that men have learned from women's fashions to be like women in the way they consume and wear fashions that include everything from clothing to modes of transportation. Men learning from women is a reversal of the usual hierarchy of didacticism, in which men are assumed to be women's teachers. Although Carbonel reflects a general concern with men who become effeminate but the concern about switching gender roles does not apply to women. The blending of gender roles in the empire of fashion does not make women any more masculine but rather influences men and women both to be more effeminate. In other words, both men and women are drawn into indulging in vices that are natural to women.

The inconstancy and frivolity of fashion has permeated the social fabric so extensively that, according to Carbonel, it cannot be reduced or controlled because it has become a universal – resembling the factual knowledge of the physical world. Ironically, a phenomenon characterized by its inconstancy has become a constant. Despite the author's severe criticism of fashion and luxury consumption, he implicitly concedes defeat to the imperial force of fashion. His concession does not hamper his rebukes, as he lays blame on the individuals responsible for the reproduction of a non-productive industry -- the *modistas*.

The *Modista* and Non-Productivity

I turn now to Carbonel's treatment of the *modista*, or fashion stylist, in the main body of his entry "Modas, Modista." The fashion stylist's occupation is framed in negative and even accusatory language, similarly to how he writes of fashion in general. As fashion stylists are actual individuals, rather than a cultural phenomenon, these women are represented as deviations from enlightenment promotion of utility and production. It is important to note that while Carbonel includes descriptions of how and what they produce, he does not consider the *modista* to be a worker. Carbonel includes explanations of what the stylists fashion in the body of the entry, but he frames those practical pieces with lengthy arguments that demonstrate his dismissive and deprecating attitude toward fashion stylists.

Carbonel devalues the work of fashion stylists to the point of denying that what they do can be considered work. His strong opposition to the occupation notwithstanding, the first column of Carbonel's discussion on the stylist reflects his encyclopedic attention to physical detail. Practicing a sense of logical order, the author opens with a definition of what a *modista* is. The article says,

> "La *modista* es la que dispone y vende todas las frioleras y chucherías que sirven de adorno, con especialidad a las mujeres. El tafetán, la gasa, la blonda, los encajes, los adornos, las cintas de todas clases, las flores, las plumas, &c. son las materias que emplea" (Sancha 592).

I would like to draw attention to three key aspects in this initial description of the *modista*, which are frivolity, luxury, and capricious fantasy. Overall, the quote is cohesive because of the connecting thread between women, material fashions, and

frivolity as an essentially feminine characteristic.[112] Carbonel affirms that the *modista* occupation is exclusively a woman's art whose function is to sell frivolous things. The dismissive tone and language in this very first sentence sets the readers' expectations for an extensive critique of fashion stylists. The objects the fashion stylist sells define her.[113] The *frioleras* and *chucherías* refer to mere things and trinkets that are trivial and unimportant. Hence, the *modistas* and the entry Carbonel has written about them are inconsequential, or silly, as well.[114] Ironically, fashion stylists' unimportant but influential position in frivolous culture necessitated their inclusion in the encyclopedia. Carbonel's treatment of fashion stylists and frivolities is similar to his approach in the corset-maker entry, in that even as he degrades the sumptuary things, he also lists and names the material goods related to each one.

Enumerating and naming the various "chucherías" of the fashion stylist affords those frivolous adornments a concrete place in the socio-economic organization; through naming them, Carbonel includes them in a network of material goods regulated by guilds and government reforms. Efforts to regulate the multitude of fashions' useless materials stems from their disorderly production and consumption.[115] Baubles, taffeta, lace, ribbons, flowers, and feathers are a smattering of the adornments that Carbonel identifies

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[112] Carbonel's enumeration of things in a stylists' occupation reminds me of a moment in *La Celestina* when Pármeno lists the many *oficios* of Celestina and the things of her trade. In both cases the material goods that make up women's occupations circulate amongst women and, to a certain extent, amongst men as well (Rojas110).

[113] Tracy Lemaster in "Feminist Thing Theory in Sister Carrie," discusses how the rhetoric of things, surrounding the representation of women, objectifies women as they are identified with the things around them.

[114] Davis examines the significant role of identity ambivalence in the material cycle of fashion and clothes. He argues that dress, and things, serve as a visual metaphor for identity that resonates within cultural ambivalence and identities (25). Carbonel's connection between the frivolous things that the stylist sells and the stylist herself serves as this kind of metaphor.

[115] Another example of the discursive and practical regulation of adornments is Carbonel's encyclopedia entry on "Pasamaneros" that explicates the production and reformed regulation of decorative goods like ribbons.

with the fashion stylist. A stylist and the goods she produces and sells are collectively implied to be useless and uneconomical because they are both superfluous and excessive. Their dispensability makes them luxuries that run counter to utilitarian society. Through the lens of Carbonel's concept of a productive society, the fashion stylist and her clients perpetuate the consumption of luxury goods.[116]

Carbonel denounces material luxury in this entry as he has in previous ones, but his critique of the fashion stylist's luxury acquires an additional charge. In the discussion of lace in the second chapter, the material is a luxury product so it is judged as an excessive good whose consumption is problematic. Its successful producers, though, are heralded for their contribution to the economy. However, in Carbonel's discussion of fashion, the blame is laid on the stylists rather than on the materials themselves. Instead of faulting the goods and the general public of consumers, the author specifically targets fashion as a women's occupation. Material luxury was criticized by Enlightenment writers as morally, socially, and economically wrong. As the materials that stylists used – lace, baubles, ribbons, etc. -- were all luxury items, their work was devalued in the same way. Carbonel does not find any redeeming value in the fashion empire, its stylists, or its fantastical products. All fashions are represented as pretty things with no other function except to provide various accoutrements in order to draw attention to the wearer.[117] Since the *modista*'s occupation relies entirely upon luxury products and practices, *modistas* are dispensable, in keeping with the goals and practices of an

[116] Svendsen argues that consumer culture is better termed as a plural – consumer cultures. He points out that there are many sorts of industries or niches within material culture just as there is a multitude of consumers with different wants. The plurality of consumer cultures, though, relate to the consumers' identities (112-113).

[117] In the next chapter I will discuss how revealing fashion draw attention to one's material beauty.

advanced society that relied on logical order and natural needs and eschews any unnecessary social and economic elements.

Carbonel describes the fashion stylists' methods: "Arregla, combina, varía y mezcla estos materiales según el destino que les da el uso y el capricho, y como el gusto y fantasía del día lo requiere" (592). The assertion that fashion stylists work on the basis of capricious fantasy intimates that they do not participate in a logical reality. Imagination and fantasy are considered to be somewhat ridiculous, albeit unfortunately influential. Carbonel's contentious opinion of fashion stylists' fantasy designs parallels his haughty reference to the corset's visual effect as imaginary. The imaginary or fantastical conflicted directly with the Enlightenment imperative to dispel irrational customs such as superstitions, popular myths, and misperceptions. Fashion stylists, however, labored with and for capricious fantasy in order to produce lucrative results. Thus an impractical art created a schism at a time when the dominant discourse valued practicality and utilitarian order.

Despite his assertion that fashion stylists' are well paid, Carbonel declares that fashion stylists' art produces nothing and, so, undermines any advancement of reason, in the context of socio-economic utility. "Su arte no es fabricar cosa alguna: consiste solo en formar con idea é ingenio cosas nuevas, varios y diversos adornos graciosos de todas las producciones ligeras de las demás artes…" (592). Stylists do of course produce marketable goods that the general public consumes. Carbonel, however, defines their occupation as an art that makes nothing at all, but rather, takes advantage of finished goods and sell them in rearranged conditions. The stylists' product, then, is a kind of sham, or fraudulent work because they are selling fabricated manipulations of already

finished goods. Forming things solely on the basis of creative and imaginative talent characterizes the stylists' work as non-productivity. Carbonel's invective against the fashion stylist asserts that she never moves out of an inane space of creative ideas that has no real product. The energies that women stylists spend on their work is perpetual and futile, wasting efforts that could otherwise be employed in another occupation.

The non-productivity of the fashion stylist reifies her uselessness and then spills over into anti-productivity because of damage done to the economy by the circulation of useless goods. As she creates nothing but forms "adornos graciosos" and "cosas nuevas" out of already produced materials, Carbonel represents the stylist as incapable of creating anything useful and tangible. Work in fashion is devalued to such an extent that its anti-productivity relegates the stylist to a category that qualifies her as harmful to economic order and stability. Carbonel goes so far as to directly claim that fashion stylists, beyond disrupting the economy, harm individuals and society in general.

Fashion stylists' effectively harm society and one of the most problematic ways they do so is through attracting more women to the occupation. The considerable numbers of women who consume the variously fashioned luxury goods increase the number of fashion stylists who produce them and, in turn, produces a constant influx of young women who aspire to the stylist occupation for its spectacle and ease. Carbonel laments that in Madrid, much like in Paris, there is a multitude of women who are "seducidas del atractivo de un estado fácil y lucrativo" (594). The seduction that draws young women into the fashion stylist profession stems from its easy and lucrative nature. Carbonel at once criticizes the occupation and women in general, saying that multitudes are easily tempted by the promise of a leisurely and luxurious existence. Carbonel offers

a stronger and more essentialist argument beyond his explanation that young women become stylists because they are lazy and desire money. He further generalizes women's weak qualities as he adds feeble-mindedness to laziness and greed.

Carbonel brings his entry on fashion and fashion stylists to a close with a comment that epitomizes his negative views: "…se introduce, deslumbra y hace su negocio en detrimento de muchas personas, y en perjuicio de la causa pública. He visto este daño, he oído mil reclamos, y he creído de mi obligación advertirlo" (596). Carbonel recapitulates his position that fashion stylists practice a kind of fraudulent trade. He is very direct here, by saying that a fashion stylist "deslumbra," or dazzles, her clients in order to be successful. The deception that Carbonel describes hides the fact that stylists, as the author defines them, produce nothing. Their imaginative works fade and clients are left with nothing but, perhaps, the motivation to try a new fashion. Stylists are inscribed as the agents of the fashion phenomenon, who actively damage individuals and the public good. Carbonel presents his criticism as a socio-economic fact that he has ascertained through observation. Through experience, his own senses, he has collected knowledge in a survey fashion that reflects empiricism. Having recognized the detriment of fashion stylists, the author denounces their occupation, as if it were a warning in service of public welfare.

The Place of Fashion in Feijoo

Carbonel's view of women's weakness for material appearances is shared by other Enlightenment figures. I turn now to a discussion of Feijoo's writings on fashion in order to demonstrate the continuity of the discourse on fashion in the eighteenth century. Feijoo, of course, was one of Spain's most prolific and well known writers in the

eighteenth century. He wrote on such a wide array of topics that his body of work, collected in the *Teatro Crítco* and the *Cartas Eruditas*, might be considered encyclopedic in nature. In addition, exploring the foundations of Feijoo's concept and critique of fashion will serve as a preamble to the following chapter that focuses on another particular epistolary text of his. Feijoo echoes Carbonel's contention that women care for nothing more that their material beauty. However, before discussing women exclusively, Feijoo locates fashion in history and more explicitly in geography in his discourse "Las Modas."[118]

"Siempre la moda fue de la moda," Feijoo announces in the first line of his discussion (168). He clarifies his clever turn of phrase, explaining that the world has always, since time immemorial, been inclined towards new things. The absoluteness of his opening claim guides the reader into the logic of his later comments. Feijoo finds the truth and authority to his grand argument in natural philosophy, as he affirms that time destroys everything. Feijoo offers examples to strengthen the concept of fashion's universality: "Aun las cosas insensibles tienen, como las mujeres, vinculada su hermosura a la primera edad; y todo el donaire pierden al salir de la juventud" (168). Beauty only exists in youth and, according to the author, people will perceive the loss of beauty whether the object under scrutiny has changed or not. Feijoo presents the two examples of inanimate objects and women as a natural and universal condition. His choice of combining things with women is logical in the context of his discourse on fashion, as material fashions are gendered as feminine without question. Feijoo's opening description of fashion as a universal phenomenon that exalts newness as beauty

[118] In Feijoo's work, historical and geographical context is a recurring framework. His discourse, "Mapa intelectual, y cotejo de naciones," exemplifies this tendency. The essay on the intellectual map is found in the same volume as his discourse on fashion -- Tomo II of the *Teatro crítico* (299-321).

only refers to women and objects. Men are absent from this opening commentary on fashion, although men will be implicitly included in the author's discussion of fashion in geography.

