Eighteenth-Century Archives of the Body

Conference Proceedings of the International Workshop ***Archives of the Body. Medieval to Early Modern***, Cambridge University, 8-9 Sept. 2011

edited by Elena TADDIA

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Le sternum brûle la plèvre

La plèvre, contractée, étouffe les poumons.

L'air pleut en escarbilles sur l'estomac.

Un acide coule le long des vertèbres et dévore les racines du ventre. Tout devient blanc. Les os entassent

leur rocaille. Le regard se casse, d'un ébouillis à l'autre,

puis rampe.

En haut, dans la sinistre solitude du crâne, l'œil pend.

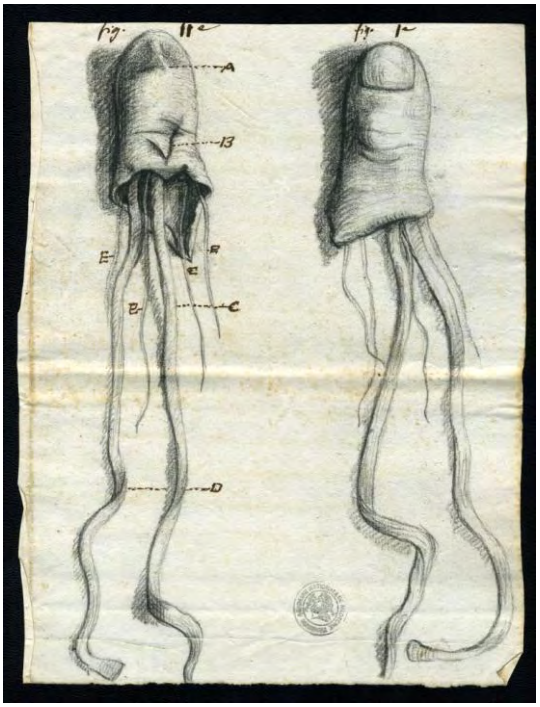
Bernard Noël, *Extraits du corps*, 1958

Eighteenth-Century Archives of the Body

'The body as an archive'

By Elena Taddia

In recent decades, following the leading work of Roy Porter, and his key assumptions that human bodies are the main signifiers of all political, medical and religious meanings, many scholars have paid growing attention to the body in terms of medical culture, power, politics, art, religion, literature, anatomy and history, right up to the most recent studies on ethical and gender issues. In addition, recent spectacular artists' installations and performances on the body (by among others Gunther Von Hagens, Christian Boltanski and Peter Greenway) keep the questioning around the body deeply rooted in our society.



Since the assumption of the body as an instrument of power at least until the French Revolution, when the body of the king and his miraculous touch comes to an end with his decapitation, and Michel Foucault's theory of the body as something that belongs to us as the place of our 'own power', a *long* eighteenth-century clearly represents the time when the body gradually became one of the crucial questionings of our culture.

As Carol Reeds writes in a recent work dedicated to eighteenth-century bodies: "The Enlightenment preached and encouraged the quests for self-identity […] There has been no reversal of these fundamental rights of personal freedom" (C. Reeves, p.11). In fact, from the Scientific Revolution of the previous century, when bodies were finally internally scrutinized thanks to the microscope as well as being dissected and exhibited in cabinets of curiosities, Academies and public dissections all over Europe, the *long* eighteenth century's body reflects new statements and presumptions by philosophers and scientists.

This publication brings together a selection of papers from the International Workshop 'Archives of the Body: Medieval to Early Modern' that was held at the University of

Cambridge, Hughes Hall, on 8 and 9 September 2011 and organised by Dr Elma Brenner (University of Cambridge) and Dr Elena Taddia (Centre Roland Mousnier - Paris IV Sorbonne).

At the heart of our original questioning was the notion of archives of the body, whether the body itself can serve as an archive, aiming to explore in an interdisciplinary way multiple types of evidence about human bodies and multiple sources about the body throughout different centuries with the aim of discussing new historiographical perspectives.

The papers I have chosen to assemble for this publication focus on a *long* eighteenth-century, enabling us to travel in space and time thanks, in most cases, to unpublished manuscripts, illustrations and printed sources of archives of the body.

The illustrations we can observe in Jérôme Van Wijland's essay epitomize the fact that the body remains - despite the growing progress of science - an enigma and an "object" to explore, yet to be studied objectively. The stunning - and mostly unpublished - images from the archives of the Parisian *Académie Nationale de Médécine*, known at the time as the *Académie Royale de Chirurgie* (1731-1793), an institution that was to become a reference for physicians and surgeons from all over France during the *Siècle des Philosophes,* are in most cases observations from surgeons and physicians. A large number of these illustrations are inspired by art, respecting classical canons of beauty, while others are more craftsmenlike.

Beginning in early eighteenth-century Italy, thanks to archive sources, we discover in pious baroque Genoa the miraculously cured body of a Carmelite nun, healed in 1701 through the intercession of St Teresa from a form of *vertigen tenebrosa* with subsequent progressive paralysis. At this time, the testimony of medical professionals was required to "prove" that the healing could not have been achieved by merely medical means, and secluded women's bodies were subject to examinations by male doctors, reflecting old yet fragile gender and *Ancien Régime* schemes (Paolo Fontana).

We then analyse, in a crucial period of political change for England (1709-1713, corresponding to the end of the reign of Queen Anne, the last Stuart monarch), the way in which the English elite became obsessed with physiognomy, and how the face was perceived

as a medium of the soul in popular periodical journals such as the *Tatler*, the *Spectator* and the *Guardian* in an attempt to rewrite the "body" of the coming century (Kathryn Woods).

Finally, we discover two parallel although geographically distant stories - both protagonists were born in 1779 - which take us into a more contemporary discourse: gender, sexuality and the way we can own and control our body. Catriona Seth introduces us to northern Italy under Napoleonic rule at a time when medical ideas and related translations circulated rapidly, and recounts an attempt by scientists to define the sex of a young peasant who believes herself to be a woman. The last story takes place in early nineteenth-century Chile: an unpublished diary analysed by Martín Bowen Silva introduces us to the memoirs of a young Chilean member of the Hispanic elite, representing an archive of his corporal sins and knowledge of his body.

The body thus seems to go through a *long* century: from miracles in baroque Italy, where the nun's body is an archive of ecclesiastical enquiries that rely on medicine (Paolo Fontana), to the modernity of the self, palpable within the cases analysed by Kathryn Woods. In these journal writings, the way others look at us, at our physical appearance, is vital for building an ideal body that conforms to social conventions. The illustrations investigated by Jérôme Van Wijland themselves represent an archive of new Enlightenment approaches to the body, where science is indisputably the winner. Catriona Seth's text pushes us further: the freedom to decide to which gender we belong, a freedom that the unfortunate Giacoma Foroni could not exercise in her/his time. As Martín Bowen Silva demonstrates, by archiving his corporal sins, the Chilean author unwittingly builds a knowledge of his body as a legacy to posterity. If some of these bodies seem to suffer from definitions and schemes imposed by dominant male conventions within society, or indeed by religion, even among the most conventional case studies science is present or in waiting.

The body as an archive is, indisputably, still centre stage in our culture as witnessed by a growing interest in corporeality. It seems to push forward specialized discourses in terms of medicine, religion, cultural history and philosophy, producing its own forms of knowledge as an archive itself. More than ever, these eighteenth-century writings reflect the notion of the body as an archive of our modern self-identity.

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The Eye of the Surgeon: Bodily Images from the Collection of the Royal Academy of Surgery of Paris, 1731–93

Jérôme Van Wijland (Académie Nationale de Médecine, Paris)

Keywords:
Royal Academy of Surgery of Paris, history of medicine, history of surgery, scientific illustration, art in science, scientific drawings.

Abstract:
This article examines the ways in which the human body was represented in eighteenth-century France, using a range of surgical drawings. While trying to enhance the scientific status of pictures of the human body, which endows them with their own epistemological value, these drawings remain rooted in academic artistic conventions as well as in the Christian iconographic tradition.

The Royal Academy of Surgery, created in 1731, gathered, read and edited observations submitted by surgeons or physicians and suggested ideas for scientific prizes. The historical aspects of the development of surgical practice were also one of its prime centres of interest. The Academy published five in quarto volumes of *Memoirs*, starting from 1743, in connection with the Royal edict that confirmed the distinction between barbers and surgeons, and continuing up until 1774.

These volumes included a variety of works received by the Academy: memoirs, written observations, records, etc. Surgical knowledge in the eighteenth century is quintessentially contained in these *Memoirs*. George Neale, who translated the *Memoirs* into English, wrote: "How much is it to be wished for, that we had among us some such institution as that of the Royal Academy of Surgery, lately erected at Paris; an institution so worthy the imitation of other nations!" (*MEMOIRS*, vol. 3, p. V)

From time to time, these *Memoirs* contained illustrations taken directly from the original submissions, perhaps 90 plates in all. Previous research has been little concerned with those illustrations, of which there is a relative scarcity compared with the overall size of the archive collection. Some of the illustrations are merely side margin or in-text sketches, which may account for their low impact. As David Topper noted:

> Thus far, the category 'scientific illustration' has been confined mainly to printed or drawn artifacts in their final form, although mention has been made of notebooks and workbooks. I should now like to expand the discussion, arguing that notebooks, workbooks, sketchbooks, and other such artifacts – along with completed paintings – are viable candidates as scientific illustrations. (TOPPER, 236)

It would be tempting to analyze these images according to the medical observations they served to make. I prefer to adopt a more global viewpoint, based on a serial analysis. I have also chosen to ignore dates, focusing rather on a broad time window, the lifetime of the Academy (1731-1793). When necessary, I will refer to the context in which the illustration was inserted but will seek to avoid a text-based interpretation, in accord with David Topper, following the art historian Samuel Y. Edgerton Jr.'s assertion that scientific images are not only "afterimages of verbal ideas" (EDGERTON, 168). My efforts will focus on recurring patterns in order to highlight the visual culture and atmosphere of eighteenth-century surgery.

I. The shape of the body

1. The body, one and many

The body, as it emerges from the archive images of the Royal Academy of Surgery, appears to be 'one and many' (DAGOGNET), and, as Bordeu put it:

> In order to perceive *the particular action of each part* of a living body, we compare it to a swarm of bees, assembled in a cluster and hanging from a tree like a bunch of grapes. One cannot consider wrong what a celebrated ancient author said of the organs of the lower abdomen: it was an *animal in animali*. Each part is, so to speak, certainly not an animal, but a species of an independent machine, which in its own way contributes to the general life of the body. Thus, to pursue the comparison of the cluster of bees who must act together in order to stay fast, there are some who are

> attached to the first ones and so forth; all cooperate to form a solid enough body; each one, however, has, in addition, its *specific* action. (REILL, 133 ; BORDEU, 452)

One may classify the images according to body parts or internal organs: animate foreign bodies such as worms, inanimate foreign bodies such as stones, parts of the human body. Such a division testifies to the broad variety of illustrations (worms, stones), which is balanced by a more homogeneous set of shown body parts (such as the leg). Another possibility would be to separate drawings showing the whole body from those in which only parts are shown. Separating those showing the outer body shell from those showing the internal organs would be yet another possibility.

There is, however, no straightforward correspondence between the images and the surrounding text. It is interesting to note that illustrations of firearm wounds or bodies killed by the sword during duels (BRIOIST), while frequently dealt with, appear with relative scarcity. In a similar fashion, depictions of female genitalia are rare; the foetus and placenta come without any womb representation. The valuing of visual representation did not mean the infringement of rather strict criteria.

2. Arts or crafts

A number of objective criteria can be used to guide us through this iconographic material and provide us with an interpretative model. Which colours are used (black and white, red chalk)? The printed memoirs were to be sold uncoloured, which raises the problem of interpretation of hand-coloured drawings. Where is the drawing positioned with respect to the surrounding text (are we dealing with an in-text or in-margin figure, or with an isolated plate)? Is there a title, a legend, a frame, a signature?

The physical medium of the illustration seems to be an interesting criterion in relation to the craft culture of the surgeons. Not all contributors provided a simple drawing on a sheet of paper. Some opted for cut-outs, which were used in printed books as early as the fifteenth century (CARLINO). These cut-outs do not necessarily constitute complex constructions such as pop-up images and in many cases could easily have been replaced with a simple sketch. They reflect the surgeon's hand craftsmanship that could shape ghosts and dummies – the most famous of which are made of wax or of cloth. The archives of the Royal Academy of Surgery provide us with a number of paper cut-outs. In the heyday of Vaucanson and robot

development (CLAIR), these bodily representations were still rooted in Descartes' man-machine concept, and in the views of the anatomists of the time. One of these cuttings in particular draws the eye: a paper-baby, which is no less than a copy of Dürer's depiction of the human body's perfect proportions, supplemented with a pair of moving legs.
Nevertheless, it must be stressed that generally speaking in the second half of the eighteenth century surgeons were no longer barbers. They had a definite knowledge of the humanities. Most had a degree in Arts and a knowledge of classical culture. This was in accordance with the royal declaration of 1743 that required future candidates for the Paris surgical mastership to complete a Master of Arts degree at a French university.
The classical Fine Arts influence can be strongly felt in some of the archive images. Reliefs, shadows, skin wrinkles, small details and ornamentation, finely drawn hair and nails, clothing, caps and hats, and elegant drapes are typical features.