Feijoo traces the geographical origins of the contemporary fashion industry to France, with Paris as its capital. He lays out a line of points of origin: "Francia es el móvil de las modas. De Francia lo es París, y de París un francés, o una francesa, aquel, o aquella a quien primero ocurrió la nueva invención" (171). In his identification of France as the origin and impetus for all fashions, Feijoo conflates men and women in their taste for new fashions that travels over the Pyrenees into Spain. Despite the over-arching connection between France and the "monarquía" of fashion, French women are later described as the disseminators of any particular new invention. The use of the word "monarquía" is similar to Carbonel's concept of fashion as empire, but in this case fashion is likened to a ruler who must be obeyed, rather than a sprawling network of power. Feijoo's few mentions of French individuals serve to illustrate the France's culpability in beginning and spreading capricious fashions. Feijoo pinpoints two reasons that explain why the French are always changing their material habits, and why their fashions are accepted so readily in Spain. First, France is nearly void of reason but instead is characterized by frivolity. Second, foreigners consider French fashions to be in the best taste always. Both reasons are presented authoritatively as facts that Feijoo's erudition and observation have confirmed.

The French author Charles de Saint Evremond is Feijoo's resource to prove France's affinity for fashion.[119] Feijoo quotes Saint Evremond, saying, "No hay país

[119] The French author Charles de Saint Evremond was a controversial *philosophe* who heavily criticized the French government. Due to this, he was exiled to England for thirty years, where he wrote the majority of

donde haya menos uso de la razón que en Francia; aunque es verdad que en ninguna otra parte es más pura, que aquella poca que se halla entre nosotros" (171). The French people's minimal but "pure" use of reason, according to Feijoo's translation of Evremond, results in a nation that functions most generally in a total fantasy. As has been seen in Carbonel's critique of fashion, fantasy resists and even subverts rational practices. Yet, Evremond indicates that French fashion caprices are so beautiful and noble that they shame all outsiders into distrusting their own judgment. In short, French irrationality and enslavement to the powers of fashion has transformed France into a tyrant over external nations who then strive to imitate frivolous innovations that come from France. Evremond refers to this as "providencia" for the French because their emissaries and travelers in courts multiple nations ensure an economic network that endlessly enriches France.[120]

Feijoo seizes the notion of French fashions that shame Spain so much that Spaniards end up distrusting their own sense of good taste. His figurative language is strikingly similar to Carbonel's; Feijoo asserts that the French "blind" Spaniards with the extravagance of their dynamic fashions. The similarities between the two authors reflect their dialogue with eighteenth-century discourse on the value of sight and individual reason to comprehend the natural world. To be blinded and deceived by fleeting and foreign fantasies jeopardizes Spain's independent development of local fashions and good taste. Feijoo proves his point about the wide acceptance of French fashions with the

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his work. Feijoo's choice to use Saint Evremond as his intellectual resource is revelatory of his opinions of French culture and also demonstrates his strategic use of authorities to support his own argument. See Quentin Manning Hope's *Saint Evremond and His Friends*.

[120] Saint Evremond's text seems hyperbolic and perhaps satirical in nature, but Feijoo interprets and employs the French author's words very seriously. In my own reading, I will focus on Feijoo's use of Saint Evremond rather than examine the context of the original text.

example of the corset. Feijoo argues that if the corset, which he characterizes as a French fashion, had come from anywhere else it would have been mocked. The enduring fashion of corsets was not exclusive to France, although the low-cut dresses that women wore over the newer and more flexible corsets, which Carbonel refers to in his entry on corset-makers, were considered a French style.[121]

The geographical placement of fashion concludes and Feijoo shifts to ascribe its perpetuation to women in general. Carbonel states at the end of his entry on fashion that women think of nothing else but their external appearances; Feijoo declares this very same gendered preoccupation. "Las mujeres, que tanto ansían parecer bien, con la frecuente admisión de nuevas modas, los más del tiempo parecen mal" (172). Feijoo's comment goes well beyond women's general tendency towards vanity. He emphasizes women's anxiety about dressing in new fashions in their desire to be attractive but ironically, he claims, their efforts usually make them unattractive. The latter of these points is telling of the problematic cycle of fashion. Feijoo states at the very beginning of his discourse that a desire for novelty has always been a natural inclination, predicated on the beauty of youthful things and women. Yet, here he argues that new and strange things only become pleasurable to the senses after people have become accustomed to them. "Por más que se diga que agradan las cosas forasteras cuando llegan a agradar ya están domesticadas" (172-173). If we accept Feijoo's logic that beauty is found in newness and youth but anything that is too new causes sensual displeasure, then women who are the proponents of fashion will only be attractive for a very short moment of time. The uncertainty of changing fashions and unstable physical attractions is troubling for a

[121] DeJean discusses at length the inventions and influence of French fashions in *The Essence of Style* (35-82).

society whose dominant discourse encourages the employment of rational thought to better order society.

The representation of women's anxiety about complying with fashions clashes with Enlightenment writers' anxiety over women and fashion in general. The result is that material culture and rational discourse have a mutual influence over one another. The effect of fashion upon nature and science is apparent in the brief descriptions of a number of trends that Feijoo includes. For example his points out incidents involving the invention of whitening powder for hair and star gazing, amongst others.[122] The variety of his examples alone reveals the concept of fashion as an imperial power that has extended into many unexpected areas, such as natural physical characteristics.

Artificially whitening the hair with powders is one of the more ridiculous trends that have recently emerged, according to Feijoo, as it surely arose from an elderly woman's trickery. Contradicting the "natural" place of beauty in youth, women have followed a trend that produces a façade of old age. Feijoo animalizes the women in this example by comparing the elderly woman who supposedly invented the fashion with the fox in one of Aesop's fables. In this comparison all the fashion-following women become the "zorras" who succumbed to a singular ruse.[123] Falseness, deception, and craftiness are qualities that recur in Carbonel and Feijoo's treatment of fashion and its artifices. Feijoo extends his criticism to fashion's permeation into science and the social problems fashionable science can cause.

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[122] A few of the most notable instances Feijoo includes as examples of fashion's extension into nature are: slim versus well-muscled men's legs, fashionable eye colors, and women who practiced repeated blood-letting in order to make themselves appear pale (175-176).

[123] The colloquial meaning of "zorra," referring to sexually promiscuous woman, is intriguing but it seems that in Feijoo's context their promiscuity is with fashion.

Once again looking to France to exemplify problematic fashions, Feijoo argues that fashion is most intolerable when it exercises its monarchic powers over science. Late in the seventeenth century, Feijoo says, it became especially fashionable for French ladies to apply themselves to mathematics and astronomy. But if science is a fashion, then science can no longer maintain its status as a rational, steadfast, and productive enterprise. Women who grasp onto an interest in science are acquiring masculine characteristics through fashion. One of the prevalent complaints in the fashion debate is about how fashion affected gender roles. This is a complete reversal of the usual concern that normally had to do with feminized men, the *petimetres* that Carbonel mentions. French women's masculine fashion of scientific hobbies transforms the relationship between the sexes, including marriage. Feijoo tells of one marriage ruined by a "mathematics woman," relating that, "Fue el caso, no pudiendo el marido sufrir que la mujer se estuviese todas las noches examinando el cielo con el telescopio, ni quitarle esta manía, se separó de ella para siempre" (175). The French woman in this example is perpetuating a fashion that goes beyond sartorial caprices, but it is nevertheless considered an obsession.

Throughout the examination of fashion in this chapter, the articles and articulations of women's material culture are shown to be problematic and widely debated because of fashion's inherent resistance to regulation and order, even though it represents undeniably lucrative aspects in the economy. Carbonel targets corsets, fashions, and their makers as violations of the natural appearance and productive economy. The two encyclopedic entries treated in this chapter exemplify enlightenment writers' need to reconcile frivolous and luxurious sartorial fashions with rational

ideals.[124] Feijoo's discourse on fashion covers a very broad range of themes and places affected by fashion. His criticisms of the fashion polemic focus less on the economy and more on the disruption of natural order and dialogue with rational ideals. Popular women's fashions such as corsets and various adornments, then, affected public discourse just as that discourse affected fashions. The following chapter will analyze the disruptive presence of women's bodies in public and explore how revealing fashions were considered a medium that facilitates sexual, moral, and social corruption.

[124] Bolufer Peruga argues that Enlightenment writers struggled to reconcile excessive consumption, a sign of economic prosperity, with virtue and reason. She differentiates secular reactions from the Church's reaction to luxury fashions (176-183).

Chapter Four

Women's Bodies Revealed, Disruption in Potosí and Spain

How are women's bodies viewed, perceived, and understood in public space? In the eighteenth century there is a far-reaching debate regarding women's fashions based around themes of economy, utility, and morality. The female body found underneath those materials, however, is not so directly or frequently addressed. In terms of biological anatomy and reproduction, women's bodies and other subjects of nature are treated through discourses on science and philosophy that place them in the domestic space of family and marriage. In terms of sexual potency in the public realm, women's bodies are treated very differently from their role and natural utility in the domestic sphere.[125] I In this chapter, I consider texts by Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela and Bentio Jerónimo Feijoo y Montenegro that treat women's revealed, visible bodies through the medium of imprudent and scandalous fashions. Their works demonstrate the preoccupation with women's bodily presence amongst men in public. By public, I mean any situation or encounter that takes place outside of the home and/or the institution of marriage.

The public sphere, as Jürgen Habermas theorizes it in his fundamental work *The Transformation of the Public Sphere*, can be described as including the lettered bourgeois class whose public opinion and participation became increasingly influential in social and state policies. For example, the growing industry of print culture connected individual

[125] Women's sexuality was present in the erotica that circulated freely, though quietly, in the eighteenth century just as in any other time and was intended for private pleasure. See Haidt's chapter "Seeing the Body: Pornography, Sensation and the Nexus of Sight and Desire" in *Embodying Enlightenment* for her discussion of the ways erotic texts and art works were produced and consumed in Spain. She demonstrates that they were destined for private collections and viewings, which separates itself from the representation of women's bodies from in dominant public discourse.

merchants to State policy through legal regulations; in addition, the increase in print media led to larger reading publics and the role of authors as part of public discourse.[126] The transformation in the potential influence of authors is significant in any reading of eighteenth-century publications. Habermas' conceptualization of the public sphere is rather idealized as a masculine and bourgeois construction that does not integrate the participation of lower classes or women. Keeping in mind these limitations of class and gender, the Habermasian public sphere is still an important concept for the understanding of public discourse and ideals during the eighteenth century.[127] The public and private spheres, however, blurred and came together through the circulation of commerce and knowledge, often intersecting in social and familial spaces. To consider this integration allows for an analysis of "public sphere" texts that include a meditation on how gender and class differences are revealed in the public sphere, as will be reflected in this chapter.

The intersection of public and private can be exemplified by the discursive integration of sex and sexual bodies in the eighteenth century. Foucault's work *The History of Sexuality: an Introduction* is a fundamental analysis of how sex was brought into the public discourse of utility that thrived during the Enlightenment. Women's sexuality, specifically, had to be spoken of not for purposes of condemnation or toleration, but rather for management. The personal, private body of an individual became an element that would be debated in terms of the public good. Population and its measurement became powerful tools for social and political assessment of many

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[126] James Van Horn Melton, in *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, discusses literacy in the eighteenth century, within the context of Habermas' theory of the public sphere. As Melton points out, literacy has been and is notoriously difficult to measure. However, according to compilations of data such as the number of books that men and women of different classes owned, it's clear that the reading public increased significantly at the time (81-83).

[127] See William Outhwaite's useful and concise discussion of Habermas' writings on the public sphere and its critics in *Habermas: A Critical Introduction* (5-19). This work by Outhwaite is a very useful synthesis and critique of Habermas expansive body of work.

European and American societies. For economic and social reasons, population decline was a common preoccupation, as we have already seen will further explore later in my analysis. Sex and its management was central to the population problem; therefore, women's sexuality became part of the discourse on utility, which focused on reproducing and maintaining populous societies.[128] Women's sexual bodies in public space, however, were a cause for concern.

Women are not viewed as benign or changeable like the cities, materials, and fashions that have been discussed in the first three chapters, which were more or less separable from an explicit consideration of women's bodies. The physical, sensual bodies found underneath women's fashions are represented as potent and volatile in the presence of men, particularly in the public arena.[129] As Enlightenment ideas focus on order, moral and social, it logically follows that women's bodies be written into texts that propose to instruct against imprudent conduct, namely use of scandalous clothing, as it applies to intimate interactions between men and women. The inherent volatility of women's bodies is the central concern of both authors that will be analyzed in this chapter. In their writings, fashion becomes the medium to regulate and contain women's disruptive sexual attractions.

This chapter focuses on texts that critique the materiality and sexuality of women's bodies as they relate to the public welfare. Texts examined in the previous chapters treated external materials that governed women's movement, labor, and

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[128] See Foucault's chapter on the "Repressive Hypothesis" for his discussion of population and utility (17-49).

[129] Foucault breaks down the analysis of women's bodies in his treatment of the "deployment of sexuality." The analytical process is divided into four parts: the hysterization of women's bodies, a pedagogization of children's sex, a socialization of procreative behavior, and the psychiatrization of perverse pleasure (102-103). The first and last of these categories are important to my examination of the disruptive powers of women's bodies in the texts I have selected for this chapter.

consumption. Here, clothing is viewed as a medium to spark or mitigate the sexual affect that women's divested bodies have on men in public. In the texts that are considered here, women are not wearing clothing responsibly – not consciously employing it to cover and contain their bodies and constructively channel their sexuality.

Eighteenth-century discourse places women closer to nature and to their bodies as an inherent, inescapable part of their moral and material lives.[130] Judith Butler and Elizabeth Grosz are two scholars who inform my analysis of the material body as an integral part of Arzáns' and Feijoo's discourses on vice-regal Potosí and Spain, respectively. In *Bodies that Matter*, Butler takes issue with Lacan's concept of "the real." She argues that the "real" -- a state of nature that is defined by one's bodily needs and desires -- is something that should not be left out of conceptualizing identity. Along these same lines, Grosz, in *Volatile Bodies,* suggests that the corporeal experience of the lived body is an aspect of identity and subjectivity that should be considered in feminist theories. Drawing upon concepts of phenomenology, the discusses the importance of understanding the interrelatedness of interiority and exteriority because it takes into account an individual's experience that is defined by its relation, filtered through the body, to other subjects and objects.

Literary and historical studies on eighteenth-century Spain and Spanish America that specifically focus on the representation of women's bodies in the framework of an ordered society are not numerous. Many scholarly works have been published that examine the histories of women lives and their role in various academies and lettered societies, but my interest is in how women's bodies were represented in the discourse of

[130] Rousseau was one of the most influential proponents of the idea that women's natural obligations tied them to their bodies constantly. As mothers and wives, they were always reminded of their sex. Feijoo in his defense of women's talents also characterizes women in terms of their corporeality.

social order or disorder.[131] In the field of Spanish American studies, Mariselle Meléndez' work, *Raza, género e hibridez en* El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes, argues that (in La Vandera's text) women's physical selves are disruptors of social order. Denise Galarza Sepúlveda in the article, "Of Legends and Lack: the Economy of *Criollo* Discourse in the *Historia de la Villa Imeprial de Potosí*," analyzes the dynamic figure of women and women's bodies in the moral and material economy that Arzáns develops his chronicle of Potosí, a topic which I will explore shortly. David Gonzalez Cruz edited a sweeping volume on models of women in the Hispanic world, entitled *Vírgenes, reinas y santas: modelos de mujer en el mundo hispano*.

I will analyze the volatility of women's bodies and the socio-moral use of clothing in two texts. The first text is an essay, or *discurso*, by Feijoo, written in epistolary form, from his *Teatro crítico universal*, which is titled, "Declamación contra las modas escandalosas de las mujeres: en carta de Teófilo a Paulina." The second is a story from Arzáns' *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* titled, "En que se cuenta un extraño hecho de una mujer abrasada de terribles celos, y asimismo se cuenta los daños que se acarreó el poco recato de una doncella, su trágica muerte y encuentros sangrientos que por esto se aumentaron en esta villa," that was published in the first decade of the eighteenth century in the city of Potosí, in modern day Bolivia. The connection presented between scandalous women's clothing, women's dynamic bodies, and instability in public society is part of the larger discourse on women's materiality within moral and utilitarian contexts.

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[131] Some such works have been noted in earlier chapters. For reference, notable works that examine women's roles in eighteenth century Spain and Spanish America include *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in their Own Works* by Electa Arenal and Stacey Schlau; *Mujeres e Ilustración* by Bolufer Peruga, *Women Writers in the Spanish Enlightenment* by Franklin Lewis, and *Eve's Enlightenment: Women's Experience in Spain and Spanish America, 1726-1839* edited Jaffe and Franklin Lewis.

The materiality of women's bodies, beneath the clothing they wear, is treated distinctly from fabrics and fashions because they are not so malleable. That is to say, the body is not so easily changed or managed as sewing patterns or production methods may be. Hence, the governance of its powers for disruption is further out of the reach of the utilitarian principles of socio-moral organization as we have seen regarding topics of material culture. Feijoo's and Arzáns' texts suggest that external sartorial and corporeal features be manipulated to ensure women's modest appearance and conduct in public.

Women's bodies are represented as disruptive elements when revealed in public, either partially or entirely. I argue that and Feijoo's and Arzáns' are texts critical and didactic works that intend to demonstrate and then contain moral and social disruptions that are caused by the un-solicited sexual arousal of men by women in public places. By "un-solicited," I mean that the sexual interactions are not initiated by men, but rather, that men are pulled in by the inherent and powerful attraction of women's revealed bodies. It's worth noting that both Feijoo and Arzáns represent the women in their texts as unknowing, unaware of the powerful effects of their bodies.

The essentialist theme of irrationality in women disrupts idealist confidence in reason as a mechanism to order nature and society. Despite women's general ignorance of their power to disrupt, they are explicitly blamed for their bodies' inherent sexuality. I suggest that the unmitigated displays of women's carnality, which women expose with their lack of pre-meditated sartorial modesty, are disruptions that have the potential to cause civic disorder. The disorder brought on by these disruptions subverts the domesticating agenda that aimed to regulate women's bodies in terms of reproductivity within marriage and modesty in public.

Revealing and Containing Women's Bodies

The disorder of which Feijoo warns is less bloody in nature than what will be seen in Arzáns' dramatic story, but it is no less serious in terms of the social disruption described. Feijoo was a Benedictine monk who is one of the most well-known, and certainly one of the most prolific, contributors to the early Spanish Enlightenment project. He lived from 1676-1764 and spent his adult life as an essayist and educator. As a whole, his work covers an extensive conglomeration of topics ranging from mythical creatures to nationalist characteristics, and much more. Feijoo's work, the *Teatro crítico universal*, can be likened to Diderot's *Encyclopédie* because of its central place in Enlightenment discourse and its encompassing philosophical agenda (Smith 17). The woman question was part of this philosophy; it was a debate that the Benedictine monk actively participated in and shaped. The *Teatro crítico* is the work in which he published his "Discurso en defensa del talento de las mujeres," which was widely read and debated during his life and today is a text that is central to studies on women's role in Spanish society.[132] [133] As Feijoo was a prolific and influential writer who engaged in the Enlightenment beyond Spain, his work reflects the debate on women in a much broader context than the Spanish social and intellectual tradition.

As we saw in the preceding chapter, Feijoo explicitly speaks on fashion in his discourse entitled, "Modas." His approach to the topic parallels the entry on fashion from

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[132] Scholars that have been helpful to my work on Feijoo in the context of material culture are Smith and Bolufer Peruga.

[133] Feijoo's "Discurso en defensa del talento de las mujeres" is one of the most well-known and earliest defenses of women written in Spain. Feijoo argues that argues for the many positive characteristics of women, including their ability to reason. However, he adheres to an essentialist line of argument. Feijoo's defense of women is frequently examined but I have been unable to find sources that specifically treat his discourse on fashion. For studies on his *Defensa de mujeres*, refer to Manuel Camarero's "Feijoo la ilustración de la mujer" and Oliva Blanco's *La polémica feminista en la España ilustrada*.

the *Encyclopedia Metódica*. His fictionalized letter "Declamación contra las modas escandalosas de las mujeres, en carta de Teófilo a Paulina" uses the frame of a familial relationship to instruct readers on the moral and social dangers posed by women's revealing fashions. As in the context of previous chapters, women's material selves are here seen as somewhat of a wildcard. Feijoo works from the perspective of a society that is progressing, that would be orderly if there were no dynamic, disruptive elements that unsettled it. Women's bodies, revealed by certain fashions, are an example of dynamic elements that should be governed and employed for public good. For writers, like Feijoo, the attempts at regulating behavior are done discursively.

In the letter, Feijoo is similarly preoccupied with women's immodestly contained and, so, revealed bodies in public space. Specifically, Feijoo focuses his critique on women's partially revealed breasts that are viewable in public due to the use of the immodest fashion of low-cut necklines. Feijoo's "Declamación contra las modas escandalosas" proposes extreme moral and social consequences, as does Arzáns. Although Arzáns predates Feijoo and it is safe to presume that Feijoo was completely unaware of the chronicler from Potosí, their representation of women's disruptive bodies shares common themes. Feijoo employs imagery, analogies, and a combination of moralist and materialist arguments that engage the debate on women's bodies and public disorder. For example, he represents women in terms of fire, destruction, and irrational sexual force. Arzáns utilizes imagery of fiery passions and neo-classical metaphors but his anecdote refers to actual physical violence as well as socio-moral damage.

As one of the most polemical issues connected to women in the eighteenth century was the material culture of fashion, it is unsurprising that Feijoo includes a multi-

part discourse on “Las modas” in the second volume of his master work. His discourse on fashions, the sixth of fifteen sections, consists of seven pieces in which the author treats fashion’s history, geography, current frivolities, and its pervasiveness in society and nature. His treatment of fashion parallels that of other writers, such as Carbonel’s discussion and critique, as was seen in the previous chapter. Feijoo criticizes fashion for its perpetual and useless innovations; he identifies it specifically with women and French material culture; and he admits that the “tyranny” of fashion always has existed and will continue to persist.

The piece that I have chosen, “Declamación contra las modas escandalosas,” is a letter written from a Teófilo to Paulina as a revelatory lesson on the extent to which women’s bodies and material manipulations of fashions can endanger the moral and intellectual order of men. Feijoo writes, in the voice of Teófilo, that he is hesitant to inform her (Paulina) of how powerful women’s material selves are. However, he has decided to appeal to her reason and compassion. He proposes to do this by presenting her with the grave consequences of following fashions many enticing trends. Feijoo’s letter flows with phrases and exclamations that express conversational sympathy and concern. Despite the guise of familiarity and spontaneity, the author’s argument is well-structured along three main points: the nature of man’s soul and the horror of it being corrupted by the flames of lust, women’s responsibility to choose between indecent and prudent beauty, and the power that a woman’s uncovered breasts have to irreversibly corrupt

men's souls. I will focus on Feijoo's most extensive warnings, which represent women's bodies as materially fashionable and potentially disruptive to enlightened society.[134]

Fashion is fundamental to Feijoo's argument because it is the adornment that can cover women's bodies and reduce man's sexual temptation, or it can inflame him to the point of "losing his soul." It must be noted that Feijoo's discourse fixes sexual temptation, read as desire, with a causal point of origin -- women's bodies -- and a victim of sorts which is men's bodies and souls. This epistolary text is bursting with harangues against the natural dynamic power of women's bodies. Feijoo bases these harangues on the three main points that I have just mentioned above. However, Feijoo focuses his attention on the last topic and insists that women's low-cut necklines represent a disruptive power that can cause sexual and civic corruption.