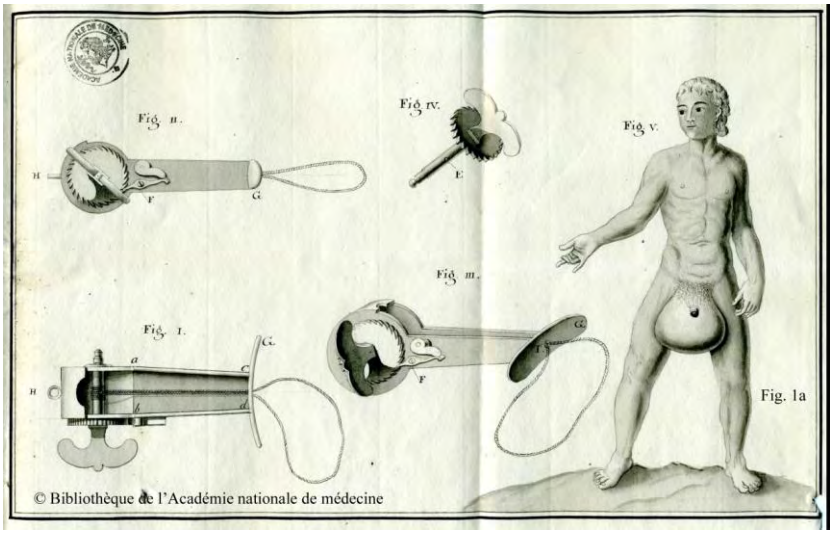


Fig. 1a

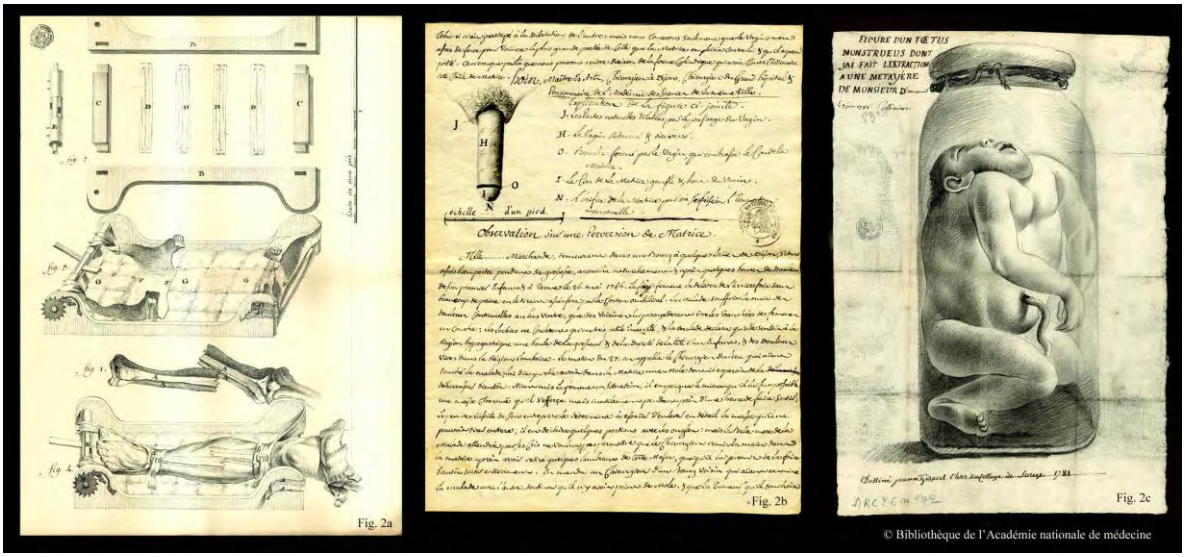
Fig. 1b

Antiquity surfaces here and there, as in this *memoir* of a castration. **[fig. 1a and 1b]** The patient has the shape of a perfect Apollo with his juvenile look, straight nose, blonde curly hair, and hairless muscled torso. His testicles, however, do not meet the requirement for the respect of ideal proportions, hence they must be removed. The drawing is once again taken from a set of archetypal images, this time the famous observation of a prodigious sarcocele found in a Malabar man from Pondicherry, sent to Dionis and added to the second edition of his *Course of Chirurgical Operations* (DIONIS): meanwhile, the appearance of the face, the hairstyle and also the muscular dark-skinned body, a savage's body in fact, has been

modified to adopt the traits of a young bourgeois merchant of Bellheim, in the Electoral Palatinate.

3. Theatre of Nature

In the representation of the body, theatrical staging is involved. The surgeon chooses what is to be unveiled: here, the invisible becomes visible. **[fig. 2a]** To my knowledge, representing the bones under the skin without showing any muscles is very rare in anatomical illustration (Crisóstomo Martínez at the end of the seventeenth century, Albinus in the mid-eighteenth century).



Elsewhere, the surgeon harmoniously displayed the elements of his construction: body parts, tools, foreign bodies. In a somewhat more exaggerated approach, the instructions for the use of a device serving to treat fractures and dislocations were presented in the form of a comic-strip.

The theatre of Nature also had its monsters. Malformed babies came first. They were followed by anything out of proportion, abnormal or violating the laws of reason, such as cases of sexual inversion and hermaphroditism. One picture shows a visual inversion of the genitalia in which a womb turned inside out takes on the appearance of a penis (equipped with a foreskin, glans and meatus). **[fig. 2b]**

One can feel the drift towards the cabinet of curiosities, in which the deformity is detached from its human features and becomes a mere museum item, where surgeons' own anatomical visual culture surfaces, as in this jar modeled after Frederik Ruysch's famous foetus preparation engraved by Huyberts (RUYSCH). **[fig. 2c]**

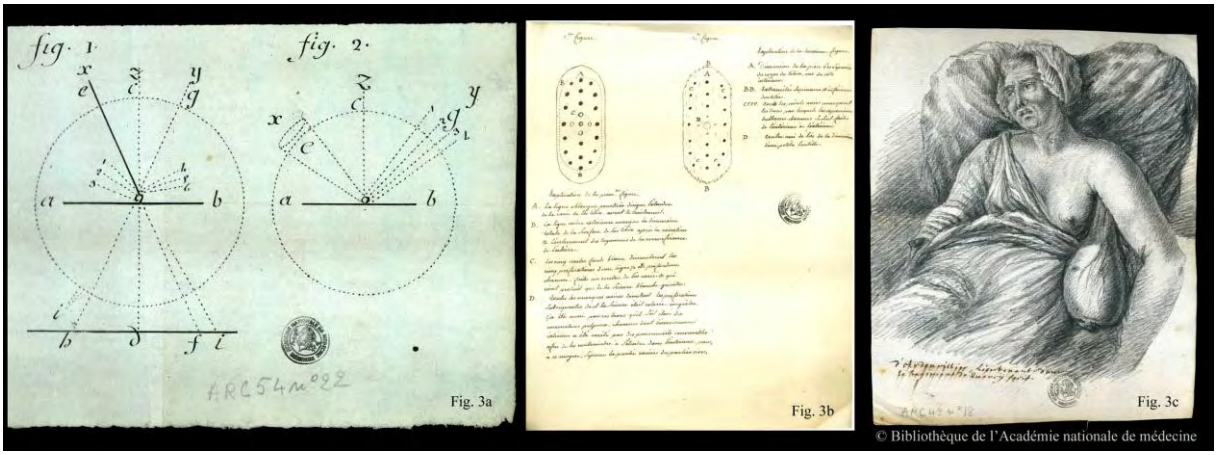
II. Men of science

1. Scientific illustration

One is struck by the broad spectrum of graphical practices, ranging from simple sketches to technical drawings. Can the role played by scientific rigour be evaluated in these images? Can we speak of scientific illustrations?

The presence of a scale is generalized for illustrations whose internal figures are numbered. Such characteristics extend to drawings featuring a legend. However naively the scale is indicated, it tells us about the care taken and choices made regarding the size and proportion of the images. The draughtsman was above all a surgeon.

A series of in-text and graphic symbols turns the illustration into a scientific contribution (arrows, numbers, frames). Other technical details that can be found in the title or in the legends enhance this scientific status.



Lastly, some of the images in the corpus display mathematical features (with the repeated use of geometric shapes) that can reach high levels of abstraction. How, for instance, could one make out a shinbone among some of these images? **[fig. 3a and 3b]**

2. Scientific evidence

Some illustrations must be taken as scientific evidence (DASTON). Whether drawn in a realistic style or in an artistic fashion, the illustrations are meant to increase the scientific value of the observations. The colour, the style or the luxury of detail enhance the authenticity of the case. It may be worth recalling that Paris-based arbiters often encountered difficulties in assessing the authenticity of the observation. Authenticity was often secured by certificates written by the patient's parents or by local notables such as priests, lawyers or other surgeons.

In three specific cases, the picture is instrumental in making this point. The first presents two apparently unrelated items, namely a thimble that a young child swallowed and choked on, and a testicle that a monk, torn apart by the guilt of carnal urges, chopped off his body. These two stories convey strong feelings while the two items in the viewers' sight, in spite of their lack of scientific significance, increase the reality of the scene.

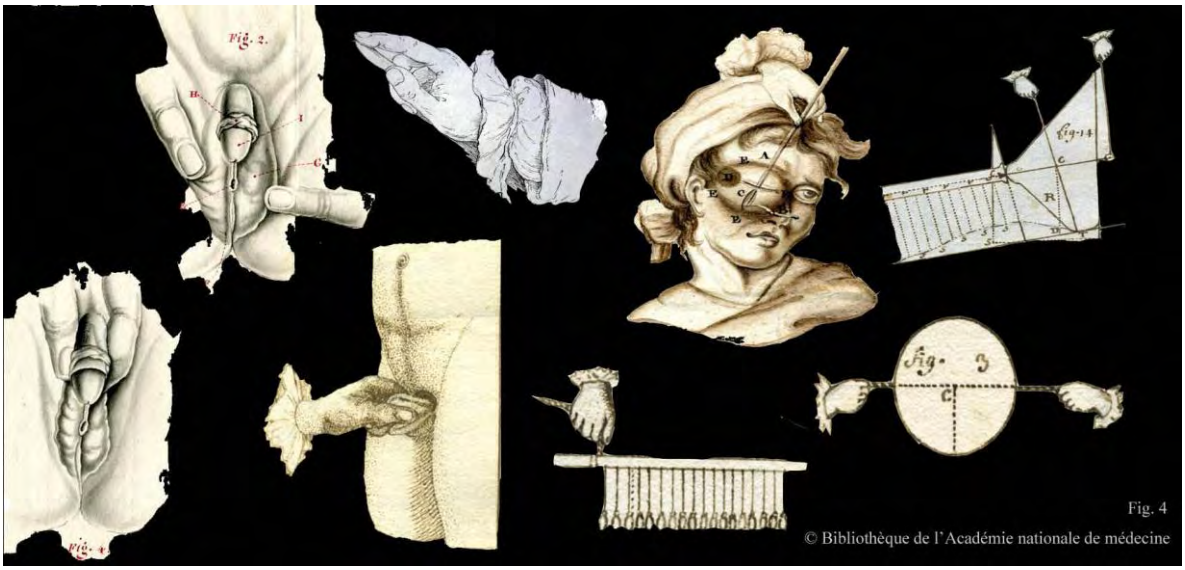
In the second case, the author reports on how he extracted a knife blade from the body of a man, when he was based in Tripoli. The knife blade bears an Arabic inscription which may be held as a genuine and faithful copy.

The third and final case is even more eloquent. **[fig. 3c]** In this description of a huge cyst located in the armpit, the author could have been content with a simple sketch reflecting the actual proportions of the cyst. Instead, he seeks the help of an army officer with excellent drawing skills. The beautiful becomes the truth. The ornamental illustration is turned into a piece of evidence *per se*.

3. Hands

The hand is used as a tool for pointing out particular items or localized health issues. **[fig. 4]** The patient about to undergo surgery on a testicular tumour points to the surgeon's tools.

The stillborn child points to himself as being malformed. In some other cases, it is more a hand of destiny.



In other illustrations, hands can appear to be detached from the body and become manicules, namely pointing hands (SHERMAN). This can be viewed as the heritage of the medieval manuscript tradition that continued in printed form. Famous examples can be found in the field of medicine, such as hands pointing to the blood flow in Harvey's *De motu cordis* (HARVEY). Other examples can be found in experimental philosophy (NOLLET). The hand gesture itself goes beyond the simple pointing role.
Roland Barthes commented on the nature of these disembodied hands in Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*:

> We can even specify more clearly what the man of the Encyclopedic image is reduced to - what is, in some sense, the very essence of his humanity: his hands. In many plates (and not the least beautiful), hands, severed from any body, flutter around the work (for their lightness is extreme); these hands are doubtless the symbol of an artisanal world (...) ; but beyond artisanship, the hands are inevitably the inductive sign of the human essence (...) (BARTHES, 1980, 395)

These hands give shape to a body of surgical practices. Be they cuffed, naked or further stripped down to mere fingers, they can be seen touching, operating or pulling the strings. Furthermore, it must be stressed that these hands are undoubtedly human and definitely not those of any ministering putto (HEILBRON).