Vulnerability of Men's Physical and Spiritual Nature

The basis of Feijoo's persuasive argument is the gravity and irrevocability of the damage done to men by women who publicly model scandalous fashions. He accomplishes his demonstration of this through a combination of scientific and spiritual descriptions. What I mean by "scientific" is a language based on material and observable knowledge that does not depend upon a theological authority. Feijoo most certainly includes divine authority, but he also builds his arguments on practical experiences, such as social or natural customs that he has observed. Teófilo, the fictional letter writer, explains to the young Paulina that his purpose is to illustrate the damage her material beauty can cause so that she will consciously avoid doing any more harm to men. He explains this in the context of Christian morals and many examples of social disorder. In

[134] Outram points out that because women were principally defined according to their sexual bodies, women's participation in public institutions or gatherings were guarantors of socio-sexual corruption (*Enlightenment* 90).

doing so, Teófilo represents men's vulnerable souls through the lens of nature and their material bodies.

Teófilo presents his case by writing in a familiar and authoritative manner in a layered discourse of Christian morality and social utility. He accomplishes the familiarity of his speech by simulating his conversation with Paulina. Teófilo preempts oppositional responses from Paulina by anticipating and contesting them with his warnings and instructions. Many paragraphs begin with phrases such as, "Creerás que me he extraviado del asunto…," "Opondrásme acaso que quiero hacer muy melindrosa la vanidad…," and "Mas yo te certifico, Paulina…" (185). Teófilo's preemptive expressions do create a sense of conversation for the reader but it is a conversation in which Paulina has no chance to voice any discord. By recognizing the likely objections to his argument, Teófilo neutralizes them with justifications or proofs that his argument is well reasoned and unquestionable.

As Feijoo's body of work engages the topics of biology, medicine, and other sciences, it will be helpful here to summarize the nature of his writings on these subjects.[135] His body of work includes many essays in which he acknowledges medical authorities and demonstrates his knowledge of current debates. Feijoo's own conclusions and opinions are explicit, as he always questions the possibility of completely knowing and explaining the body through language. The fact that the body has parts that cannot be seen, namely the soul and experienced sensations, leads to his notion that the body is unknowable (Haidt 17-19). Therefore, Feijoo explores topics through the knowledge of his experience, which encompasses his readings of and research into other authors. Individual experience that is characterized by knowledge acquired through the body's

[135] Gregorio Marañón examines Feijoo's discourses on biology in *Las ideas biológicas del padre Feijoo*.

senses is privileged authority and a source of knowledge. Knowing the body and soul through the senses is a foundation of Feijoo's discourse of experiential observations that moralizes civic disorder.

Teófilo briefly lays out significant parts of a man's body, reflecting eighteenth-century interest in anatomy and the senses. The description of man's physical constitution includes the four elements, the passions armed by the senses, the upper and lower body dichotomy, and the imagination.[136] Regarding imagination Teófilo says, "La imaginativa arma lazos a la concupiscible: la memoria a la irascible" (181). The superior features belonging to the upper body are central to Teófilo's argument that men are entirely vulnerable to the temptation of women's bodies. While the "upper body" functions of the mind would seem to be defenses against bodily temptations, they are actually the most powerful features that keep lust alive and "en la hoguera." Teófilo insists that women's scandalous fashions are constantly powerful because even when a desired object is withdrawn, it remains in man's imagination.[137] A woman's revealed body, whether viewed once or many times, never ceases to be an incendiary image for man's lustful bodies.

Teófilo's letter is saturated with violent language. He speaks of destruction, loss, chaos, and fire. Fire reappears in its various forms throughout the whole of the text. Smoke, flames, sparks, and burning are the most frequent terms that Teófilo uses to warn against the lust that women's scandalous fashions engender. Men and women are differentiated according to their relationship to the volatility and violence that springs

[136] For the full analysis of Feijoo's relation to and critiques of received medical authorities into the eighteenth century, see Haidt's chapter "Naming the Body, Knowing the Body: Anatomy, Medicine and the Language of "Experience" in *Embodying the Enlightenment* (13-62).
[137] An example of Feijoo's exploration of the relationship between the imagination and the physical female body is, "Sobre el influjo de la imaginación materna, respecto al feto" from his *Cartas Eruditas*.

naturally from women's bodies. The violence done is against the public good and causes civic and moral disorder. As mentioned, Feijoo characterizes men as highly and constantly vulnerable to sexual arousal and vice because of their external bodies and vivid imaginations.

Men have a single weapon to protect their internal, moral, stability – their reason. In this epistolary text on women's scandalous fashions, reason does not figure prominently because rationality is not considered inherent to women or material fashions. Reason resides in men and in the letter writer specifically. Teófilo's warnings and suggestions represent rational instruction but he explicitly mentions men's reason only once. Reason is men's single weapon against lustful temptations, however, is easily trumped by sexual arousal. Teófilo does not define this as a weakness that can be rectified because, according to him, bodily instinct cannot be prevented. He claims, "Tan dentro de sí mismo tiene el hombre los riesgos, que una potencia tropieza en otra potencia" (181). Men's natural constitution ensures their fall to temptations and because of this, the men themselves cannot be directly responsible to quell their desires. The way that reason can aid in controlling disorderly sexual arousal is by regulating the scandalous women's fashions that excite it. Through this language, men are represented as the potential victims of women's sexual attractiveness and can only be protected by actions that women take. Hence, Teófilo is arguing for women to pre-emptively cover their bodies with modest fashions, in order to save men's souls from being, "…toda puesta en fuego…" (181).

Women, on the other hand, are represented as the intentional and unintentional wielders of their bodies' disruptive powers.[138] Feijoo lays out a causal relationship, in which women's bodies have the power to morally corrupt men and the consequences are physical and social disorder. This disorder is symbolically or literally violent. In the context of his contemporary society, the author is concerned with social propriety and the public good. His favored analogy is that of Helen of Troy, whose material beauty was the cause of bloodshed on a massive scale: "Pinto una nueva Troya, porque estoy hablando con una nueva Helena. ¡Oh cuántas veces, sin pensarlo, habrás sido ocasión de semejante ruina!" (181). Teófilo employs other classical references to emphasize his point with respect to the relationships between men and women but they correspond to the trope of a single woman being able to cause mass disorder. The grandiose examples that Teófilo gives intensify the gravity of his argument against immodest women. He recognizes the extreme quality of the moral and social horrors that he paints and justifies it by saying that women's disruptive power is itself extreme. Teófilo goes on to specify that women have the power to cause social and physical disruption, such as that attributed to Helen of Troy, because of their physical appearance.

According to Teófilo, his example of civic and physical violence is necessary so that he may "horrify" his female reader enough so that she may realize the malice of her body and the adornments in which she dresses it: "Si te represento la alma de un hombre toda puesta en fuego, es porque te horrorice el estrago, que aun sin dar parte a tu advertencia, puede causar tu hermosura, ayudada de tu adorno" (181). As the letter is a personal address from Teófilo to his acquaintance Paulina, his use of horror to instruct

[138] Refer to Kathleen Canning's article "Body as Method? Reflections on the Place of the Body in Gender History" in which she discusses the ways in which the gendered body was treated and represented in the eighteenth century.

her is rather aggressive. In my opinion, Feijoo's aggressive approach corresponds to the seriousness with which he considers women's bodies and fashions in the production and maintenance of an orderly society.

Beauty and its Repercussions

Women's bodies, fashions, movements, and everything else that is part of women's material appearance are considered volatile and destructive as fire. Teófilo speaks to the need to regulate such destructive elements by first warning Paulina of her own volatility. "Considera que cuando pisas las calles públicas, no solo de tus ojos, pero de todas tus facciones van saltando centellas, y que caminas por un sitio todo lleno de heno seco" (181). Teófilo makes his reader aware of the danger she represents so that he may convince her to contain it. Teófilo states that women's obligation is to control the "centellas" that are always emanating from their bodies as they move through public space. The obligation to not "soplarla," or fan the sparks into flames, is a moral responsibility to society. Continuing with the metaphor of fire, men are referred to as the "heno seco" that fills the city streets, constantly "combustible" and vulnerable to sexual corruption. In terms of Teófilo's reasoning, he argues that women's bodies are the source of such passions, and women are responsible for preventing the lust they engender. The sexual power that needs to be controlled and the method to do so come from and are manipulated through the female body.

While women are charged with the obligation to quell men's sexual arousal, they are not actors that organize and impose the rules of socio-moral order. Women's participation and complicity are necessary for the success of the patriarchal social norms that Teófilo represents, whose aim is to moderate women's sexual power of disruption.

Moral custodianship is women's role in society and shirking that duty would not only corrupt people but would violate God's intentions. This is precisely why women are the wildcard that may perpetuate or undo social order. Teófilo writes, "Todas las mujeres tienen la obligación a ser modestas; pero mucho más las hermosas. Dióles Dios la hermosura con la pensión de templarla, de modo que no sea ofensiva."(181). He argues that a woman's body is so threatening to the public welfare, referring specifically to its male members, that women must fulfill their moral responsibility of disguising their attractive physical features. By being blamed for the possible spiritual ruin of men, women are discursively transformed into a causal source of sexual temptations and desires that result in socio-moral corruption, whether the desires they initiate manifest in physical acts of lust or only in thoughts.

Paulina, and any woman, has the option to either reveal or contain the "sparks" of passion that women's bodies produce. Teófilo compares the two extremes through the two kinds of beauty that he identifies – "desenvuelta" and "recatada" (183). The author does not refer to natural beauty here but, instead, to the artificial enhancement or reduction of sexual attractiveness. The varying grades of natural beauty and the inherent sexual attraction in all women cannot be controlled. Teófilo insists on the fact that women are the agents who create the creation of two kinds of beauty he names. Women who practice indecent or prudent beauty are aligned with the two contrasting categories of women -- the "bad woman" versus the "good woman." The first is defined by her intentional and artificial enhancement of her beauty for the purposes of conforming to the whims of fashion and/or exciting men's lust. The second, the good woman, is defined by

her chaste appearance, which actively produces the auto-restriction of sexual temptations by cautiously covering her physical beauty.

Teófilo focuses on the category of indecent beauty and the socio-moral problems that it causes. The moral consequences are intimately tied to the social ones, as moral vices lead into, or cause, social problems and disorders. Teófilo comments first on the immorality of women using fashion and the "veneno" of adornments to publicly flaunt beauty. Equating women's beauty to poison is another example in which Teófilo describes women as unaware of the damage they cause men who gaze upon them. He describes men who look for that pleasure as, "Esos, que por los ojos beben, como agua, la maldad, no ignoran que es veneno lo que beben; y te quieren persuadir que solo beben agua" (185). In this one instant Teófilo turns a critical eye to men who actively search out and manipulate women for pleasure. It is a singular moment when Teófilo warns Paulina of certain kinds of men, but the warning serves as a reminder to Paulina of the caution she must take. The "veneno" of her beauty is a constant that she must hide. Teófilo goes one step further than damage done to men and looks to God.

The author calls upon divine authority and claims that taking advantage of one's beauty, rather than mitigating it, is an offense against God. Hence, enhancing, or even not diminishing, one's beauty in public is a sin that goes on to cause men to commit the sin of lust. Teófilo easily combines his religious language with that of nature, saying that women are like suns and should behave accordingly, "…a las hermosas que las llaman soles, óiganlo como un recuerdo de que deben hacer lo que el Sol, retirarse de modo que no quemen" (182). In other words, women must know to physically retract and distance their beauty from men so that they do not corrupt them. Teófilo states that women's

material beauty can disrupt men's moral order in such a way that their souls are irretrievably lost from God. Therefore, not only do indecently beautiful women offend God, they also rob men spiritually of the good graces of heaven.

The social ramifications of men corrupted by the lust that are caused by women's material beauty are directly attributed to women's sartorial choices. The act of covering or moderating the body, as the author suggests, brings to mind the idea of prohibition or nullification of showy beauty. Male writers such as Feijoo and the fictitious author of the letter instruct women to implement the prohibition of their female beauty and sexual attraction by using the tools of fashion.[139] The proper use of sartorial fashion may aid women to avoid or renounce any reputation for sexual licentiousness. Teófilo demands of Paulina, "¿Cómo quieres que la trate? ¿Con ignominia o con veneración?... ¿Que la coloque en el lupanar, o en el trono?"(182). With only the two choices, Teófilo suggests that women must choose one position or the other in a social framework. Situating women in this binary doctrine between prostitution and royalty limits their identities through the materiality of their bodies. Despite the agency attributed to women to choose their place and reputation, the disruptive potential of their bodies cannot be changed in any way. Men's perception of women as lust objects cannot be erased. This is presented as a natural fact and it is one of the reasons women's fashions are constantly being debated. The social repercussions of how women use fashions affects them and the rest of society, as their appearance in public can either destabilize men's control over their physical passions or solicit respectable reactions to their beauty.

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[139] In *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault presents the concept of a cycle of prohibition that is characterized by the binary relationship of appearance in private secrecy and disappearance, or renouncement, in public (84).

Women who spend a significant amount of time primping and preening for their many public outings everyday are immediately placed in the category of immoral use of fashions and artificial decorations. The excessive amount of time spent on material appearance indicates excessive vanity, the purpose of which is to reveal women's corporeal attractions in the most flattering ways. As inciting men's lustful attention is offensive to God, as the author states, who does it please? Feigning hesitation, Teófilo exclaims, "¿Sabes quién se interesa en ese estudioso desvelo? …Tu mayor enemigo. El Demonio es quien debe pagarte el jornal de las horas que cada día gastas en tu aderezo" (183). According to this, women's bodies are so powerful in their ability to cause moral and social disruption through lust that the time a woman spends on her toilette is in service of the devil. Feijoo does not, however, suggest that women completely do away with their vanity, but instead that they redirect it. The redirection of vanity corresponds to the author's opinion that the volatility of women's bodies cannot be stopped but only contained.

The intent, then, is to convince women that it is better to use fashion in order to represent and communicate their modesty. This is the purpose for which their vanity should be redirected. Just as vanity that produces indecent beauty and lustful feelings can bring moral and social disruption, vanity that produces modest, mitigated beauty causes men to act according to their good moral and social codes. Following this logic, Teófilo argues that good, modest women would invite encompassing love and respect from men and not only love of their bodies. Throughout his argument that women should use their vain tendencies for good, the language of the text consists of broad analogies and concepts. Beyond the broad and abstract terms, Teófilo elects to explicitly address one

scandalous fashion in particular – low necklines that reveal women's breasts. Teófilo signals his particular and intimate topic by exclaiming, "Es preciso combatir a fuerza descubierta la circunstancia más pestífera de la moda. ¿Sabes de cuál hablo?" (184). The shift from metaphors and generalist language regarding the female body, to transparent specificity reflects an Enlightenment concern that figurative language can and does impede understanding.[140]

Low Necklines, Uncovered Breasts, and Disruption

Teófilo's critique of styles that reveal a woman's breasts signals the continuity between the female body and the possibility of external moral disruption that, when the body is revealed in public, leads to social disruption. As he uses specific and graphic language in his condemnation of low-neckline fashion, he breaks down women's bodies to one of its physical components. The breasts, according to the author, are the most threatening and lust-inducing part of a woman's body. The breasts must become representative of the volatility of women's bodies, as they are the most disruptive, according to Teófilo's argument. The title of the letter indicates his focus is on women's scandalous fashions but the central theme is what the fashions reveal. Women choose to wear, or not, the sartorial trend imported from France.[141] Therefore, it is women's manipulative use of fashion that Teófilo declaims rather than the particular fashion itself. It is important to note that the women who are Teófilo's target are those who employ scandalous fashions for the sake of fashion and vanity, rather than those who

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[140] See Dick and Lupton's *Theory and Practice in the Eighteenth Century* for Jonathan Shadow's essay on epistemology and genre. Shadow examines Locke's insistence upon direct language that eschews metaphors and figurative language, so as to ensure understanding (162-163).

[141] Imported French fashions were a commercial success and also controversial aspects of material culture, due to the dependence of Spain on finished goods. DeJean's *The Essence of Style* and Plaza Orellana's *Historia de la moda en España* demonstrate France's superior status as fashion and luxury producer, and Spain's imitation of those fashions, as well as styling national trends.

intentionally engage men's sexual passions. It is the women that can supposedly be rehabilitated by being made aware of the damage they do to men to whom Teófilo directs his didactic epistle. Paulina thus stands in for a broader female readership.[142]

The pointed admonition against women's partially exposed breasts is presented in such a vehement manner that it may be described as obsessive. Teófilo expresses a kind of awe at the effects that the sight of women's breasts produce. The negative force with which he describes women's breasts is such that he nearly reaches the point of attributing to them a mythical power, implying that with only one sighting the most stoic of men will become morally corrupted.[143] The author holds that the current women's fashion of revealing part of the breasts in low-necked dresses is so offensive that he refers to women's breasts in the following manner, "…esos dos estorbos de la continencia, esos dos tropiezos de la vista, esos dos escollos del alma"(184). Teófilo builds his acerbic terms from the sensual to the spiritual, ending on the dramatic point of the endangerment of men's souls. The cumulative effect of these comments emphasizes that breasts are inherently obstacles to men's moral well-being. Viewing them cannot but excite sexual desire in men. As mentioned earlier, Teófilo describes men's corporeality as their greatest weakness because their physical constitution threatens moral constancy and civic tranquility. Women's bodies are the disruptive cause of that; more particularly, breasts are the ultimate weapon by which women are characterized.

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[142] Immediately before Feijoo begins his epistolary text he refers to it saying, "…en cuya lectura toda Dama bien intencionada puede figurarse haber sido escrita para ella" (180).

[143] Simon Richter analyzes what he refers to as the "culture of the breast" in eighteenth century discourse in Germany in his article "Wet-Nursing, Onanism, and the Breast in Eighteenth Century Germany." As scientific and philosophical discourses circulated around Europe and beyond, we see here in Feijoo a fixation on women's breasts in the context of good social order.

From noble women all the way down the socio-moral ladder to prostitutes, the nakedness of women's breasts is critiqued through the implementation of the language of violence and conquest. Teófilo follows a pattern of juxtaposing extreme examples, in this case, those of noble women and women prostitutes. Both groups of women claim fashion as a defense and as a justification for sartorial immodesty. However, noble women pretend that their exposed breasts are merely fashion, while prostitutes openly use them to accomplish their conquests. The author declares that resorting to "fashion" is a false pretense because such nakedness is useless except for one thing:

> "De esa indecente desnudez de pechos, de que hacéis gala las nobles…mal la llamo moda: pues esta corrupción…tiene motivo general, y constante, que siempre subsiste, el qual no puede ser otro que la lisonja del apetito. Solo este uso tiene esa indecencia. Para todo lo demás es inútil" (184).

The Enlightenment discourse of utility is the crux of Teófilo's accusation that manipulative women prey upon men's moral vulnerabilities. This breaks with his original claim that the discourse against scandalous fashions is directed at women who unknowingly disrupt men's constancy. Moreover, the author demonstrates that noblewomen, who protest that revealed breasts are simply a fashion, are akin to prostitutes -- with the exception that their manipulations excite desires that are not, presumably, satisfied. "Rameras," or prostitutes, are described as conquerors that wield their breasts as if they were weapons.

These weapons are particularly powerful in public, and thus Teófilo emphasizes the damage done to men who see breasts in a public space. During the eighteenth century, the public sphere was ideally conceived of as a space where social actors, mainly

men, exercised their civic, intellectual, and economic duties. As treated in the first chapter, urban organizations and the outlines of its material culture were aimed at creating and maintaining a utilitarian order. Sexual arousal in public, as Teófilo indicates, is useless except for inciting immoral conduct.

In private, domestic space, women's breasts do have utilitarian purposes. The sexual attraction of women's bodies may be understood to ensure a productive and enjoyable marriage. Women's breasts represent their ability to nourish and raise healthy children.[144] Indeed, this demonstrates the binary paradigm that characterizes and divides women's bodies and social roles. In Enlightenment discourse, women's bodies are a biological and social fulcrum that works in two directions at once. Biologically, women's bodies are the acme of usefulness, but when women immodestly adorn their material selves so that they may be viewed in a public space, they are considered to be so incendiary that they cannot but cause the socio-sexual corruption of men present.

The idea that men have no control over their physical reaction to women's bodies is one of the most important points that Teófilo insists on emphasizing to women.[145] Teófilo attempts to dispel women of the notion propagated by men that the masculine sex is not so weak, saying, "…que yo me fijo los hombres muy de vidrio: que ellos se experimentan a sí mismos de constitución más robusta, y miran con indiferencia…lo que yo aseguro no puede verse sin riesgo" (184). The argument that all men are driven to

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[144] Rousseau argued that women should breastfeed their own children, eschewing the tradition of wet-nurses in the middle and upper classes because raising children as naturally as possible was morally and physically right. For helpful scholarly studies on practical, biological treatment of breasts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, refer to Emilie Bergmann's and Melisa Klimaszewski's studies on wet-nursing and the sexual economy.

[145] Grosz discusses Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological theories that treat the interrelatedness of body and mind. Vision is one of the senses that are highly privileged and reversible (100-101). The idea of reversibility is implicitly present in Feijoo's discourse because as men see women's bodies, women see men's bodies in the sense that they see their sexual reactions. This lived-body experience is a basis upon which Feijoo rests his persuasive argument.

look at women's breasts and that the experience of viewing women's bodies causes moral and civic disorder that is exemplified by the story of a courtesan from ancient Greece named Phryne that Feijoo includes to anchor Teófilo's epistolary argument.

Phryne was a *hetaera*, a highly trained and desired courtesan who lived during the fourth century B.C. Teófilo briefly relates her story to demonstrate how she caused civic disorder. Phryne was accused of a crime that was punishable by death and was brought before the senate to be judged. All of the venerable senators were ready to condemn Phryne to death when her advocate Hyperides, who was also her lover interrupted the proceedings: "Acercóse intrépido a la bella acusada, y rasgando prontamente la parte anterior de su vestido…puso patentes aquellos escándalos de la nieve a los ojos de todo el concurso…como si vieran la cabeza de Medusa…dieron a leer su absolución" (186).[146] Naked breasts, Medusa, and socio-political transformation are dramatic history that demonstrates the universality of women's powers of disruption. In the case of Phryne, they resulted in political disruption amongst the venerated senators, implying that if such rational men are affected by women's revealed breasts, then all others must be affected as well.

The figurative and literal language of violence, which the author uses throughout his epistolary essay, leads to a logical finality that highlights the eventual loss and death of women's physical beauty. Women are obligated to prevent men and society from lustful corruption and also are charged with rescuing themselves from a painful and shameful old age. Teófilo strategically uses the fleeting nature of material beauty to teach women that if they value their beautiful youth, their unattractive middle and old age

[146] Craig Cooper in "Hyperides and the Trial of Phryne" summarizes the history and sources of this incident. Hyperides was a famed orator and philosopher the story of his love affair and peculiar defense of Phryne was mentioned in multiple texts from classical Greece.

will be psychologically painful. Teófilo goes beyond traditional language of the slow and predetermined loss of women's beauty. He states that vain women, referring to all women essentially, die twice. The idea of repeated deaths is another version of Teófilo intentional use of horror. Women who "viven mucho" as beautiful and admired objects, suffer most terribly from their two deaths. The first is the death of physical beauty and the second is the expiration of life. Teófilo implies that the first may be more painful than the latter (187). The unavoidable consequence for a beautiful woman, particularly if she enjoys and cultivates her vanity, is that in old age she certainly will be spurned and ashamed to show herself in public.