III. Visions of pain and suffering

1. Suffering bodies

There are a large number of images of bald sick men among these archives. In the context of Christian culture and of the myth of Samson, baldness conveys the notion of loss of stamina and is a sign of weakness. Here is a superb sample, *en profil perdu*: the man is not only bald but also écorché, a term which appears in 1766 in artists' workshops (JAUBERT). He is literally naked. **[fig. 5a]**

Studying a number of images together allows us to identify patterns in the representation of the human body. The state of abandonment, a step ahead of death, is signalled by a tilted head and a falling arm. The Pietàs exhibit such a dual body signature. **[fig. 5b]**

Bodily postures conveying pain can be even more explicit, referring successively to Susanna fleeing from the elders, the crucifixion and the descent from the cross. **[fig. 5c and 6]**

Fig. 6

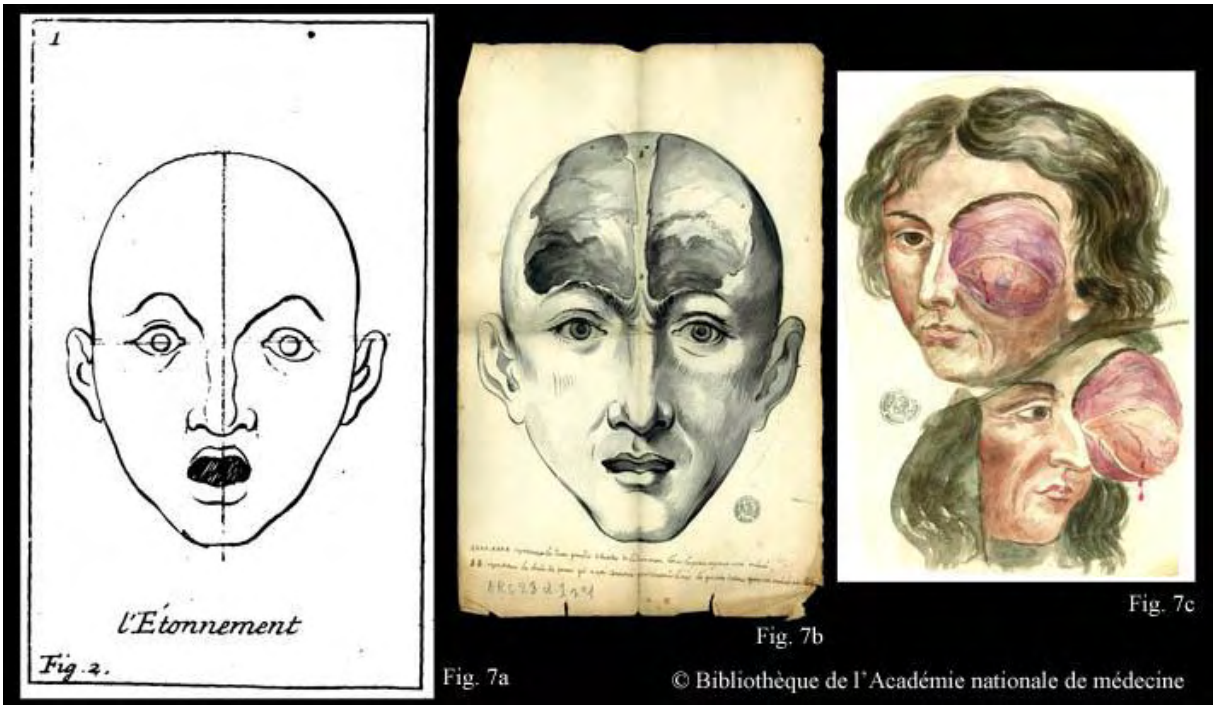
2. The Eye

These ways of representing suffering are enhanced by the direct relationship that builds up between the image and the reader. The reader sometimes has to face the staring look of the pictured body. I tend to favour an interpretation which endows this sort of eye contact with the status of a medium aimed at binding the surgeon to the patient.

Furthermore, I believe that Charles Le Brun's influence over the Fine Arts had some bearing on the different ways in which faces were represented in the eighteenth century. He was notably the author of a *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions,* of great influence.

> Expression, in my Opinion, is a Lively and Natural Resemblance of the Things which we have to Represent: It is a necessary Ingredient in all the parts of Painting, and without it no Picture can be perfect; it is that which describes the true Characters of Things ; it is by that, the different Natures of Bodies are distinguished; that the Figures seem to have Motion, and that everything therein Counterseited appears to be Real. (LE BRUN, *The Conference*, p. 1-2; LE BRUN, *Méthode*)

In his *Méthode*, Le Brun provides the reader with a definition of astonishment as being a form of bewilderment and petrifaction. The body becomes as still as a statue. **[fig. 7a and 7b]**

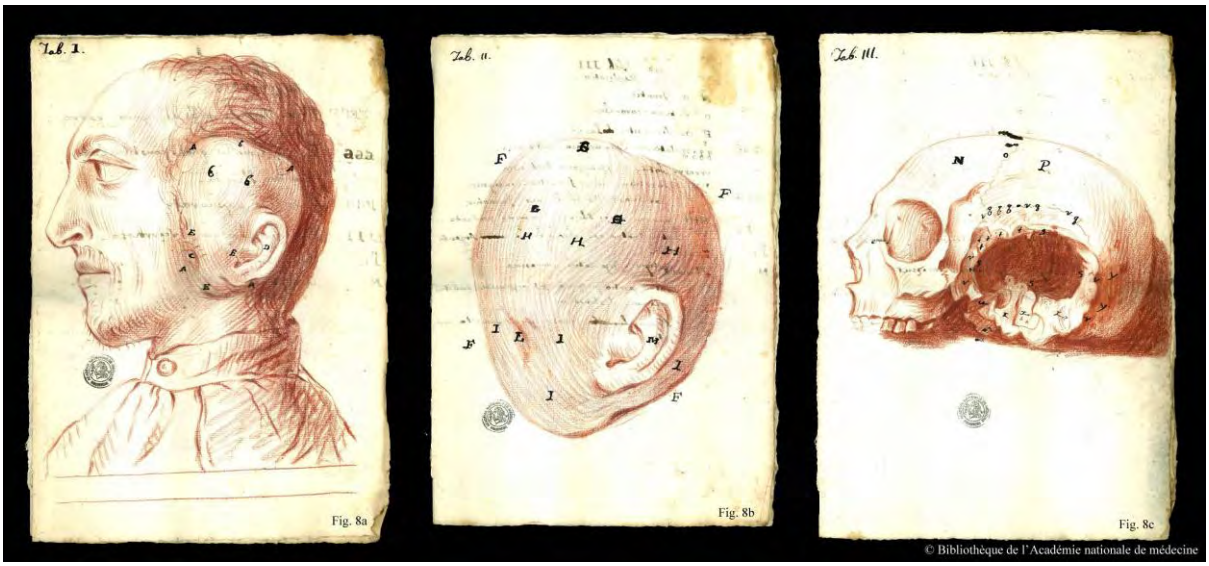


According to numerous Catholic writings and beliefs of the time, Christ not only sweated but wept tears of blood on the Mount of Olives, as did Mary on the day of the Passion. In one picture, which must have been based on a real medical condition, the surgeon-draughtsman could not help drawing tears of blood, a feature which endows this work with a mystical aura. **[fig. 7c]** This is a detail that goes beyond the bodily suffering felt by the patient and directly connects to the Passion of Christ.

4. Vanities

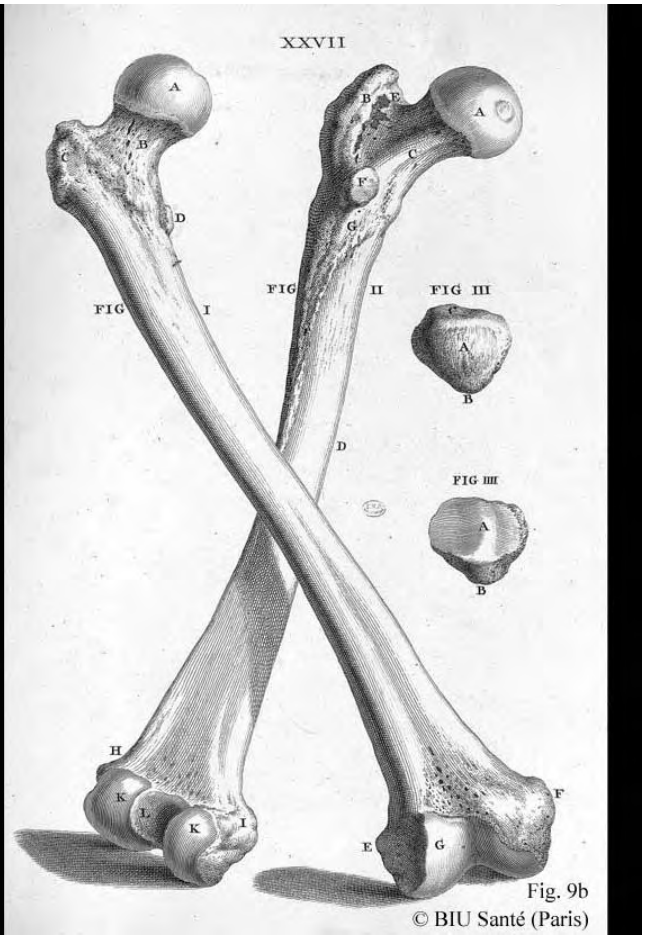
Of course, death plays a major role as well. There is no corpse among our images, though death pervades many surgical communications, through autopsies or bodily dissections. In two specific *memento mori*, the sequence of images turns the patient into a decomposing body. In one, the body literally vanishes behind the tumour itself, and then behind the skull. **[fig. 8a, 8b and 8c]** It would certainly be of interest to compare the drawings with the engravings in the *Memoirs*. In the case just mentioned, we have both at hand, and comparing them leaves the viewer with mixed feelings, owing to both their similarities and their differences. The engraving was executed with greater skill than the original picture.

Though changes were made (the clothing, the eyes), physical features were respected (a thinly cut blond or red beard, balding patches).



In a last example, the highly realistic appearance of the drawing, while enhanced by splendid colours, is blurred by the presence of a moral message. Two shinbones in a crossed position are shown. They are taken from two different reports based on two distinct cases though both correspond to a similar diagnosis (shinbone exfoliation). **[fig. 9a]**

Crossed bones are a recurring pattern in anatomical iconography and in eighteenth-century osteology. They appear as early as 1733 – with thighbones rather than shinbones – in *Osteographia or the Anatomy of the Bones* by William Cheselden (CHESELDEN), whose influence extended to France. Cheselden was a member of the Royal Academy of Surgery of Paris from its creation, a membership mentioned in the title page along with that of three other learned societies. In plate XXVII from his book, the crossed thighbones allude to Saint Andrew's cross, which symbolizes Saint Andrew's torment and stands for an allegory of Christ as Adam, namely as a mortal being (DENOEL). **[fig. 9b]** Cheselden aims to be close to the truth-to-nature ideal (DASTON), for he represents himself, in the title page, making a drawing under a *camera obscura.* The realistic nature of the drawing, whether rendered by a *camera obscura* or by controlled and coloured strokes, comes with a reminder of the vanity of life on earth.



Conclusion

My goal was to extract recurring patterns. I wanted to present a body made of common cultural values, rooted in a corpus of archetypal images. On the scientific side, the influence of the treatises of the Age of Enlightenment and the anatomy and physiology plates from the Encyclopedia and elsewhere can be strongly felt. Yet the representation of death and pain also comes within this set of common values.

As manuscripts teach us, there is great heterogeneity among surgeons' visual representations in the eighteenth century. Some scribble simple sketches while others plot high precision technical charts. Some patient faces take us back to the Italian Renaissance while others perfectly mimic medieval miniatures. Profusion is the keyword to the surgical community's visual culture, which is not without paradox, and which certainly reflects an evolving field. While the social and political position of the surgical community has become stronger (GELFAND), the surgeons' cultural horizons remain broad and open.

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Devotion and Healing. The sick, miraculously cured, examined Body of Sister Maria Vittoria Centurione in Eighteenth-Century Genoa

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Keywords:

Genoa, bodies, miracles, Carmelite nuns, ecclesiastical archives, medicine.

Abstract:

This research study aims to analyze documentation related to bodies, their definition and management. For this purpose, documents were used from a box entitled "Grazie" (n. 1355) from the Archives of the Diocese of Genoa, in which documents concerning miracles that occurred in the Diocese were kept. The nun Maria Vittoria Centurione of the Carmelite monastery of Saint Teresa was involved in a series of miracles studied by the Genoese ecclesiastical authorities between 1701 and 1705. In particular, she was healed from a form of *vertigen tenebrosa* with subsequent progressive paralysis through the intercession of St Teresa in 1701, and from another unknown disease through the intercession of St Pasquale Bailon, who appeared to her in her cell in the monastery. This study illustrates perceptions of the body in the monastery and in the Curia, notably through the theological books used by the ecclesiastical officials, as well as in the Genoese medical community.

The history of the Carmelite religious life for women in Genoa in the eighteenth century has been little studied up to now, research favouring the era of the foundation of monasteries and the spread of the Order. The disappearance, during the revolutionary suppression (1797-1799), of the archives of the Carmelite convents in Genoa makes the work of the historian even more difficult. The first monastery of Carmelite nuns founded in Genoa was named after Gesù Maria at the end of the sixteenth century. Another monastery would be built, that of St Teresa, where the miracle studied here occurred. In 1613, after fruitless

attempts, some noble Genoese families, considering the approaching canonisation of Teresa of Avila, suggested founding a monastery dedicated to her. From Rome they obtained permission to receive thirteen extra nuns at Gesù Maria to be sent to the new foundation, and a Genoese nobleman, Gabriele Adorno, set aside 22,000 scudos for the building of the monastery. The first stone was laid in 1614, and the construction was completed in 1619. On the history of the Carmelites in Genoa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we have very little information. After surviving the French Revolution, the two monasteries were finally discontinued; Gesù Maria in 1797 and that dedicated to St Teresa in 1810[1] .

1. The first miracle: healing through ingesting

We come now to look at the facts at the centre of the present study - the miracles involving a Genoese Carmelite nun at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[2]

In 1701 a Carmelite nun from the convent of St Teresa in Genoa, Maria Vittoria Centurione, was the subject of a miracle. Ill to the extent that she was regarded as “incurabile” (incurable) and considered “disperata da medici” (a desperate case by doctors), she was healed on 23 January at around 10 p.m. by appealing to the intercession of the saint, founder of the Order and protector of the monastery, Teresa d’Avila, and ingesting a small amount of dust scraped off a statuette of the Saint, mixed with some earth taken from the Saint’s tomb. The miraculously cured nun and her religious sisters then appealed to the Archbishop of Genoa to prepare a case in which the nuns who had assisted Sister Maria

[1] For a more in-depth analysis of the history of the Carmelites in Genoa and their convents cf. G. Sommariva, “Monasteri carmelitani femminili a Genova”, in S. Giordano-C. Paolocci (dir), *Nicolò Doria. Itinerari economici, culturali, religiosi nei secoli XVI-XVII tra Spagna, Genova e l’Europa,* Genoa, Associazione Amici Biblioteca Franzoniana, 1996, 2, pp. 389-405; S. Giordano, *Contemplative sul monte. Le carmelitane scalze da 400 anni a Genova*, Alba, s.e. 1990. These works analyse the era of the foundation but do not extend to successive eras due to lack of documents.

[2] Three sources were used here: box no. 1355 of the Diocesan Historical Archive of Genoa, entitled *Grazie e Miracoli*, containing the documents of the two cases on the miracles regarding Sister Maria Vittoria of St Teresa Centurione that occurred between 1701 and 1706; a booklet of six pages entitled *Relazione del miracolo operato da Dio in Genoua per intercessione della S. Madre Teresa di Giesv in persona della Rev. Svor Maria Uittoria Centuriona monaca professa nel Monastero delle Scalze di Santa Teresa*, Genoa, Antonio Scionico, in Vico del Filo, with the permission of the Superiors, 1702, kept in the Casanata Library in Rome which reports, on the basis of the case, the miracle of the healing of the nun on 23 January 1701; the lives of the nuns in question were reconstructed from the documentation of the Carmelite convent of St Teresa in Genoa, kept at the current Carmelite convent.