The fatalist description of women's double-death contradicts and undermines the preceding argument that encourages women to materially represent themselves as modest so as to attract a man who loves and respects them. Here, the warning against vanity is enforced by Teófilo's assurance that no men love the formerly beautiful women who, in their old age, forever carry around the "cadaver" of their previous physical beauty. The only women who may avoid such lugubrious suffering are those who think of nothing but pleasing God. The sexual allure of women's bodies means that from a very early age women must consciously and strictly work to make God love them. Spiritually seducing god is the course of action that promises women a morally and psychologically good life because he (God) is the only, "…galán que, que no te ha de volver las espaldas al verte con arrugas" (187). The moral and social order that Feijoo suggests is convoluted and contradictory because while men are depicted as the moral guides of women in society, women are held completely responsible for the actions that would effect and maintain a stable society.

Teófilo's didactic letter to Paulina mixes traditions of religion, beauty, and thought. His combination of classical references to Helen of Troy and Phryne with moralist admonitions and experiential observations produces a unique text that reflects eighteenth-century ideals and concerns. The following text by Arzáns demonstrates a similar discourse, though his socio-historical circumstances and narrative style are quite different from Feijoo's.

Volatile Women in Potosí

Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela was a chronicler who lived in Potosí in the viceroyalty of Perú from 1676-1736.[147] His chronicle titled *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* is an expansive work that tells the story of the city from its foundation up until the present in which Arzáns is writing. Arzáns was born and raised in Potosí and seems to have viewed his chronicle as a way to resurrect the city at a time of political and economic decline.

There are only two extant manuscript editions of Arzáns' *Historia*, which can be found in Madrid and the Brown University library. It was first published in 1965 when Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza oversaw the publication of a three-quarto annotated edition of the work. Their edition includes introductory essays that offer socio-historical context for Potosí and *criollo* society during Arzáns' lifetime. The Brown edition is an indispensable foundation for scholarly work on Arzáns in general, providing access to this previously almost inaccessible work.

It is believed that Arzáns wrote the historical part of his work around 1705-1708; and later in his life he included events as they occurred. Arzáns' history of Potosí is a

[147] Notable contributions to our understanding of Arzáns' life and works have come from D.A. Brading, Denise Galarza, and Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza, who produced the Brown edition of Arzáns' work.

voluminous text, comparable to the monumentality of encyclopedic projects and other compilation works. Accordingly, Arzáns includes a multitude of accounts that relate events, individuals, and social customs that illustrate various aspects of the city's history. The author generally adheres to a typical pattern of chronicling significant moments and individuals in his Potosí, but what makes his histories compelling is the lively way he narrates the social aspects of *criollo* society. As a non-clergyman, Arzáns is a chronicler who pays much attention to the daily goings-on in his city. Through the many dramatic and tales that focus on honor and love, it becomes clear that Arzáns is a storyteller influenced by chivalrous and moralizing traditions as well as the eighteenth century's utilitarian discourse.[148]

Utility goes beyond the material production for the home or the larger economy, and includes human reproduction, especially for communities whose populations are dwindling and simply need to be increased. In the case of Spain, the country suffered a fairly steady decrease in population due to immigration to the Americas, and, as some Enlightenment writers argued, women who fall to the vanity of fashion indulgences and so are less likely to put efforts into raising children.[149] Potosí was one of the Andean cities during the eighteenth century where the *criollo* community was concerned with building and maintaining a healthy, flourishing, and stable society. Potosí's population was, in fact, declining during the time the Arzáns was writing due to a plague that

[148] For analysis of the economy and society in colonial Potosí, see Jane E. Mangan's *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí* and Denise Galarza's article "Of Legends and Lack: the Economy of *Criollo* Discourse in the *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*.

[149] See Pierre Clément's book, *Mercurio peruano*, that gives a concise overview of the discourse on women from *philosophes* like Rousseau and Voltaire that greatly influence the ideology presented in the Peruvian periodical.

gripped the city in 1719 and other factors, such as Spain's weakening economy.[150] Arzáns demonstrates these concerns and laments Potosí's social problems through many stories that figure in the *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*.

Potosí is a city made famous because of its silver mining. It was due to the *cerro rico* of the region, the silver ore in the mountain, and consequent industry, that a vice-regal city developed there. The resulting commerce and society transformed Potosí into a booming city of circulation, similar to other cultural and commercial centers like Lima. Accordingly, Arzáns, in his *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, writes extensively on the colonial development of the city and its economic development through the silver mining industry.[151] He organized his work chronologically. In addition to providing significant socio-economic history, the author includes stories that demonstrate the social and spiritual development of the Potosí as a vice-regal city.[152] Arzáns frames the establishment of Potosí within biblical myth – in terms of a creation story and then, as Galarza Sepúlveda has argued, a Christian moral economy. For example, Arzáns' narrates the story of the first *criollo potosino*. Women of European descent, previously and mysteriously barren, were finally able to produce children who survived infancy because of Christian devotion. Moreover, Arzáns folds the indigenous population into his Christian framework by lauding their willingness to convert.

One of the most dynamic elements that Arzáns represents in his history are the women of Potosí. Women, and their physical beauty, are portrayed like another imperial force over men because the carnal passion they arouse cannot be predicted or prevented.

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[150] *The Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759-1789* delineates the trade policies and the political factors that contributed to the Spanish Empires decline.
[151] D.A. Brading and Harry Cross discuss the history of silver mining in colonial Mexico and Perú (1972).
[152] See Brading's *The First America: the Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State* for a discussion of Arzáns and his chronicle as part of the *criollo* epistemology (399-409).

Arzáns includes many tales of bloody battles fought for the love of incredibly beautiful women, of virtuous women who reproduce *criollo* society, and of sinful witchcraft practitioners. These stories generally end in moral conversion or death.[153] The chapter that I examine here is an anecdote that functions as a morality play and a cautionary tale. It contains two stories, and I will focus on the second anecdote that recounts the tale of how one young woman named Margarita engendered a generations-long blood feud amongst distinct groups of men, designated by nationality, in Potosí.[154]

Potosí was a city in which people and goods circulated and so had connections through commerce and individuals that moved along the networks of trade and travel in the Americas and Europe. As was explored in the first chapter on cultural geographies, circulation, in this sense, denotes controlled movements that are variously regulated by commercial, political, religious, and social institutions. Orderly movement of people and goods represents successful organization according to the ideals of utilitarian order and observation. Uncontrolled movement, however, produces tension and anxiety because of its potential to destabilize social and moral norms. The movement of women's sexual bodies in Potosí provokes Arzáns to write histories that speak of immorality and violence induced by women's ungovernable sexuality. The story of an imprudent young woman

[153] For reference, the titles of a few such stories include: "De cómo entraron en esta imperial villa los religiosos del gran patriarca san Agustín a la fundación de su iglesia y convento, y de cómo por intercesión de nuestro padre san Nicolás de Tolentino se comenzaron a lograr los niños que en ella nacían," "En que se cuentan los hechos de dos doncellas nobles naturales de esta villa, y lo demás que sucedió durante el corto gobierno de don Luis Pimentel," "En que se cuenta la vida, virtudes y muerte del siervo de Dios Juan de San José, y asimismo los sucesos de una dama muy celebrada en esta villa, la gran riqueza y vanidad que mantuvo y el fin miserable con que llegó al de su vida," and "Celébranse en esta Villa las fiestas de la canonización de San Francisco de Borja. Casos extraños que sucedieron con una famosa hechicera, y dícese lo nocivo que es en este reino la yerba llamada coca" (191-194, 149-155, 351-357, 266-272).

[154] Margarita herself is *criolla*, and I refer to the groups of men that fight as "designated by nationality" for lack of a better term; the distinct groups Arzáns relates are based on Spanish peninsular regions and rivalries that are transplanted to Potosí society.

which I have selected illustrates women's powers of disruption through their uncontained sexuality.

The construction of the *criollo* subjectivity is made up of a network of erudite and material goods.[155] Arzáns' history of Potosí is an example of the construction of a *criollo* community. In his narrative of the foundation and development of the city, Arzáns traces Potosí's socio-economic success as interdependent with individuals who either support a good social order or destabilize that order. As I have mentioned, women are recurrent characters in Arzáns' anecdotes, oscillating between virtuous women who reproduce and improve Potosí society, and fallen women who create social chaos and bloodshed. Stories of the fallen, or immodest, women of Potosí are as dramatic and didactic as those of virtuous women.

The anecdote entitled "…se cuenta los daños que se acarreó el poco recato de una doncella, su trágica muerte y encuentros sangrientos que por esto se aumentaron en esta villa", presents the story of a young woman whose immodestly dressed (or, on occasion, nude) body and uncontrolled sexuality cause social and physical damages to countless people. There are four main characters in the story about a young woman's imprudence, three of whom have proper names and the fourth is simply known by his nationality. Margarita is a beautiful young *criolla*, her father is Cristóbal, and Margarita's two lovers are the *manchego* and don García. Crístobal is an honorable and wealthy *criollo* who was also known for having an extremely beautiful daughter. Margarita is fourteen at the time her story begins. She is aware of the many men who admire her beauty, but is painted as

[155] Higgins put forth this argument in *Constructing the* Criollo *Archive*, which was discussed in my chapter on industries.

completely ignorant of the power her body has to incite passions. Margarita's ignorance is questionable, but it is clear that her knowing is strictly through her body's senses.

The two suitors are very different kinds of men. The *manchego* is defined as one of the many from his region of Spain to seek their fortune in America. Arzáns criticizes him for his base desires of greed and, more importantly, his impassioned and immoral efforts to pursue a love affair with the "fragile fortress" that is Margarita. Through a series of intimate encounters sparked by Margarita's lack of modest dress, the two consummate their sexual love after Margarita is already engaged to a more honorable man. Don García is an honorable gentleman, a native of Andalusia, who is equally taken by Margarita's beauty but chooses the honest path of arranging marriage with her through her father. Don García and Margarita first meet in an unexpected encounter near a lagoon for bathing. Margarita is completely nude when don García enters the scene, and she boldly invites him to bathe with her. Only don García's sexual control and moral guidance save her, if only temporarily, from an immoral act. Once both lovers learn of their mutual betrayals, the *manchego* attempts to flee with Margarita but don García arrives with a cadre of other *andaluces* to avenge him in a bloody fight. As an act of vengeance, Don García immediately kills Margarita by stabbing her in the stomach. Many men die in the fight, including Margarita's father, and the violence between transplanted Spaniards continues for many years. A hyperbolic exemplary story that parallels the *drama de honor* plotline, this piece signals the dangers attached to women's scantily clad bodies in public. Despite Arzáns clear moral judgment, the story is peppered with several moments of voyeuristic pleasure.

Imprudent Margarita, a Violent Tale

The author frames his story about Margarita as if it were a well-known tale or fable by announcing, "…se dicen que…" around the year 1645 there was a beautiful young girl who caused incredible violence in Potosí. Arzáns' lends authority to his story by suggesting that it has been told by multiple narrators. It is not something that he is inventing; rather, he is retelling it as a chronicler would recount an event. The fact that the story is widely known, coupled with Arzáns' position as chronicler, means that the bloody events that young Margarita engenders are represented as truth. Despite this, the author's dramatic style of storytelling makes it obvious to the reader that his own creative imperative influences the moral and sensual effects of the narrative.

According to the author's descriptions, Margarita's beauty is spectacular. So much so, that reading them provides the reader a certain voyeuristic pleasure. The characters in the story experience this same pleasure at viewing her, which indicates that her extreme beauty corresponds to an equally extreme potential for disruption amongst the men of Potosí. Moral judgments and sensual, material, images are blended together throughout this text, as will be seen in the following analysis. The organizing themes of Arzáns story reflect moralizing cautionary tales but they unfold in particularly eighteenth-century ways. The representation of Margarita's beauty is filtered through a neoclassical rhetoric on the body and rational regulation; the physical presence and visibility of Margarita's body is defined in a causal relationship of sexual catalyst and the outcome of her lovers' aroused passions; and, finally, Margarita's and the many other violent deaths are condemned for their irrationality rather than validated as the vindication of honor.

Beauty and Knowing

Margarita's beauty is paramount in her characterization and the events that lead to the tragic ending of her story. Arzáns speaks only of her physical features, and these serve to define the whole of her. Her corporeal characterization dialogues with eighteenth-century discourse, as we have seen in Feijoo's text, as physical constitution and sexual difference directly corresponded to an individual's characteristics. Margarita's beauty advertises her sexuality and leads to corporeal desires and the impulsive actions she takes to satisfy her passions. The abstract qualities of reason and intelligence do not figure into Margarita's story at all. Margarita is an unknowing actor in her own story; what she does know occurs in the moment through the bodily experiences that her beauty brings. Her actions and reactions are motivated by her own exteriority and that of the *manchego* and don García. Margarita's material beauty is observed by the author, the characters that surround her, and the readers. Arzáns includes detailed descriptions of her face, clothing, and body to illustrate who she is and the powerful place that she, as a beautiful woman, has in her community.[156]

The disruptive power of Margarita's beauty and its effects might have been contained through the prudence of her father, but he fails in his duty. Arzáns asserts that he failed in his paternal obligation in two ways: first, by informing Margarita of her many suitors; and second, by allowing men to frequent the house and see his daughter in close proximity. At an early stage in Arzáns' story, then, Margarita's father is denied his expected role as a responsible moral guide and protector. The author implies that if the young woman had been kept in ignorance of the multitude of men interested in her

[156]Outram writes in *The Enlightenment* that women were considered and viewed by many men writers as if they were another species (78-80). This kind of teleology that moves from observation through the senses to an authoritative characterization is reflected here in Arzáns' implications of what Margarita's beauty does and means.

beauty, she would have been less likely to employ the power of her sexual attraction. Though she never exercises her sexual wiles intentionally or with forethought, perhaps her ignorance would have served as a kind of containment, nullifying her father's imprudence. Despite Margarita's basic knowledge that many men desire her, she is not attributed any kind of rational intelligence or self-awareness. In fact, because she never fully understands that her sexual body has such disruptive power, her unknowing status plays a strong part in her downfall.

Arzáns further describes the beauty of Maragrita's naked body in the conflicting terms of moral virtue and sexual passions that reappear throughout the story. The colorful description of her body also indicates Arzáns' opinion of women's dualistic and self-contradicting nature. He observes that her skin is milky white and "salpicada," or splashed, all over with carmine (101).[157] Virginal, but with splotches of passion, Margarita's body suggests that she is at a critical point where she may fall to lust or into an honest marriage. Her body contains the potential for both. Through the beautiful and erotic representation of her body, Margarita is saturated by her sexuality.[158]

In the scene when Margarita is on the banks of a lagoon, Arzáns paints the picture of the young woman's body in detail as if she were in a painting, and he does so with a neoclassical rhetoric that reflects her inherent closeness to nature and materiality. At ten in the morning, she stands completely naked with her luxurious clothing thrown to the ground. "…sin advertir que pudiera ser vista por algún hombre arrojó de sí los ricos vestidos y últimamente el cambray" (101). Even before commenting on her body,

[157] The particular color chosen, "carmín," is notable, as it may refer back to Landívar's treatment of the cochineal dye. Carmine, a deep crimson color, was most often produced with the Mexican dyestuff.
[158] The hysterization of women's bodies is denoted by a saturation of sexuality and integration into the sphere of medical practices, including biological-moral responsibilities (Foucault 104).

Arzáns describes what surrounds Margarita with a combination of natural beauty and material luxury. Arzáns does not focus on the luxury of Margarita's clothing; the focus is her physical beauty and her luxurious, discarded clothing is a reflection of that beauty.

The neo-classical imagery becomes more explicit when Arzáns writes that upon entering the bathing area of the lagoon, don García sees Margarita without the "concha de sus vestidos." The combination of the water of the lagoon, surrounding nature, and erotic femininity of Margarita's body creates an image that is surely a *criollo* representation of Botticelli's "Birth of Venus." Margarita embodies the same female powers of arousal to carnal love and fecundity as the goddess. As Margarita is a moving embodiment of what Venus symbolizes, her presence in the company of men is unavoidably incendiary.

Physical Presence and Morality

The physical presence of Margarita is the catalyst for all the impassioned encounters that take place in Arzáns' violent tale. The author explicitly says that if it were not for her bodily presence, a man's "torpes deseos" would fade and not be acted upon. I have said that this story plays out in particular eighteenth-century ways, and here I ask, where is reason in the chain of sexual arousal and encounters? Arzáns implies that in the absence of Margarita's physical body, lustful men would be able to control their desires. Reason is the tool men must use to take control of their bodies' natural urges. However, reason is not always an effective defense when men are faced with the presence of women's sexuality.[159] Referring to Margarita's first suitor, the unnamed *manchego*, Arzáns asserts,

[159] An example of the preoccupation with the disruptive power of women's bodily presence in male dominated public spaces appears in the debate over women's induction into economic societies in Spain. Opponents to women's admission cited that women's presence would potentially disrupt the men's intellectual activities, which were ideally understood as separated from any corporeal instincts (Smith 74-

> "Es fuego el amor y se ceba con la vista de la cosa amada: para apagarlo, el remedio mejor es que se quite el cebo. Esto no hizo Margarita ni menos su padre, y así se emprendió el fuego de tal modo que entre los dos se hizo imposible el apagarlo. Abrasábanse entrambos sin declararse el uno al otro su mal" (101).

The author says that love is fire, a force that is notoriously difficult to control when men and women are physically together. Love as heat and fire is an old and enduring metaphor that, as we saw, is also present in Feijoo's treatment of women's scandalous fashions. However, the problem is not love but rather the repercussion of women's bodies being visible to men. The imprudence of such sensual encounters initiates an unstoppable force of concupiscence, as exemplified by the passion resulting from encounters between men and women in Arzáns' narrative.

The process of illicit carnal love is laid out as a linear inevitability with a female sexual catalyst initiating men's sexual arousal and involuntary lustful actions. Women's bodies, in turn, react to men's desire. Margarita's physical presence sparks the fire in the first place. In fact, the frequent and prolonged physical and visible presence of Margarita in the company of the *manchego* makes their lustful embraces a certainty. Arzáns represents the young woman's body as a volatile and therefore dangerous object that could only have been contained by preventative measures. As noted, Margarita's father failed in regulating Margarita's physical and sexual presence; her *manchego* lover only employs his capacity for reason in his plot to seduce her. As Margarita is imprudently present and bodily available, the sexual power of her body initiates that natural sexual encounter. The actions of both parties are driven by their bodies' sensual experiences

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107). Walker examines this preoccupation with women's presence in public in *Shaky Colonialism*. His example is the moment following the Lima earthquake of 1746 when the presence of women of mixed classes and social positions in the streets produced anxious reactions.

and desires; while Margarita's revealed body is to blame for inflaming those desires, she is also represented as not responsible for regulating her own sexuality. Her lack of rational and moral self-regulation is more explicitly apparent in relation to her "honest" lover, don García.

Sight is the privileged sense, which is ubiquitous in the eighteenth century's valorization of observation. Margarita's second suitor, the respectable don García, views her goddess-like naked body and is even more disturbed by the presence of Margarita's beauty, as he gazes upon her disrobed figure alongside the lagoon. The effect that Margarita has upon don García is exacerbated by her unexpected presence and her initial lack of shame. He is not pursuing her or planning to initiate any kind of seduction, and so his carnal pleasure at seeing her is unsolicited. The unexpectedness of her presence means that don García has not even had the chance to prepare cognitively to restrain his own body's inevitable arousal. For don García, being surprised by such an erotic vision leaves him "suspenso" and "admirado." For a moment, Margarita's beauty disrupts all his thought and action. His first action is involuntary and is strictly produced as a carnal response to a woman's body. Arzáns signals a bodily disruption that may be viewed as a minor violence, foreshadowing the extreme violence to come. Don García trembles all over as if he were "azogado." Margarita's physical presence breaks down his gentlemanly façade momentarily as his body's natural instincts take precedence over moralized, controlled reason.

If Margarita's body surprises don García into an immediate sexual arousal, what, then, brings him back from that disruption? Her sexual agency is countered by the moment when don García reigns in his body and reverts to socio-moral codes of decency.

Margarita is unashamed by her nakedness and his visible arousal. The sense of sight is not only a privileged factor in don García's bodily experience, because Margarita is aware of his voyeurism. Her being seen, and then seeing, motivates her to invite further intimate engagement. Sight is indeed a powerful sense that, according to Arzáns, directly leads to the tangible, to touching and sexual relations.[160] The events that the author narrates demonstrate that the trajectory that Margarita is following is driven by her body's natural instincts to sexual interaction and reproductivity. After Margarita's father Cristóbal failed to contain Margarita's sexuality, Don García is the first man in her life to remind her of moralized social codes and, specifically, the institution of marriage.

Margarita's meeting with don García illustrates how shameless she has become because of her lack of guidance, but don García's moral corrections indicate that her vice of lustful indiscretions can be remedied. Arzáns tells us that when Margarita becomes aware of don García watching her and sees his trembling body, she does not even attempt to cover herself but instead invites her watcher in, "…le dijo que entrase a la compuerta y que se sosegase para que juntos entrasen a bañarse" (101). Margarita is so comfortable with her body and with others viewing it that she calmly attempts to quell don García's agitation. However, being confronted with a man who is morally good will shake Margarita from her state of shamelessness. Don García's self-control was disrupted at seeing the young woman's naked form, but her bold invitation that he bathe with her acts to jumpstart to his sense of reasonable behavior. His desire is not lessened, but he has

[160] The reciprocity of vision and touch is a paradigm that Grosz examines by way of Maurice Merleau-Ponty's and Luce Irigaray's theories of the body. The former introduces the concept of reciprocity and non-exclusivity between sight and touch, while the latter refutes the necessity of such a connection (97-107). In the context of eighteenth century organization of knowledge about the body, sight and the "imagination" is inextricable from the tangible because even when an object is no longer present in the field of vision, it remains imprinted in the mind. We have seen Feijoo argue this as Teófilo in his epistolary essay.

pulled back from his body's urges and scolds Margarita – insisting that she cover herself because in the face of such beauty he could only want to enjoy it. The fact that they are not married, he tells her, impedes such actions.

Moral guidance from don García corrects her behavior. Not only does this moral agent interrupt her inappropriate behavior, but it also changes her self-awareness. Her shift from bodily desire and tranquility to awareness of traditional moral guidelines is the opposite of don García's unsettled experience. His reasoned and "honest" behavior is disrupted by her unashamed presence, while she only becomes aware of her extreme imprudence, in revealing her body when she hears his chastisement and mention of holy matrimony. In keeping with Arzáns' logic that Margarita's illicit behavior began due to her father's lack of moral guidance, the author's description of the lagoon-side encounter re-affirms the notion that a girl or woman without a moral guide will quickly fall to base desires. Yet Arzáns represents her as a volatile woman who, stereotypically, changes rapidly from one behavior or desire to another.