Vittoria and the doctors who had treated her would be consulted for the glory of God and the founder of the Order. On 31 October the Archbishop of Genoa, Giovanni Battista Spinola, gave orders to prepare the case . A form containing 28 questions was drawn up which would then be used for interviewing the witnesses. On 7 November 1701 the interviews began in the Archbishop's Palace. The first witness to be interviewed was the fifty-year-old doctor Paolo Lavagnino, son of the late Giovanni Battista, qualified physician (cc. 1r-4v). Lavagnino confirmed that he had known the nun since 1699 as he was the convent doctor. Sister Maria Vittoria had repeatedly suffered from "vertigine tenebricosa" (tenebrous vertigo) for two years.[3] They had treated her with bloodletting and cupping; the bloodletting was done by the surgeon Giacomo Balestrino, who was unable to find more space in the jugular vein because of the wound that had formed there. Other doctors were summoned, Galerati from Pavia and Albertotti from Novi along with doctors from Genoa such as Antonio and Agostino Antonelli and Giovanni Ambrogio Bacciocco, who declared the illness incurable. It was feared that the nun would suffer a stroke so the bloodlettings were suspended because she was too debilitated. She then started to go blind and progressively paralysed from her hand to the whole of the right side. The nun had a fever and was so emaciated that Lavagnino suspected that she was "etica" (consumptive); moreover, she could neither eat nor sleep, and her fellow sisters helped to feed her. On 23 January she was in a particularly bad state when she consumed the powder of St Teresa which healed her. After this, she got up and asked for something to eat. Now healed, the nun herself met Lavagnino, who was amazed, in the convent, telling him how she had been delivered through the intercession of St Teresa. To the question of whether the healing could have a natural explanation, Lavagnino replied: "Per opera naturale, né de medicamenti né d'altro segreto, ciò non è seguito, ma bensì per opera miracolosa del Signore mediante l'intercessione di santa Teresa quale si è servita per instrumento di detta polvere" (this occurred neither through the work of nature, nor that of medicine, nor any other secret, but rather through the miraculous work of the Lord through the intercession of St Teresa, which was served through the use of that powder). This was deduced not only from the fact that the illness was incurable, but also from the speed of the

[3] An illness attributed to an excess of liquid in the head, treated with bloodletting and diet, was called tenebrous vertigo; see G. Del Papa, *Consulti medici del signor dottore Giuseppe Del Papa archiatro della corte di Toscana, e pubblico lettore di medicina nella Università Pisana*, Venice, Sebastiano Coleti, 1734, II, p. 91.

healing, all the more so because the medicine, applied regardless of expense, had had no effect. From then on, Sister Maria Vittoria was completely cured.

On 9 November, Giacomo Balestrino, the sixty-year-old surgeon of the convent was interviewed (cc. 4v-8r) *in palatio* (i.e. in the archbishop's palace). He had treated the nun's illness, which had begun in 1689. Together with the doctors Paolo Lavagnino, convent doctor, Giovanni Ambrogio Bacciocco and Agostino Antonelli, he administered the usual treatments up to twice a day, such as "fire buttons" [4] and bloodletting of the jugular a total of 45 times. As a result of this, there was no more space in the vein and her condition progressively worsened. Other doctors were consulted such as Galerati, while doctors Albertotti and Antonelli said that she was incurable. Despite feeling revulsion, the nun consumed the powder from the tomb of St Teresa and was healed. Balestrino, too, was amazed by the healing since, in his opinion: "ci voleva un miracolo per guarirla" (a miracle was needed to heal her) and the illness could not be cured naturally. He excluded the possibility that the powder could have natural curative powers, knowing that it had been taken from the tomb of the founder and that the nuns had given it to other people.

On 10 November, fifty-one-year-old Antonio Antonelli was interviewed*, in palatio*, by Giovanni Battista (cc. 8r-9v) who, after having retraced the course of the illness, like the others, attributed the healing to "un miracolo e non ad operatione alcuna naturale" (a miracle and not the action of anything natural). He knew that the powder had been taken from the tomb of the saint and confirmed that the nun was healed in a non-natural way. After 23 January, Maria Vittoria remained healthy, even becoming "rubiconda e carnosa" (plump and rosy-cheeked).

[4] The 'bottone di fuoco' (fire button) could be a surgical instrument or a type of medication. According to what is written in F. Alberti di Villanova, *Dizionario Universale Critico Enciclopedico della Lingua Italiana*, Lucca, Domenico Marescandoli 1797, p. 131, it is an iron instrument which at the top has a 'pellet-like button'; when incandescent, it is used to burn (cauterise). The same definition is found in the *Vocabolario della lingua italiana già compilato dagli Accademici della Crusca ed ora nuovamente corretto e accresciuto dall'Abate Giuseppe Manuzzi,* (A-C), Florence, David Passigli and partners, 1833-1840. It is given, too, in N. Tommaseo, *Nuovo Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, Florence, Luigi Pezzati, 1830, which, however, also reports another definition, which evokes the old pharmacopoeia. According to the *Ricettario Fiorentino,* 'the fire button' would indicate a wrapping of thin cloth filled with rhubarb, Indian spikenard, "scropoli", left to soak and boil for medicinal use.

On 16 November, *in palatio*, the thirty-seven-year old Giovanni Antonio Bacciocco di Stefano was interviewed (cc 9v-11r). Bacciocco had visited the nun, ordered and administered the treatments himself. The nuns told him of the healing of Maria Vittoria after she consumed the powder. Neither the medicines nor the powder, affirmed the doctor, could have healed the woman in such a sudden way by natural means. For this reason, he continued: “Io stimo che la ricuperatione della di lei salute sii stata miracolosa” (I consider her recovery to have been miraculous), nor could one think of a natural healing of such an illness, rendered “contumace” (resistant) to any treatment.

On 6 December 1701, the fifty-six-year-old Prioress Teresa Maria di san Giuseppe was interviewed in the parlour of the convent (cc. 11v-15r)[5]. The Prioress confirmed the seriousness of Sister Maria Vittoria's illness and the ineffectiveness of the treatment. Vittoria herself asked that she be given the powder, which was put in a spoon with a little holy water while the nuns knelt to pray. The Prioress absented herself for a moment and then returned to see the situation. She found the patient still in bed but completely healed. Shortly afterwards, Maria Vittoria got to her feet, despite the numerous bloodlettings which, according to the doctors, should have prevented her from doing so.
The consumption of the powder was accompanied by Maria Vittoria being “raccolta in sé” (deep in contemplation). The nuns had received the powder from the Duchess of San Pietro, from the Princess of Avello and from the Carmelite fathers from Spain. Some statuettes of the founder were made of the powder and placed in different places for devotion. When necessary, a part was scraped off to give to the sick person. The Prioress confirmed that the earth in question had no natural properties. The earth delivered for analysis was, as the Prioress guaranteed, removed from one of the statues from which the powder given to Maria Vittoria had been taken.

[5] Teresa Maria of San Giuseppe, lay name - Ippolita Maria Grimaldi, daughter of the Prince of Monaco, Ercole Grimaldi, and Aurelia Spinola, was born on 8 May 1644. She professed her vows on 30 May 1668.

On the same day, in the parlour of the convent, thirty-one-year-old Sister Teresa Maddalena di Gesù was interviewed (cc. 15r-18r)[6] . Like the others, the witness gave a description of the nun's illness. Teresa Maddalena was present in prayer in the patient's room when the latter consumed the sepulchral powder. The morning following the miracle, Teresa Maddalena found Maria Vittoria in bed and well. She continued with the story of the origin of the statuettes sent out around the world and explained how the scraped powder was given to patients, without however making reference to the princesses who procured it.
On 31 January 1702 the twenty-five-year-old Sister Anna of San Giuseppe [7] was interviewed in the parlour of the convent (cc. 18r-21r). Having confirmed the story of the illness, Sister Anna recounted how she had learned from the Carmelites that the powder came from the tomb of the founder and was collected to make statuettes to send out for devotional purposes. Sister Anna did not know if the powder had natural healing properties, but she did know that it was given to the sick, who “alle volte per intercessione della Sta Madre sogliono ricuperare la salute” (sometimes, through the intercession of the Holy Mother, would regain their health). The powder sent to the judges was the same substance and the same amount as that given to Maria Vittoria to heal her.

On the same day, the twenty-seven-year-old Sister Maria Vittoria herself was interviewed in the parlour of the convent regarding her miraculous cure (cc. 21r-25v)[8]. The nun began by affirming that she had been in the convent for about 16 or 17 years, having entered at the age of eleven. For ten years she had suffered from vertigo and “giramenti di capo” (dizziness), which had however never hindered her from carrying out her normal convent activities; she had never taken medicine. After two years she had been purged and had taken medicines given to her by the doctors so that her bouts of vertigo had diminished. In the last two years, however, the bouts of vertigo has worsened so that by 1700 it was

[6] Lay name - Maria Geronima Centurione, daughter of Prince Giovanni Battista and Giulia Maria Serra, therefore the sister of the miraculously cured nun, was born on 13 August 1670 and professed her vows on 24 August 1686, bringing a dowry of L 10,000, a *guarnile* of 2,000 and 200 of annual income. She died of tuberculosis on 24 June 1742. Cf. AMCSTG *Catalogo delle religiose professe* 5, n 29.
[7] The correct lay name is Marianna of San Giuseppe, Paola Francesca daughter of Vincenzo Durazzo, who had been in the convent for about 15 to16 years.
[8] Our miraculously cured patient, Sister Maria Vittoria, had the monastic title of St Teresa. Her lay name was Maria Vittoria Centurione and she was the daughter of Giovanni Battista Centurione and Giulia Maria Serra. She professed her vows at 15 years of age on 30 August 1690. She died on 2 April 1731, many years after her illness; the healing had therefore been definitive cf. (AMCSTG) *Catalogo delle religiose professe* 5, no 31.

impossible for her to be present in the choir and to fulfil her other duties. She had followed the treatments prescribed by various doctors, particularly Paolo Lavagnino, the convent doctor, the late Giovanni Andrea Bacciocco, the Antonelli brothers, the doctors Peri and Faxiero and others. After various consultations, further opinions were heard from foreign doctors such as Galevardi (perhaps the same Galerati mentioned above) and Albertotti, who gave her some medicines which did not give her relief. The health of the nun continued to worsen, so that from September 1700 until January 1701 she hardly ever got out of bed. In December 1700 she was seized with a "gagliardissima" (an extremely strong bout of vertigo) so that not only could she not get out of bed but could not even raise her head from her pillow. Bloodlettings were performed from the jugular vein, which immediately proved of some benefit, but the bouts of vertigo soon returned and became more frequent with a sense of tightness to her head and, in the final days, a great heat in the "calvaries" (upper part of the cranium). She developed a slight temperature and her condition worsened further. She was given pills of various spirits, "applicativi e vescicativi" (applicative and vesiculative), and the "bottone di fuoco" (fire button) above the "calvaria" (the upper part of the cranium), all without any benefit. Only the bloodletting gave her some relief. In all, in the final months, it appears that she underwent 48 bloodlettings in the arms, legs and nose. The bouts of vertigo in the last two years had caused one finger of her hand to become paralysed, extending later to the whole hand and her arm and finally to the whole right side of her body. The continuous bloodletting had by this time rendered the jugular vein unusable so that the surgeon no longer injected, but left it open, closing and opening it each time.

The 23 January 1701 was the day on which Maria Vittoria took the powder from the founder. She had passed the night tormented by bouts of vertigo. At around midday she took a pill given to her by Dr Bacciocco without obtaining any results. At 3 p.m. her condition deteriorated. At 10 p.m., seeing herself reduced "all'estremo senza giovamento" (to an extreme state without improvement), she decided "su l'instanze che mi erano state fatte" (due to the petitions that had been made to her) to take the powder of the founder, although she was first perplexed by it. She then asked the Prioress and Mother Caterina di

Cristo [9] to bring her the powder. All of the nuns gathered and even though Maria Vittoria could not see them due to the illness, she could hear them praying. The Prioress gave Maria Vittoria the powder dissolved in a spoon of water. She immediately recovered her sight and could move her head, which no longer felt either hot or heavy. She also reacquired the use of her arms. From then on, she began to feel as well as she was at the time of the interview. Having begun to walk around her room again the following day, she went to the choir to thank the founder for the grace she had received. The powder in question had never been taken before by Maria Vittoria, who had not even seen it. It was obtained "dal sepolcro della santa madre formandole piccole statue di detta santa dalle quali poi se ne rade qualche poca che si prende per divotione dall'ammalati in un poco d'acqua" (from the tomb of the Holy Mother; small statuettes of the saint were made from it and a small amount then scraped off to be consumed in a small amount of water as a form of devotion by the sick). What was given to her was taken from the statuette given to the nuns by the Princess d'Avello. About a month before, the nuns had given the powder to a man who had a sick daughter and she had been healed. According to Maria Vittoria, the powder did not have natural properties but worked through the intercession of the founder. The healing had not taken place naturally as the previous medicines and treatments had had no effect, but was to be attributed to the intercession of St Teresa.

The next step was to analyse the miraculous powder.

On 15 March 1702 it was decided to procure some of the powder used in the convent to heal Sister Maria Vittoria. Domenico Bovone was delegated to this task and on 16 March presented himself at the curlo (wheel) of the convent. As the Prioress was ill, Sister Maria Caterina di Cristo brought him a box with the collected powder (c. 26r). On 17 March a decree was issued by which the Vicar General delegated Giovanni Battista Varsi and Agostino Morando to study the collected powder to assess its possible natural therapeutic properties (sheet inserted between c. 26v and c. 27r).

On 24 March Giovanni Battista Varsi (46 years old), son of Giovanni Agostino, (cc. 26v-27r) appeared before the Vicar in the Archbishop's palace. He confirmed that he had licked the

[9] Caterina di Cristo is probably Chiara Maria Spinola, daughter of Alessandro Spinola and Cacilia Sauli, who entered the Carmelite convent of Santa Teresa in Genoa on 1 February 1646. She professed her vows on 2 February 1647 and died on 16 August 1706.

statuettes in question and noted that they were composed of simple earth, called “tufo” (tufa) which “ha avuto qualche adustione leggiere, o sia essicatione” (had been slightly burned or dried). He excluded the existence of any natural curative property that might stop anyone from being affected by bouts of vertigo. The powder was “incapace di guarire qualunque malattia” (incapable of curing any illness). On the same day in the same place, the other expert, Agostino Morando, son of the late Michele (47 years old), appeared, confirming what had been said before by his colleague (cc. 27r-28r).

Salvatore Castellino, prosecutor and Vicar General, drew up a seven-page appraisal in which he examined the testimonies of the case in the light of the case law of the time. He made the point (referring to Pignatelli, p. 26) of how one might object to the possibility that the illness could be healed by the forces of nature or by previous treatments, or that the illness itself could have run its course, making it difficult to discern the origin of the healing.[10]

[10] Consulting the bibliography of the Castellino era leads to “Aug Rocchi, de can sanct cap 23”, which probably refers to A. Ricca (1545-1620), *De canonizatione sanctorum commentarius, hoc est, De definitione, auctoritate, & antiquitate; deq. causis, & ordine iudiciario canonizandi Sanctos; de miraculis item ac de rebus, quae veram declarant sanctitatem, necnon de honoribus, qui Sanctis debentur; ... additis caeremonijs in ea obseruari consuetis, ac declaratis; sanctorumq. canonizatorum catalogo accedente*, Romae, Guillelmum Facciottum, impensa Ioannis Martinelli, 1601. A “Pignatelli 26 number 8, volume 5; consul 194 volume 10” referring to G. Pignatelli (1625-1698), *Iacobi Pignatelli ... Consultationum canonicarum tomus primus [-decimus]. In quo praecipue controuersiae de ijs, quae ad sanctorum canonizationem, ac sacros ritus; ... pertinent ... Opus omnibus vtriusque fori iudicibus, iurisconsultis, ... & aduocatis vtile plane, ac necessarium. Cum duplici indice, altero consultatuonum, altero rerum notabiblium in fine quarti tomi apposito,* Venetiis, Paulum Balleonium, 1687-1696. A “Sibillano, Speculum peregrinorum quest decis ad 3 chap. 8 quest 5 ante med.” which is B. Sibylla, *Speculum peregrinarum quaestionum. Argentinae*, Gruninger, Johannes (Reinhardi), 1499.
The initial source of Salvatore Castellino was probably Pignatelli, who in point 8 (consultation 26 volume 5) affirms:

> “Miracula vero sanationum, quae sunt tertiae classis indigent maxima probatione, et exquisito examine, ut adimittantur, cum possint fieri per naturam, et multoties prouenire ex praecedenti applicatione remediorum naturalium, vel ex aliqua crisi, aut ex statu morbi vergentis in declinationem, ut inquiunt Anger Rocch. *de canon. Sanct. cap. 25.* Castellin. *d. resp. num. 4.* et Gaspar à Reyes Francus *in Elys. iucund. quast. camp. q. 24. num.2.* Quare Bartholom. Sybillan. *in Specul. peregr. quaest. Decad. 3. cap. 8. q.5. ante med.* Hoc a mortalibus incomprehesibile fatetur, cum difficillima in eis quandoque discretio sit, quae non potest sufficienter haberi ex consideratione circumstantiarum loci, temporis , opportunitatis , modorum faciendi, qualitate sanctorum, et finis.”

As one may note, Pignatelli refers here to the sources indicated by Castellini. The consultation 194 of volume 10 by Pignatelli is entitled *De miraculis diligenter etiam atque etiam examinandis in Canonizatione Sanctorum. De modo illa examinandi: Et quae necessaria sint pro sanctis in Ecclesia militante declarandis?*

But the evidence in the case examined was so great that “giustificano in ogni parte per miracolosa guarigione suddetta che non lascia luogo a dubitare” (each part justified the conclusion of the aforementioned miraculous healing, leaving no room for doubt). We come now for this reason to assess the conditions required for the recognition of a miracle, as developed by the consensus of theologians and contained in the seven criteria drawn up by Gaspar Reyos: [11]

> 1 che la malattia sia assolutamente incurabile o almeno difficilissima
> 2 che questa sia grave
> 3 che sia in stato di declinare naturalmente.
> 4 che la sanità si recuperi dall’amalato instantemente
> 5 che detta sanità sia assolutamente perfetta
> 6 che ciò non proceda da effetto alcuno naturale procedente la medema come sarebbe crisi, o altra sorta di evacuatione
> 7 che detta sanità sia deccevole in modo tale, che non ritorni di nuovo a richadere l’amalato doppo il riaquisto di essa .
> Quali conditioni tutte alla lettura del processo fabricato nella curia ecclesiastica d’ordine di Mons Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Gio Batta Spinola arcivescovo di Genova.

> 1 that the illness is absolutely incurable or at the least extremely difficult to cure
> 2 that it is serious
> 3 that the person is clearly in a state of decline
> 4 that the health of the patient was immediately restored
> 5 that the patient is now in perfect health
> 6 that this does not proceed from any natural effect, such as that of a crisis, or any other sort of solution or recovery
> 7 that the patient's condition is such that the patient will not relapse after regaining his or her health.
> These conditions were all read at the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Curia on the order of the Illustrious Mons. and Most Reverend Gio Batta Spinola, Archbishop of Genoa.

Taking into account again the requirements of Reyos, based on the evidence collected, Salvatore Castellino came to the conclusion that it was necessary to recognise that the miracle took place, and it remained only for the Archbishop, having considered the reasons set out, “ne ordini la pubblicazione a maggior honore e gloria del Signore” (to order its publication for the greater honour and glory of the Lord). This took place with the

[11] Castellino refers to “in camp elys, 24 n 1”, probably a reference to F. Gaspar dos Reys, *Elysius incundarum quaestionum campus, omnium literarum amoenissima varietate refertus*, Bruxellae, Vivien, 1661.

pronouncement of the Archbishop of 4 May 1702, which declared the miracle to consist of "de curatione miraculosa seguita in personam dictae R.S. Mariae Victoriae Centurionie" and authorised its publication for the greater glory of God. On 20 May it was decided to return the box with the earth to the Carmelites. In charge of this was Bovone, who in turn delegated Stefano Odino to perform the task.

2. The second miracle: healing through seeing

However, for Sister Maria Vittoria, the time of trials, illnesses and miracles had not passed. A few years later in 1705, a similar situation would present itself, of which we are informed by the *Processo della gratia ricevuta da S. Pasquale Baylone,* kept in the same file as the previous one.
A new enquiry (prepared in order not to hide the graces given by God through the saints, in the case of St Pasquale Bailon, on 19 September 1704 to Sister Maria Vittoria Centurione) was submitted to the Curia. On 15 October 1705 the start of the enquiry was approved and a commission established[12].

A regulation was drafted (16 October 1705), to which the commission had to adhere. First, the course of events was clarified. In 1704 Sister Maria Vittoria was ill for some time to the point of being considered a hopeless case by the doctors. The nun, "con poca fiducia e per obbedienza" (with little faith and out of obedience) made a novena to St Pasquale Bailon. On 19 September 1704, while she was resting in her cell, she heard three knocks on the wall, on which there was a picture of St Pasquale. Lifting her eyes, she saw a monk in the cell in the habit of the Alcantarine reform and heard a voice that said: "ancorché tu non vogli io ti voglio aiutare" (even though you do not want me to, I want to help you). The apparition disappeared and Vittoria felt delivered. The picture had been given to her by Dr Lora, who

[12] The first point to note is how the worship of St Pasquale (1540-1592) received a strong boost from his recent canonisation (1690). Popular devotion has always linked St Pasquale to the female universe, as a popular prayer reveals: «San Pasquale Baylonne protettore delle donne, fammi trovare marito, bianco, rosso e colorito, come te, tale e quale, o glorioso san Pasquale».(San Pasquale Baylonne, protector of women, let me find a husband, white, red and coloured, exactly like you, o glorious St Pasquale).

was treating her. From then on, Sister Maria Vittoria was always in good health. The Prioress, Mother Teresa Maria (probably Teresa Maria of San Giuseppe Grimaldi), was informed of the act of grace and called immediately to the cell by the miraculously cured nun.

At this point, the series of interviews began.

On 20 October 1705, *in palatio*, Giovanni Maria Lora (42 years old) was interviewed. He claimed that he was a "ritualmente" (professed) member of the clergy and that he had worked as a doctor since 1686 [13]. Lora confirmed that he had known Maria Vittoria for some years because the nun's father, Prince Giovanni Battista Centurione, had invited him to the convent some months before the feast day of St Teresa (which is celebrated in October) in 1704 to treat his daughter. On arriving at the convent, he entered with the permission of the Superior and in the lower corridor the sick nun came to meet him. He found her pulse to be irregular and asked her how long she had been tormented by headaches and bouts of vertigo: the nun answered that it had been for a few years; no-one had found a remedy for her illness. He had examined the nun in her bed, making the diagnosis that it was a:

> "affettione malinconica constituita in una mala diatesi di sangue carico di accidità a segno che il sangue con questa sorte di impurità le quali infettavano il sangue communicate anche alli spiriti animali li mettevano in un motto vertiginoso con essere impediti da quella grossessa a poter scorrere per i suoi canali la lasciavano come impotente e incapace di potersi sostenere in piedi".

> "melancholic affliction consisting of poor diathesis of acidic blood so that the blood, infected by impurities, communicated also to the animal spirits, made her dizzy, being impeded by that thickening from being able to flow through her system and left her weakened and incapable of being able to support herself standing up".

The thickening of the blood gave her a "restagnatione del capo" (stagnation of the head), from the weight of which she suffered discomfort so that she was threatened with apoplexy. This illness had begun many years before and ceased with the miracle of 19 September 1704. Many doctors before Lora (Lavagnino, Ferrari, Bacciocco, Galerati) had tried to "togliere l'impurità del sangue" (remove the impurity from the blood) to no avail. The

[13] He had been baptised in the San Lorenzo Cathedral in Genoa and was the son of Benedetto Maria and of the deceased Bradancale (cc. 1r-5v).

bloodlettings performed had, for Lora, only worsened the state of the illness behind an apparent improvement. The numerous scars on her jugular aggravated the situation. The treatments administered by Lora, in his opinion, led to no improvement. The physicians in general, had no hope of obtaining any results. Lora had then treated the illness with a spoonful of "tintura di castoreo e di spirito di corno di cervo dal quale pure non hebbe alcun giovamento" (castoreum tincture and deer antler essence, from which she received no benefit)[14] . In the days leading up to the miraculous healing, he had given the patient only this drink so that the healing itself could not be attributed to any "medicamento" (medication) but was "prodigiosa" (prodigious).

A servant sent from the convent went in the evening to call Lora, who was alarmed, fearing the worst. The servant reassured him, however, saying that the nun had improved. As soon as he arrived at the parlour, Mother Teresa Maria Grimaldi told him of the "miracolo" (miracle) or "gratia" (grace) from God through the intercession of St Pasquale Bailon, for which the miraculously cured patient had been "vivamente" (strongly) recommended to pray . Maria Vittoria arrived at this point, thanking the doctor for having introduced her to St Pasquale by giving her the picture. Maria Vittoria said that on seeing the "piccola" (little) picture (and we are informed here of the dimensions of the picture) Lorca had given her eight days before, she had had little faith, having had qualms, she confessed, about her behaviour. That night the illness had returned and in the morning, when the other nuns went to prayer, Maria Vittoria was sitting with her head against the wall when she heard the knocking and St Pasquale appeared, dressed in the manner of St Peter of Alcantara. St Pasquale told her that her behaviour was displeasing to him and that he wanted to heal her. She was immediately seized by fear and great anxiety, so much so that she was unable to speak. Lora had given the picture to Maria Vittoria at the request of Vittoria Serra,[15] the

[14] Castoreum is an oily liquid extracted from the gland of the beaver. For the antler, see N. Lémery, *Farmacopea universale che contiene tutte le composizioni di farmacia le quali sono in uso nella medicina tanto in Francia, quanto per tutta l'Europa, le loro virtù, dose, e maniere di mettere in pratica le più semplici e le migliori. E di più un vocabolario farmaceutico, molte nuove osservazioni, ed alcuni ragionamenti sopra ogni operazione di Niccolò Lemery, dell'Accademia Reale delle Scienze, dottore in medicina: tradotta dalla lingua francese*, Venezia, Hertz, 1735, p. 59.

[15] This may refer to Vittoria del Carretto, who married Tommaso Serra in 1649, having two children. Vittoria distinguished herself through devotion and support for the convents. Widowed in 1675, she may also have thought of becoming a Carmelite nun, cf. P. Fontana, "Tradizione mistica e normativa sinodale a Genova nel secolo XVII. Un'analisi attraverso l'esperienza spirituale di Vittoria del Carretto Serra (1633-1714)" (Mystical tradition and synodal regulations in Genoa in the seventeenth century. An analysis through the spiritual experience of Vittoria del Carretto Serra (1633-1714), in G. B. Varnier (dir.), *Scritti di*

nun's maternal grandmother, saying that she had particular devotion to the saint for grace received through his intercession. The picture had been sent by Lora to the parlour in the presence of the other nuns, and Vittoria Serra had insisted on imploring the saint for help. The suddenness of the healing guaranteed, according to Lora, that it had taken place by means of “attione sopranaturale o di gratia o di miracolo” (supernatural action or by grace or by a miracle).

On 22 October 1705, *ad cratas* (through the grids), the sixty-one-year-old Prioress, Sister Teresa Maria di san Giuseppe, was interviewed (cc. 5v-8r).[16] She confirmed that she had already known Maria Vittoria before she entered the convent and that she had visited her during the illness. The doctors gave the diagnosis of “vertigine tenebricosa” (tenebrous vertigo) and she was treated by Lavagnino, the convent doctor, and Lora, without benefit. Only the bloodlettings gave her some slight relief, but the bouts of vertigo immediately returned so that the illness was believed by the doctors to be “incurabile e con nessuna speranza” (incurable and hopeless). Lavagnino, seeing that it was a desperate case, in the end abandoned the treatments. The nuns decided then to turn to Lora, but he too was unable to obtain any positive results. Before 1704 she underwent bloodlettings and was given drinks, pills and baths but with no improvement - in fact, her condition continued to worsen. During the illness, Maria Vittoria appealed for the intercession of the saints, in particular St Pasquale. Maria Vittoria had not immediately given credence to the intercession of St Pasquale, despite praying to him, while the other nuns “fecero particolari devotioni” (made specific devotions) in order to obtain the grace of God. The vision and the miracle are recounted by the Prioress, as in the other versions. From then on, Maria Vittoria was in good health, observing the rule.