Upon hearing don García's words about matrimony and modesty, Margarita becomes, "…toda llena de turbación (que tiene muy distintos efectos el amor honesto) se cubrió, dando disculpa de que con lo repentino de su vista estaba tan enajenada que aun la vergüenza y honestidad se había olvidado" (101). I would like to draw attention to two main points in this part of the Arzáns' tale. First is the implication that the beautiful young woman Margarita's natural state is to be unashamed of her body and free with it in terms of sexual desire. I say natural state because lacking any moral guidance until don García enters the story Margarita simply follows the rules of her body. The lagoon is almost a paradisiacal place and Margarita an Eve-like figure who must be awakened and

shamed through knowledge. She does not self-regulate, but the external influence of "amor honesto" of don García carries the moral authority to make her realize the disturbing temptation of her revealed body. Second, it is remarkable that the mention of marriage is revelatory to Margarita in terms of how she perceives herself and of what she desires. She sees her immodesty and excuses it by saying that don García's appearance surprised her. The sincerity, or lack thereof, of her explanation is a moot point because Arzáns does not provide the possibility for Margarita to be manipulative. Instead, she is a volatile woman whose behavior changes with the actions of the men who desire her – as don García turns her mindset to honesty and shame.

Margarita's newfound sense of morality, as it pertains to her as a woman specifically, leads into her wanting marriage and desiring a husband. Despite the fact that she demonstrates a sudden attention to social norms, she is still driven by her body. Women were usually considered the custodians of morality; the success of maintaining good moral conduct depended upon the regulation of their bodies and its reproduction (Outram 78). However, women were not the agents to construct or instruct moral guidelines. Margarita is always sexually charged but the difference that domesticates her sexuality is don García's guiding hand that moves toward bringing her into a legitimate relationship.

Arzáns' strict view of Potosí's *criollo* society is reflected in the moralizing advice that immediately motivates Margarita to become part of a socially reproductive institution that is sanctified by the Church. His concern for the fragility of such a social order also shines through. The expression of don García's sexual but honest desire for Margarita to be his wife re-directs her socio-sexual trajectory very suddenly. The

capriciousness of her change, which was brought on by external guidance, points to the volatility inherent in her identity as a woman. Before meeting don García Margarita had readily engaged in morally and socially problematic flirtations with the *manchego*. Then, just as easily, she follows another man's lead, and her own passion, toward the potential relationship with don García. However, rather than proving that "amor honesto" is a cure for women's inconstancy, Arzáns' view of women as dynamic and unpredictable because of their easily swayed passions foreshadows the socially and physically disruptive end to Margarita's story.

Margarita's sexual presence ultimately leads to the loss of her virginity with the unnamed *manchego* and, as a consequence, the total destabilization of Potosí's social order and the destruction of all the men involved in her tale. The beginning of her final downfall is initiated, again, by her exposed and visible body. Don García arranges the marriage to Margarita with her father after seeing Margarita by the lagoon, but immediately thereafter she encounters her *manchego* lover again at her home. Her clothing again fails to cover her, showing her immodesty. In this case, her "faldas descompuestas" provoke her illicit interaction with the *mancehgo* (101).

Arzáns describes the sensual image of the *manchego* helping her down from her horse, while they are both "ardiendo," or burning, with the flames of passion. Margarita "sin componer las faldas continuando su mal recato dio ocasión a que el manchego indecentemente la tocase con las manos en partes que no debiera…" Arzáns explicitly delivers a message about Christian-based morality, but he also provides his readers with specific erotic imagery. Similar to the way the Carbonel's entry on corsets focused on particular articles of clothing, as seen in the previous chapter, Arzáns specifies the area of

Margarita's body that her *manchego* lover touches. Beyond the visual pleasure for reader, the graphic pleasure that the author describes in his characters' flirtations signals the inevitable consummation of their extra-marital relationship. Further assuring this, Margarita expressly tells him that if she were not engaged, she would return the love he showed her, which serves as a tentative permission for him to complete his seduction.

The loss of Margarita's virginity leaves her in "diferente estado," a materially and symbolically altered state that jeopardizes the honorable and stable marriage she otherwise would have had with don García. The *manchego*'s insistent act of desiring and pursuing Margarita defines her as a desired woman; she naturally responds to his arousal and follows her body's lead. Arzáns highlights the reciprocity of the *manchego* and Margarita's corporeal desire and indicates that the mutual recognition of their wants pushes them together in such a way that they could not avoid consummating their relationship.[161]

Personal and Societal Violence

Margarita's body is treated as a material good that circulates in such a way that it undermines the social order that, according to Arzáns' representation, might have been virtuous and ultimately productive for Potosí. Margarita's bodily movement from her father, to don García, and then to the *manchego* constructs a triangle of three men who all have a certain claim to her.[162] These three men all find themselves in positions that demand violent actions in defense of their family, honor, and personal interests,

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[161] Grosz questions concepts of fundamental sexual difference that is described in universal terms of the body, rather than specifying sexual difference and the experiences that come with it (110-111). In Arzáns' story about Margarita, both universal sexual desire and specified experiences of it are apparent.

[162] The triangle of three men with the overtly sexual Margarita in the center reflects a paradigm of homosocial groups of men who interact through and around a woman. For an in depth examination of homosociality and desire, see Eve Sedgwick's *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*.

respectively. Margarita evades a fixed role, either of illicit lover or soon-to-be wife, as she changes according to the social roles that are available to her. By way of her corporeal actions, she moves through the roles of imprudent daughter, licentious woman, and modest wife-to-be, while her father, lover, and fiancé all act according to their particular relationship with her.

These competing and irreconcilable interests lead to a massacre that Arzáns describes as a denouncement to Margarita's story and that may be read as another kind of passion. To briefly reiterate the conclusion of this story, the *manchego* tries to flee with Margarita in order to take her as his wife, but her fiancé don García is alerted to the plan and rides to avenge the insult along with ten other *andaluces*. A terrible knife fight breaks out and Margarita's father, incensed by the violent scene, is killed in trying to protect her from it. While his efforts are honorable, Margarita's father Cristóbal sadly fails in his duty to protect his daughter, reflecting his failure to contain her sexuality. This lack of containment leads to her demise. Margarita's fiancé don García is impassioned by his anger and avenges his betrayal by stabbing Margarita to death.

The loss of her virginity changes not only Margarita's sexual identity but also her social status. The moment she consummates her relationship with her lover, she ceases to be a potential productive member of society. Her sexual act is in direct violation to the social norms that regulate a betrothal, or marriage contract. The loss of her virginity initiates a chain reaction of violence, beginning with her own death and followed by the death of her father, *manchego* lover and many other unnamed men in the fight. Margarita's death at the hands of her wronged suitor would have been an

acceptable, and even expected, end in earlier literary traditions.[163] However, her punishment is critiqued in Enlightenment terms that at once blame and pity her. Arzáns laments Margarita's fate because, as a woman, she is too "indefensa" and "delicada" to be held accountable for the physical passions that she pursued.

The eighteenth-century twist to Arzáns' traditional story of love, honor, and death is the slippery division he establishes between the cause of disruption and where blame lies. Margarita's sexually saturated body is certainly the object that causes all of the men's sexual and violent actions. The apparent blame laid upon her, however, is contradicted at the end of the story, as the author specifically condemns the punishment that is meted out by don García. The question arises, then, if Margarita cannot have helped or controlled herself, who is to blame for such disorder? The men of the story are the only option left. As mentioned earlier, the men, Margarita's father and her gentleman suitor, are responsible for containing and guiding her. That is to say, the domestication of Margarita was their obligation, in which they failed. The power of her sexual nature thwarted any such regulation.

The carnal drive that generally dictates Margarita's actions and reactions excludes, or simply accepts, the impossibility of her rational capacity. Such irrationality leaves her as a volatile figure; and her power to disrupt through her sexuality foreshadows the violence that she causes. Despite the cruelty of Margarita's death, Arzáns argues that there is still a lesson to be learned from it. Referring to her love affair with the *manchego*, he says, "Muchos son los deleites de que gustan los sensuales y

[163] The genre of *dramas de honor* is especially a useful example to illustrate the relation between honor, love, and death. For references that I have found helpful, see Antonio Carreño's "Textos y palimpsestos: la tradición literaria de *El castigo sin venganza* de Lope de Vega," María Luisa Dañobeitia's "The Inevitable Death of Desdemona: Shakespeare and the Mediterranean Tradition," and Peter Podol's "The Evolution of the Honor Theme in Modern Spanish Drama."

vanos, pero sus gustos no lo son, porque el verdadero solamente se halla en el gozo y la dulzura de la amistad con Dios" (102). Echoes of early modern narratives come through this comment, which recognizes the pleasures that physical relationships bring, while also critiquing their immorality and the long term disruptions that affect social order.

Margarita gradually becomes "uncontained" by being seen, disrobed, and lastly by consummating her relationship with her lover. The society that Margarita's beauty destabilizes is defined by Arzáns according to national and regional identities. Though, Margarita is characterized by the dynamics of her gender rather than her status as a *criolla*. Her identity as a *criolla* is significant, however, in the social disorder she produces. Rather than perpetuating and enhancing her community in Potosí, she brings out and exacerbates violent tensions between various social groups. In this way, her identification with Venus transforms into identification with Helen of Troy – a woman whose beauty, like Margarita's, actuates much bloodshed between men of different regions. The regionalist animosities between the men were transplanted from Spain and threaten the stability of *criollo* society. Margarita's disruptive sexual presence deteriorates the already shaky stability of Potosí's native born *criollo* families. The fragmentation of her body by the conflicting needs of her sexual body and moralized reproduction mirrors the social fragmentation of Potosí. [164]

Conclusion

Feijoo and Arzáns both reflect the theme of women's potential for physical, moral, and social disruption notwithstanding the authors' temporal and geographical

[164] Mariselle Meléndez examines the historical case of Micaela Bastidas, the wife of José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, who significantly aided her husband in the insurrection in Cuzco against the Spanish forced labor economy. As an active and public figure, Bastidas' disruptive presence ended in her execution and the public violence and fragmentation of her body (Arias and Meléndez 225-234).

differences. The failed containment of women's material beauty because of revealing fashions and nudity are problems that both authors address. Feijoo warns of moral and civic disorder and argues that women must take responsibility for social stability, while Arzáns narrates a tale of violence and social disorder brought on by a young woman's volatile sexuality. The discourse on fashion is a heated debate that focuses on women as material barometers of social stability and enlightened order. The observation and intended regulation of women's bodies for the good of society perpetuate an imbalanced system of social roles in which men do not shoulder the responsibility for the whole of their spiritual and civi well-being. In this sense, women's bodies circulate in a biological, social, and moral economy that portrays them as inherently corporeal individuals who, by their very nature, jeopardize to the established order.

Afterword

The eighteenth century in Spain and Spanish America is a rich area of study that offers many opportunities to re-evaluate and enrich our understanding of the Enlightenment. Intellectual icons of the time shaped the discourse on reason and utility that permeated Europe and the Americas; the philosophical aspect of this discourse was inextricably tied to debates that were grounded in material preoccupations and practices. Material culture was a controversial topic that extended into social, economic, and moral questions. Women were closely identified with materiality, as we have seen in this project, and so were central in many polemical issues.

As women's material culture was connected to Enlightenment ideals by virtue of practical debates, the representation of that material culture was used as an indicator of rationalist advancement and critique. The discussion of women's productive and non-productive roles, as it they are treated in the texts I have examined, was a mode of socio-economic measurement. In the urban geographies of Madrid and Lima, the cities are characterized by quantifiable features that signal qualitative values; the material culture of women is one of the features that both Velasco and Ulloa highlight. The textile and dye industries that Carbonel and Landívar discuss shape the identities of Spain and Spanish America. Laborers that produced woolens, lace, and cochineal are praised for utilitarian contributions to their respective communities. However, excessive consumption of luxury fashions is vehemently condemned by Carbonel, an author who embodies the struggle in Enlightenment discourse between the growth of industry and the moderation of material indulgences.

The aim of this project was to trace the circulation of the heated debate on women's material culture in encyclopedic texts and to investigate the extent to which this debate functioned within the eighteenth century's utilitarian discourse. My research has incorporated a range of works from Spain and Spanish America and this approach has revealed a complex socio-economic network that illustrates the inherently tense connections between the material and the intellectual. In the future I hope to expand my research to include more in depth investigations into material culture and the works that I have analyzed here.

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