On the same day in 1705, the thirty-one-year old Sister Maria Vittoria di St Teresa Centurione herself was interviewed (cc. 8r-10v). She stated that she had been a nun for fifteen years and remembered being ill with vertigo in 1704. To treat her, the doctor

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storia e diritto sinodale in memoria di Lazzaro Maria de Bernardis, I sinodi postridentini della provincia ecclesiastica di Genova, Genoa, Glaudo Brigati, 1997, pp. 109-133.

[16] Teresa Maria di san Giuseppe, lay name - Maria Vittoria Durazzo, daughter of Vincenzo and Maria Francesca Morando, professed her vows at the age of 15 in September 1691.

prescribed “medicamenti, di bagni, cavate di sangue e qualche goccie per bocca” (medications, baths, blood extractions and drops for her mouth), all to no avail.
Shortly before 19 September, after having gone to the convent to treat her, Dr Lora gave her the image of the Saint, telling her to implore him to help her, he being a saint of “gran merito” (great merit). Maria Vittoria did so more out of obedience to the confessor and the other nuns than from her own conviction. The morning of the miracle, she went out into the corridor of the convent, supported by a nun and then returned to her cell accompanied, among others, by Mother Teresa Maria (di san Giuseppe). When she got to her room, she sat on a chair, looking at the picture of St Pasquale on a small table. She then heard three soft knocks on the wall beside which the picture was. She had her eyes closed, opened them and saw “un frate in habito biggio con cordone grosso con groppo simigliante a quello de padri della Pace[17]che pareva che havesse del lucente e maestoso” (a monk in a grey habit with a large knotted rope, similar to that of the Fathers of Peace, who appeared radiant and majestic). The nun heard the words uttered by the vision: “Ah tu mi fai così? A tuo dispetto ti voglio guarire e, imediatamente, sparì et io restai confusa et alterata” (Ah, you do this to me? In spite of yourself, I want to heal you), upon which it immediately disappeared and I was confused and affected.” Maria Vittoria went to look for Sister Teresa Benedetta [18] so that she could tell Mother Teresa Maria. When the latter arrived, Maria Vittoria was on the bed, affected but healed. From then on, she was able to completely observe the rule.
When Maria Vittoria heard the voice, she was alone in the room and only later did she speak of it to Mother Teresa Maria and the other nuns. For two days she did not speak of it, only making the healing known to her parents, Dr Lora and her confessor. From then on, Maria Vittoria healed completely and was also able to start reading again, which she did with a *Life* of St Pasquale, whereas before she had not even been able to read two lines. Maria Vittoria stated that she had really heard the knocking on the wall where the small table with the picture of St Pasquale was, and she did not feel that she had been deceived. When she saw St Pasquale, she was alone in her room; she felt some “consolatione interna” (inner comfort) from the vision but was left disturbed and affected to the point that she was trembling. Before the healing, Lavagnino had said to her that there was no hope whereas now, after 19

[17] The Convent of Peace was kept in Genoa by the Franciscans.
[18] Teresa Benedetta di Gesù Maria, lay name - Chiara Maria Lomellini, daughter of Giacomo and Benedetta Salvago, professed her vows at the age of 16 on 3 February 1683 and died on 4 February 1730 (AMCSTG) *Catalogo delle religiose professe* 5, 27.

September, she was healed and was observing the rule. The illness had been growing progressively worse and she had been healed by the "pura gratia ottenuta per intercessione di S. Pasquale" (pure grace obtained through the intercession of St Pasquale).

On 2 November 1705, *in palatio,* Paolo Lavagnino, son of the late Giovanni Battista, was interviewed (cc. 10v-13r). The physician remembered having treated Maria Vittoria for various illnesses but particularly for "vertigine tenebricosa avvampante con dolore di testa e vertigini" (accentuated tenebrous vertigo with headache and bouts of vertigo). From the treatments administered not only did she not obtain any benefits but grew worse. She had consulted other doctors such as Lora. The healing was, for Lavagnino, a fact that was not usually "farsi dalla natura né possibile nel corso naturale" (obtained from nature nor possible in the natural course of events). Moreover, Lora had treated her with the attention with which he treated patients in the Genoese hospital of Pammatone. The nuns had said to Lavagnino that they had celebrated a novena to St Pasquale, and Maria Vittoria herself implored him for his help, although with little fervour. Lavagnino was not in the convent when the miracle occurred but was sent for by the nuns. After the healing, Lavagnino visited Maria Vittoria, finding her healthy, and did not consider the healing possible according to the natural course of the illness.

On 15 December 1705, *ad cratas,* Sister Marianna da san Giuseppe Durazzo (cc. 13r-14v; 15rv [19]) was interviewed. Sister Marianna described the illness of her fellow sister: applications of decoctions, deer extract and medications with "lilium convalium" were given to Maria Vittoria in addition to bloodlettings but, in the end, she was considered to be incurable. Seeing that Lavagnino's treatments, by bloodletting, produced no results "si deliberò" (it was resolved) (by whom? The Prioress, the chapter, Sister Maria Vittoria? We do not know) to turn to Lora, who had the decoctions and other treatments administered, also to no avail. Lavagnino considered her incurable. Lora gave her some medicines to treat her but with no result, even though the doctor continued to hold out hope. Before the healing, the witness continued, Maria Vittoria was taking no medicine, just a decoction that did not help her. She could not remember if it was on 17 or 18 September that the medicine was given to Maria Vittoria. Not only did the medicine not give her relief, but she seemed to

[19] Here, the numbering is no longer according to documents but to pages.

grow worse. She could not say if Maria Vittoria had made specific devotions during the illness.

Marianna da san Giuseppe saw Maria Vittoria in the dormitory and asked if she wanted to be accompanied to her cell but Vittoria declined the offer, saying that she would be "arrembata" (Genoese for 'supported') by the wall. On returning shortly afterwards, Marianna found her fellow sister healed. She was led not into her room but into that of Sister Teresa Benedetta di Gesù Maria. The healing had taken place, continued the witness, through the vision of St Pasquale, which Marianna reports in the same way as Maria Vittoria. For the witness, the healing was not due to the decline of the illness but to grace "gratia fattele dal santo" (bestowed on her by the saint). Maria Vittoria then told the Prioress Maria Teresa of her grace and all the nuns knew about it.

On 20 April 1706, *in palatio,* the Vicar General, Vincenzo Maria Pini, having heard the request advanced in the name of the miraculously cured nun by Pietro della Cella, published the evidence, a copy of which he sent to whoever requested it. On 16 September 1706 the canonical theologian, doctor *In Utroque*, Vincenzo Maria Pini, Vicar General of Cardinal Lorenzo Fieschi, Archbishop of Genoa, seeing the information collected, declared the miraculous nature of the healing, which took place through the intercession of St Pasquale Bailon "preterque providentiam humanam obtentam", and published it for the glory of the saint (c. 15)[20].

2. A printed book about the first miracle: the *Relazione* of 1702

Another version of the miracle of the healing of Sister Maria Vittoria of 23 January 1701 was reported in a six-page booklet entitled *Relazione del miracolo operato da Dio in Genoua per intercessione della S. Madre Teresa di Giesv in persona della Rev. Svor Maria Uittoria Centuriona monaca professa nel Monastero delle Scalze di Santa Teresa*, in Genoa, for Antonio Scionico, in Vico del Filo, 1702, with the permission of the Superiors[21]. The text aims to celebrate the "amabile" (loving) divine omnipotence shown in St Teresa, while affirming

[20] The second miracle increased devotions to St Pasquale in the convent. On 30 March 1707 a "conversa" (lay sister), who died in 1745 at the age of 66, took the name of Maria Agnese di san Pasquale (AMCSTG) *Catalogo delle religiose professe* 5, 38.

[21] Note the inversion of the use of u and v.

that it is enough to know of her life in order to be informed of this. For this latest wonder, the *Relazione* is based on the original case format in Genoa by order of the Archbishop, Giovanni Battista Spinola. The *Relazione* summarized the narrative of the facts. On 23 January 1701 Maria Vittoria, who was aged between 26 and 27, was "aggrauata" (seriously affected) by "uertigine" (vertigo), defined by the doctors as "tebricosa et essentiale" (tenebrous and essential), accompanied by paralysis of the little finger of the right hand extending to the whole right side, with frequent dimness of the eyes and total loss of sight, so that she was unable to turn around or move her head, complaining of there being a great weight and a great heat in her head above the "calvaria" (upper part of the cranium). This illness had begun seven years previously with short bouts of vertigo which impeded her from getting up in the morning, and with loss of sight for half an hour. This had been attributed to her having slept for many nights with the window open "sotto il lume della Luna, ed il giorno dimorato per molto tempo à i riflessi del Sole" (in the light of the moon, and to many hours of the day spent in the light of the sun). Doctors from Genoa and elsewhere were summoned but to no avail. Even though she received some relief from short emissions of blood (from three to four ounces), the illness returned. The total amount of bloodlettings between October 1700 and 23 January 1701 was between 10 and 12 pounds. The doctors feared that an apoplectic attack could occur "che l'incaminasse sicuramente alla morte" (which would certainly lead to her death). Sister Vittoria was judged by the doctors to be in a "disperato" (desperate) condition and to be "incurabile" (incurable), having proved resistant to treatments which were "potentissime, et efficacissimi rimedij" (very powerful, and effective remedies). The nun turned then with a "viva fede" (strong faith) to St Teresa and repeatedly asked the nuns who were helping her for some of the powder taken from the statuette made from the earth of the tomb of the Saint. Having taken it with "fervorosa divotione" (fervent devotion), she was immediately healed. She recovered her sight and was able to move her head, in which she no longer felt weight and heat. And not only that, to guarantee the healing, God had made her not only healthy but "più carnosa, e rubiconda" (plumper and rosy-cheeked). All of this was confirmed by the doctors Paulo (sic) Lavagnino, Antonio Antonelli, Gio Antonio Bacciocco and by the surgeon Giacomo Balestrino together with the nuns Teresa Maria di san Giuseppe, the then Prioress, Teresa Madalena (sic) di Gesù, Marianna da san Giuseppe and by Maria Vittoria herself, witnesses examined in the case held from 31 October 1701 to 20 May 1702, in which all of the theories requested by

the "Dottori" (doctors) were tested so that a healing could be said to be miraculous, authenticated then by the Archbishop with the decree of 4 May 1702 from which the *Relazione* is reported below (see **Illustration 1**)[22].

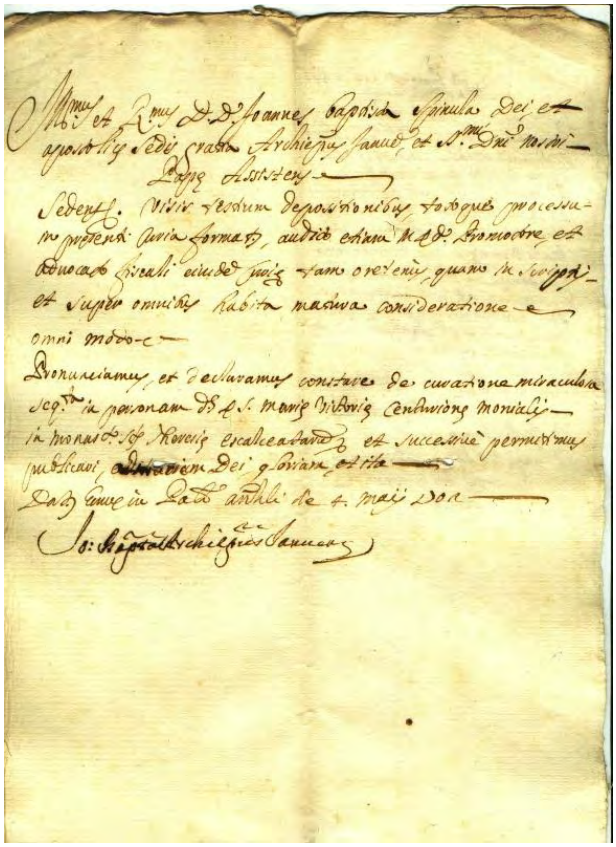

Illustration 1, ASDG 1355

Conclusions

From these facts we can obtain some information, firstly on how Maria Vittoria moves within the network of protection provided for the convent by the Centurione family, which had in the past placed there young girls of the family destined to found and spread the

[22] The version is the same as that of the preserved manuscript in ASDG 1355 *Grazie e Miracoli.*

Genoese Carmelite convents abroad[23]. A generation later, Maria Vittoria and the Centurione sisters entered the Carmelite convent of St Teresa. The close female family and sisterly ties are replicated in the convent where, around the sick and healed body of Vittoria, gathered the sisterhood of the other nuns, sisters in the convent, sisters by blood.

Maria Vittoria's (living) body was subjected to a number of tests by the nuns, doctors and ecclesiastical authorities. The other nuns tended to her in the monastery while the doctors' ministrations to her body are known to us from the legal proceedings. The treatment was the usual type administered at the time, with the witness accounts attesting to its ineffectiveness. The shortcomings of medicine are redressed by the miracle. The verdict delivered by the ecclesiastical authority takes into consideration the testimony of doctors, setting it against knowledge that had accumulated from the end of the Middle Ages and grown apace in the seventeenth century: knowledge of the distinction between 'true' and 'false' mysticism. Starting with Pignatelli's volume, the Vicar General Salvatore Castellino refers to a specialized bibliography on the question, which informs us of how the Genoese Curia of the time was set up to deal with the matter.

A difference can be noted between the two miracles. The first is the result of ingestion of the powder from the statue; the second arises from a vision that follows an act of devotion by Maria Vittoria to St Pasquale, suggested to her by a doctor. In the first case, the cure is effected through the body via the mouth, by absorbing food; in the second case, through the eyes, the sight, the fact of first seeing a picture and then having a vision. It is noteworthy that, in contrast to current thinking, no questions were posed at that time on the reality or the origin of the vision: divine, natural or diabolic? The monastic setting and the acceptance of the first miracle made any such enquiry superfluous. In short, the healed body of Maria Vittoria was indeed "miraculously cured".

Manuscripts

[23] Consider Paola Maria di Gesù Centurione (1586-1546), who spread the Carmelites to Austria, and Maria Maddalena Centurione (1586-1660), who founded the Carmelites of Avignon, Carpentras and Chambéry cf. P. Fontana, “Appunti su agiografia carmelitana ed Inquisizione nel Seicento. La censura della Vita di Maddalena di Gesù Centurione di Paolo del SS Sacramento”, *Rivista di Vita Spirituale,* no. 1, 2010, pp. 103-109.

AMCSTG (Archivio Monastero Carmelitano Santa Teresa, Genoa), *Catalogo delle religiose professe* 5
ASDG (Archivio Storico Diocesano, Genoa), *Grazie e Miracoli* 1355, *Decreto dell'arcivescovo di Genova Giovanni Battista Spinola del 4 maggio 1702 che attesta la miracolosità della guarigione di suor Maria Vittoria Centurione*

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The 'Polite' Face: The Social Meanings Attached to Facial Appearance in Early Eighteenth-Century Didactic Journals

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Key Words:

Face, appearance, expression, politeness, Addison and Steele, identity.

Abstract:

The early eighteenth-century English elite were obsessed with their looks, and this article will examine why. Through analysis of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's didactic journals the *Tatler*, the *Spectator* and the *Guardian*, this paper will explore what symbolic meanings and associations were attached to the face in this period and how they informed the ways in which the face was perceived. This discussion will show that a range of evidence contained within these papers reveals that the face was inscribed with many complex meanings directly informed by the social idiom that characterised elite culture in this period: 'politeness'. It will be argued that looks were of such concern to contemporaries in the early eighteenth century because of the ways in which Addison and Steele presented the active management of the face through its expression as a plausible means by which individuals could render their 'personal identity' and display it to others.

Looks preoccupied the early eighteenth-century English elite. This was because within elite 'polite society' the face represented an important symbol of personal identity that informed the extent to which contemporaries were considered 'polite'. Consequently, the appearance of the face and its social judgement became key topics of cultural debate in this period. Driving and reflecting this social preoccupation was a diverse range of print media that presented and discussed exemplary forms of 'polite' aesthetic corporeality, such as Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's enormously popular periodical journals *The Tatler* (1709-1711), *The Spectator* (1711-14) and *The Guardian* (1713). This paper will examine the discussion of facial appearance within these journals in order to reveal what meanings and associations were attached to different facial forms in elite 'polite' society. In order to achieve this, this paper will firstly outline the ways in which these didactic journals can be used to decode the symbolic meanings attached to the face and its features. It will then attempt to show how

these symbolic meanings were constructed in reference to the 'polite' social values of the eighteenth-century elite. Finally, it will demonstrate the ways in which these periodicals influenced how individuals perceived the features they saw exhibited by the face and socially judged people who displayed them.

'Politeness' has long been regarded as a term synonymous with elite culture in eighteenth-century Britain. This is because in this culture, 'polite' and 'politeness' emerged as key terms which contemporaries used to refer to a range of different social and cultural practices that were thought to display civility, good breeding, manners, easiness and gentility[24]. Lawrence Klein argues that 'politeness' began its career as a term used to refer to normative forms of social behaviour displayed by the elite[25]. In its most basic formulation, he proposes that it was a code of social behaviour concerned with the display of forms of conduct associated with decorum in behaviour and personal style, sociability, gentility, improvement and worldliness[26]. However, over the course of the century, 'politeness' came to be used as a term that referred to much more than mere etiquette[27]. Rather, 'politeness' came to represent an all-embracing philosophy of manners that promoted greater ease, openness and accessibility in forms of social interaction, at the same time setting demanding prescriptive standards as to how individuals should behave towards one another in social situations[28]. 'Politeness' must therefore be acknowledged to have represented a broad-ranging social idiom that had a significant impact on many distinctive aspects of eighteenth-century culture.

The emergence of *The Tatler*, *The Spectator* and *The Guardian* have long been regarded as literary developments that were symbiotic to the progress of 'politeness'. Indeed, Addison and Steele have often been considered to have played a key role in formulating 'politeness' as a wide-ranging social movement and in disseminating the modes of social behaviour it promoted to society at large[29]. Addison and Steele certainly perceived their endeavours in these terms and, through their publications, sought to instruct the

[24] P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800,* Harlow, Longman, 2001, p. 23.
[25] L. Klein, "The Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Progress of Politeness", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, No. 18: 2, 1984-1985, p. 186.
[26] L. Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century", *The Historical Journal*, No. 45: 4, 2002, p. 887.
[27] M. Snodin and J. Styles, *Design and the Decorative Arts, 1500-1900*, London, V&A, 2001, p. 183.
[28] L. Klein, "Politeness and the British Eighteenth Century", op. cit., p. 887.
[29] L. Klein, "The Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Progress of Politeness", op. cit., p. 187.

literate populace in how they should want to be 'perceived and received' in the emergent public sphere[30]. Addison famously stated in one of the earliest issues of the *Spectator*:

> I shall endeavour to enliven Morality with Wit, and to temper Wit with Morality, that my Readers may, if possible, both Ways find their account in the Speculation of the Day…It was said of *Socrates*, that he brought Philosophy down from Heaven, to inhabit among Men; and I shall be ambitious to have it said of me, that I have brought Philosophy out of Closets and Libraries, Schools and Colleges, to dwell in Clubs and Assemblies, at Tea-tables, and in Coffee-houses[31].

Thus by parading, describing and discussing, but rarely explicitly defining, a new set of supposedly more natural 'polite' social manners and the ways they should be employed in daily life, Addison and Steele equipped their readers with the means to empower themselves through engagement in 'polite' forms of social interaction. The emergence of the genre of the periodical essay was therefore central to the construction of the cultural idiom of 'politeness'.

The *Tatler*, the *Spectator* and the *Guardian* also played an essential role in the dissemination of 'politeness' as a result of their enormous popularity. Although the journals themselves only appeared, at different times, during the relatively short period from 1709 to 1714, it is essential to note the huge circulation of these papers and their significant social impact. Donald Bond, the editor of the modern collected editions of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator,* estimates that each daily issue of the *Spectator* enjoyed a circulation of some 4,000 copies, with some issues reaching sales figures above 14,000[32]. However, it is difficult to quantify the paper's successes by such figures alone, as Erin Mackie shows that individual copies of these essays would frequently have been circulated among the clientele of the numerous coffee houses in London at this time[33]. Furthermore, the continuing influence of these journals throughout the century cannot be ignored. John Calhoun Stephens, editor of the modern collection of the least popular of the three journals, the *Guardian*, has shown that even this work went through more than thirty editions in England before 1900[34]. This evidence clearly demonstrates that it was through Addison and Steele's enormously popular periodicals that 'politeness' found its widest public audience. It also suggests that in the

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[30] R. Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason: How the Enlightenment Transformed the Way We See Our Bodies and Souls,* London, Penguin, 2004, p. 114.
[31] *The Spectator*, No. 10 (12th March 1711).
[32] D. Bond (ed.), "Introduction", *The Spectator*, 5 Vols., Oxford, Oxford University Press,1965, p. xxvi.
[33] E. Mackie, *Market à la Mode: Fashion, Commodity, and Gender in the Tatler and Spectator Papers*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, p. 18.
[34] J. Calhoun Stephens (ed.), "Introduction", *The Guardian*, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1982, p. 35.

eighteenth century 'politeness' was most commonly understood in the terms formulated by Addison and Steele.

Imagining Early Eighteenth-Century Didactic Journals as 'Archives' of the Face

In the didactic journals, the appearance of the face was a common and enduring theme of interest. The face was not only discussed in articles that directly investigated its appearance and different parts, but passing references were also made in articles on different topics, descriptions of real and fictional characters, and in the language that the authors employed to describe the face. However, it is important to recognise that the social meanings attached to the face were often highly dependent on the discursive framework in which it was mentioned, and that in different contexts the meanings attached to face could be highly distinctive. This was because, while Addison and Steele played an important editorial role in dictating the general tone and content of the journals, the construction of the journals was a collective endeavour in several ways. A range of authors, including Henry Martyn, Alexander Pope, John Hughes, Thomas Tickell, John Gay and Eustace Budgell, all contributed a significant number of individual articles to these different journals. A vast number of articles also featured letters received from readers and, for example, almost 250 of the 555 original issues of the *Spectator* contained letters[35]. This situation occurred because Addison and Steele actively encouraged 'audience participation' in the construction of their papers. For instance, the *Guardian* repeatedly urged readers to submit contributions at the 'lion's head letter-box' erected at Button's coffee house. Finally, most daily articles of the journals, when they were first published, contained a substantial number of advertisements and notices submitted by booksellers, perfumers, cosmetics producers and members of the public. The content of the didactic journals was thus constructed by a vast number of different authors for distinctive purposes. This is the reason why the discussion of the face within these journals was so highly diverse and dependent on the framework in which it was located.

In accordance with this understanding, it may be useful to imagine these journals as 'archives' of evidence for examining the face. By conceptualising the journals in these terms, the historian can respond to the different sorts of material contained within these works in ways that are methodologically appropriate and make allowances for their distinctive modes

[35] D. Bond, "Introduction", op. cit., p. XIV.

of production and construction, and the intent of their different authors. This part of the discussion will now proceed by outlining some of the distinctive frameworks in which the face was examined within these journals and how these different sorts of evidence can be interpreted to reveal the meanings attached to the face.

William Hogarth's 'Analysis of Beauty' (London, 1753)

In the first instance, discussion of facial appearance often featured as the main object of the narrator's comment in specific articles. Particular examples of this kind from the *Spectator* include articles that examined the display of political affiliation through the placement of face patches, local grinning competitions, different styles of male facial hair throughout history and the activities of a group called the 'Ugly Club'. Similarly, the *Tatler* and the *Guardian* featured articles that contained learned dissertations on noses and the meanings of particular smiles. This evidence is of use as it demonstrates the ways Addison and Steele constructed explicit knowledge about the meanings of the face and how they should be interpreted by contemporaries.

On the other hand, discussion of facial appearance was not strictly limited to the articles in which it made up the primary object of examination. The language used in connection to the different parts of the face in articles where it was not explicitly discussed is highly revealing. A survey of the language used to describe the actions the eyes

performed, such as ‘observation’, ‘gazing’, ‘glancing’, ‘staring’ and ‘ogling’, suggests that the eyes were understood as performing a vast array of different actions. In addition, the language used in conjunction with the eyes indicates that they were often believed capable of expressing the particular sentiment of the person engaged in the action of ‘looking’. In this respect, eyes were portrayed as being ‘knowing’, ‘charmed’, ‘un-prejudiced’, ‘respectful’, ‘competitive’ and even ‘evil’. Hence, this linguistic evidence demonstrates that the eyes were recognised not only as an important embodied means through which contemporaries perceived the world they inhabited, but also as a mode through which they conveyed embodied meaning to other social actors. Analysis of the language used to describe the appearance and actions of the face throughout the didactic journals is highly revealing as it evidences many of the implicit social meanings associated with the face.

The appearance of the face was also frequently mentioned in descriptions of the characters that feature within the journals. One of the best examples of this variety is provided in the description of the face of the narrator of the *Spectator*. For Mr Spectator, the shape of his face was a subject of considerable concern. He complained throughout the journal of having what he called a ‘short face’. He stated in issue 17: ‘I am a little unhappy in the Mold of my Face, which is not quite so long as it is broad’. Musing over the reasons for his strange appearance, Mr Spectator wonders whether it ‘might not partly arise from my opening my Mouth much seldomer than other People, and by Consequence not so much lengthening the Fibres of my Visage’. In many ways, Addison and Steele’s description of Mr Spectator’s face reflected the characterisation of the narrator as a silent, unseen, and reflective ‘spectator’ of mankind. Consequently, this example shows that by analysing these kinds of literary facial description, historians can establish the meanings attached to different forms of facial appearance and how they informed the ways people perceived the character of individuals that displayed them.

One of the most interesting aspects of the construction of the periodicals was the common editorial practice of publishing letters from their readers. Such source evidence allows analysis of the ways that the looks of the face informed individuals’ lived experiences and locates the ideas that Addison and Steele promoted about the face within a broader cultural debate. However, using these letters as evidence in this way is not entirely unproblematic. In the first instance, the letters were often published anonymously, under pseudo-names given by Addison and Steele, or were only identified by the author’s initials.

Therefore, with a few notable exceptions, they cannot be attributed to any particular individuals. Secondly, the majority of the letters sent to the journals do not survive to the present, and as a result it is almost impossible, in most cases, to analyse the extent to which Addison and Steele, like many other periodical editors of the period, modified and edited their content. This is significant, as evidence from the *Spectator* suggests that the extent to which letters were edited largely depended on the content and construction of individual letters. While in issue 442 Steele admitted that he sometimes altered the letters he received 'by dressing them in my own Style, by leaving out what wou'd not appear like mine, and by adding whatever might be proper to adapt them to the Character and Genius of my Paper', he stated in 268, 'I am of Opinion that I ought sometimes to lay before the World the plain Letters of my Correspondents in the artless Dress in which they hastily send them'. This suggests that, although the overall theme or content of the letters was probably authentic, we must be careful about assuming that the letters published in the periodicals appeared in exactly the ways formulated by the original authors.

Despite the stated problems, these letters do represent valuable source material as they offer us some insight into the ways in which individuals' life experiences were informed by the look of their faces. A letter published in issue number 306 of the *Spectator* from a correspondent named as 'Parthenissa', who recounted the sad story of the ravages wrought by smallpox upon her face, is a fine example of this sort of evidence. Parthenissa stated that before she contracted the illness she was in 'Possession of as much Beauty and as many Lovers as any young Lady in England' but she bemoaned that the disfiguring scars left upon her face had transformed her life and lamented that her lovers were now at the feet of her rivals, and her rivals were 'every Day bewailing' her. The value of these letters is that they enable the reconstruction of how the meanings attached to facial appearance manifested themselves in an individual's everyday life experience. Additionally, they offer a more complicated picture of how the appearance of the face was perceived in 'polite society' than the articles of the journals where the face was explicitly examined. This is because the content of these articles more commonly presented an idealised 'polite' version of how Addison and Steele believed the face should be socially judged than the discussion of the face that appeared in the letters, which were written from the perspective of particular individuals.

Finally, vital information is evidenced in the large number of advertisements for cosmetic products that featured in the periodicals. One of the most common advertisements of this type proclaimed the virtues of a cream wash called the 'Chrystal Cosmetick'. This wash, as first stated in issue 25 of the *Spectator*, was well known for its ability to take 'off all Morphews, Pimples and Freckles' and in curing red faces 'from what cause soever.' Through such advertisements we can thus establish what forms of aesthetic appearance the 'polite' sought to display, what exterior forms they attempted to remove or hide, and the types of products that were available for this purpose. Like pieces of correspondence, such adverts also serve to question the dominance and cultural interpretation of the ideas promoted by Addison and Steele, as their presence stands in contrast to the frequent attacks made against the use of cosmetics within the content of the journal articles.

The Symbolic Meanings of the Face

The face is a notoriously complex theoretical entity. When we encounter a face, we simultaneously encounter a recognised symbol of an individual's personal identity but also a symbol, in and of itself, that is inscribed with an intricate series of culturally informed associations. The face consequently represents important terrain upon which individuals negotiate the boundaries between the self and society. It is through the cultural meanings which are attached to the face in a specific context that social actors are able to interpret the appearance of the face as a communicative sign system of the self and give meaning to what they perceive. As a result, the face must be understood to have its own culturally constructed language, which is invested with powerful symbolic significance in the context in which it is displayed.[36] In the early eighteenth century, the didactic journals played a significant role in codifying a framework of the symbolic meanings of the face in relation to the social idiom of 'politeness' that provided contemporaries with a systematic structure through which they could decode the symbols displayed by the appearance of the face.

In the didactic journals, when the face was considered as a singular entity, its analysis was repeatedly framed within wider forms of cultural discussion concerning 'beauty'. David Turner suggests that critical appreciation of beauty in all its manifestations was a central

[36] P. Magli, "The Face and the Soul", in M. Feher (ed.), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body, vol. 2*., New York, Urzone, 1989, p. 90.

feature of discussions concerning 'politeness', taste and refinement.[37] In the early eighteenth century, these dialectics of taste and beauty were heavily influenced by the classical aesthetic, which was characterised by its emphasis on form, simplicity, proportion and restraint. In many ways, the classical aesthetic appears to have come into vogue as it represented a physical manifestation of the social idiom of 'politeness'. The classical aesthetic, in turn, heavily informed the way in which the face was perceived as a singular entity and accordingly there was a clear idealised and aesthetically reinforced cultural notion of what the most beautiful facial form should look like in 'polite society'. Roy Porter proposes that the classical ideal of beauty held that the face should be symmetrical, have regular and harmonious features such as a high forehead and aquiline nose, and have light, pale or fair coloured skin.[38] In a broad sense, the classical aesthetic, when it concerned the face, was organised around the judgement of four qualifying standards: colour, regularity, symmetry and proportion. Consequently, discussion of the beautiful face in the didactic journals usually referenced at least one or two, if not all, of these measures of beauty. To draw upon but one example, the use of these qualifying measures of beauty to judge the ways individuals looked is seen in article number 4 of the *Tatler,* where the narrator discussed the beauty of a woman depicted in a painting he had recently seen exhibited, who he called 'Clarissa'. He stated: 'When you look at Clarissa, you see the most exact harmony of feature, complexion, and shape.' Classical notions of beauty and its qualifying standards were therefore of consequence in 'polite society' as they had a direct bearing on the ways that individuals' faces were perceived, described and judged.

While faces that measured up to the classical idealised notion of beauty were applauded in 'polite society', faces that displayed forms of corporeality that did not match this design of aesthetic beauty were negatively identified as being 'ugly' or 'deformed'. Ugly faces were believed to be those that were oddly-shaped, asymmetrical, irregular, weak-chinned, long, lopsided and that displayed over or under-sized features; that is, ugly forms of facial appearance were considered to be those that did not adequately measure against defining characteristics of beauty displayed by 'idealised' classical facial forms. In issue 17, the *Spectator* published a series of points, entitled 'The Act of Deformity', which laid out the

[37] D. Turner, "The Body Beautiful", in L. Kalof & W. Bynum (eds) *A Cultural History of the Human Body*, Oxford, Berg, 2010, p. 113.
[38] R. Porter, *Bodies Politic: Disease, Death and the Doctors in Britain, 1650-1900*, London, Reakiton, 2001, p. 71.

rules of admission for a group called the ‘Ugly Club’. It was stated: ‘That no Person whatsoever shall be admitted without a visible Quearity in his Aspect, or peculiar Cast of Countenance’ and ‘that if the Quantity of any Man’s Nose be eminently miscalculated, whether as to Length or Breadth, he shall have a just Pretence to be elected’. The article went on to state that for the leader of the group there was no member of the society more deserving of praise than ‘old Nell Trott’, who was described as ‘one of the Extraordinary Works of Nature; but as for Complexion, Shape, Features, so valued by others, they are all mere Outside and Symmetry, which is his Aversion’. In the early eighteenth century, the ‘ugly’ or ‘deformed’ face was judged to be that which did not display features that matched the qualifying principles of beauty as defined in classical aesthetic theory.

William Hogarth's 'Analysis of Beauty' (London, 1753)

It is important to recognise that cultural notions of facial 'beauty' and 'ugliness' were not the only factors that influenced how the face was perceived. Rather, many facial features were inscribed with their own specific meanings and associations that informed their social judgement. In the didactic journals, the eyes were the most frequently discussed features of the face. This was because the eyes were thought to share a close connection with the soul. In the vast majority of cases, the relationship between the eyes and the soul was discussed in relation to the sensory action of sight. It was believed that it was through the eyes that information most directly reached the soul of the observer. Addison declared in issue 411 of the *Spectator*: 'Our Sight is the most perfect and most delightful of all our Senses'. Addison afforded sight this supreme position in the sensory hierarchy because he believed: 'It is this Sense which furnishes the Imagination with its Ideas.' In turn, Addison asserted that the pleasures of the imagination, as informed by the sense of sight, had the most immediate effect upon the soul because they were not disturbed by the workings of the mind. He declared: 'A beautiful Prospect delights the Soul...the Pleasures of the Imagination have this Advantage, above those of the Understanding, that they are more obvious and more easie to be acquired'.

Contemporaries did not simply believe that information flowed in one direction from the eyes to the soul. Instead, it was generally agreed that the feelings of the soul manifested themselves in the appearance or expression of the eyes. A series of letters published in the *Spectator* examined this relationship at length. The eye, noted one commentator:

> seems as much the Receptacle and Seat of our Passions, Appetites and Inclinations as the Mind it self; and at least it is the outward Portal to introduce them to the House within, or rather the common Thorough-fare to let our Affections pass in and out. Love, Anger, Pride, and Avarice, all visibly move in those little Orbs.[39]

In this passage, the eyes were thus presented as 'openings' through which the feelings of the soul could transcend the corporeal boundary. It was thought the 'openness' of eyes meant that their appearance revealed and expressed the inner feelings of the soul. Another correspondent to the *Spectator* manifested this sentiment clearly in his assertion that: 'A beautiful Eye makes silence eloquent, a kind Eye makes Contradiction an Assent, an enraged Eye makes beauty Deformed'[40]. The eyes were therefore imagined as windows through

[39] *The Spectator*, No. 250 (17th December 1711).
[40] Ibid, No. 252 (19th December 1711).

which the soul could move in and out of the corporeal limits of the flesh, and as a result their appearance was perceived as an embodied expression of the soul.

The associations attached to parts of the face were also often explicitly tied to the ways that aspects of the face had been used to metaphorically describe or symbolise certain moral characteristics in much older discourses. In the Middle Ages the loss of the nose through leprosy was seen as a visual indicator of sexual excess, lechery and covetousness[41]. Reflecting this belief, in the didactic journals the nose was frequently used as a symbol of sexual degeneracy and was most commonly mentioned in relation to venereal disease. In the *Tatler*, the narrator urged young fresh-faced men coming to town not to consort with prostitutes, warning them that such women were 'after their noses'. He cautioned:

> regard every Town-Woman as a particular Kind of Siren, that has a Design upon their Noses, and that, amidst her Flatteries and Allurements, they will fancy she speaks to 'em in that humorous Phrase of old *Plautus*: *Ego tibi Faciem denasabo mordieùs.* 'Keep your Face out of my Way, or I'll bite off your nose'[42].

In the didactic journals, due to much older associations between the nose and sin, the nose was therefore inscribed with many negative connotations and was commonly employed to symbolise sexual impropriety and deviance.

The discursive constitution of the nose as an 'impolite' symbol meant that descriptions of the nose were frequently omitted from descriptions of beautiful people. Perhaps somewhat unsurprisingly, in contrast, descriptions of 'ugly' noses were repeatedly cited in depictions of individuals who were 'ugly' or who had a flawed moral character. An advertisement requesting information about a runaway female servant thief in issue 245 of the *Tatler* emphasised the ugliness of her facial appearance and the irregular look of her nose. The woman concerned, a Miss *Bridget Howd'ee*, was described as a:

> short, thick, lively, hard-favoured Wench, of about Twenty nine Years of Age, her Eyes small and bleared, her Nose very broad at Bottom, and turning up at the End; her Mouth wide, and Lips of an unusual Thickness; two Teeth out before, the rest black and uneven.

As a result of the negative associations attached to the misshapen nose, its appearance in 'polite society' could also be a direct point of contention and cause negative remarks. A correspondent whose letter was published in article 289 of the *Tatler* complained that he

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[41] S. Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages,* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p. 37.
[42] *The Tatler*, No. 260 (7th December 1710).

had been verbally attacked by a man who took offence at the appearance of his large nose. It was stated:

> Being in Company this Evening with a Youth of more than ordinary Fire, he observed my Nose to be somewhat larger than his; *upon* which he took a Dislike to my Face, and towards the End of the Night could not forbear *telling* me, that he thought it *an* Affront to thrust the said Nose into civil Company.

The tale culminated in the victim's nose actually being cut off by the sword of the person who had been affronted by it. While this does represent an extreme example, it demonstrates that the negative characteristics with which the nose was associated meant that the nose was frequently subject to negative comment in 'polite society'. It also shows that if its appearance was judged to be deformed, it could have extremely detrimental effects on the ways in which people were perceived and treated by others. On the other hand, it is important to acknowledge that Addison and Steele repeatedly urged their readers not to judge other social actors in this manner and explicitly condemned instances, such as that outlined above, where people were negatively judged in relation to the shape and look of their noses.

While the nose was frequently used by Addison and Steele as an 'impolite' symbol, other features of the face were thought to be particularly expressive of 'politeness'. One of the most important markers of personal 'politeness', particularly for women, was modesty. Eustace Budgell clearly noted the association between modesty and 'politeness' in issue 373 of the *Spectator,* where he asserted:

> If I was put to define Modesty, I would call it *The Reflection of an Ingenuous Mind*, either when a Man has committed an Action for which he censures himself, or fancies he is exposed to the Censure of others.

Modesty was believed to be most readily discernible in the blushing of the cheek. Budgell proposed that it was only an imprudent man who 'can break through all the Rules of Decency and Morality without a Blush'. In the *Guardian* the imprudence of a self-acknowledged fortune hunter named Will Bareface was indicated by his disdainful account of the action of blushing. In issue 38, the rude Mr Bareface stated:

> I never knew any but you musty Philosophers applaud Blushes, and your selves will allow that they are caused, either by some real Imperfection, or the Apprehension of Defect where there is not any; but for my part I hate Mistakes, and shall not suspect myself wrongfully.

This evidence suggests that in elite society the blushing cheek was perceived as a literal symbol of an individual's modesty and 'politeness'.

The appearance of the mouth was also a subject of considerable comment in the didactic journals. In elite culture, the ways that people smiled or laughed was believed to convey social information about their character. The narrator of the *Guardian,* Nestor Ironside, stated in article number 29:

> It may be remarked in general under this Head that the Laugh of Men of Wit is for the most part but a faint constrained kind of Half-Laugh, as such Persons are never without some Diffidence about them; but that of Fools is the most honest, natural, open Laugh in the World.

Accordingly, the narrator proposed that it was appropriate to make observations on a person's temperament through observing their laugh or smile. In order to provide his readers with their own means of judging others, he arranged kinds of 'Laughers' under the following heads:

> The Dimplers,
> The Smilers,
> The Laughers,
> The Grinners,
> The Horse-Laughers.

The 'dimple', it was stated, was a form of smile practised to 'give a Grace to the Features' that was primarily displayed by women who desired not to disorder the beauty of their countenance with the 'Ruffle of a Smile'. The author praised the display of this smile as demonstrating modesty. He observed that young widows frequently affected this smile and praised them for doing so, because it enabled them to appear easy in company while following the strict rules of decency necessary to their situation. The dimple smile, when employed by women, was consequently believed to be the best means of displaying beauty and modesty.

However, the article stated that the 'dimple' was subject to frequent misuse by effeminate fops. It was asserted:

> The Effeminate Fop, who by the long Exercise of his Countenance at the Glass hath reduced it to an exact Discipline, may claim a Place in this Clan. You see him upon any Occasion, to give Spirit to his Discourse, admire his own Eloquence by a Dimple.

This passage reveals that the 'dimple', when employed by men or 'fops', was supposed to show that the individual employing it was vain and self-satisfied rather than 'modest' or 'polite'. It therefore demonstrates that the 'dimple' was considered to be a form of smiling that was peculiarly female and consequently only had 'polite' resonances when used by women; moreover, that when it was used by men it was considered to represent a challenge to accepted gender norms. This shows that there were clear rules in 'polite society' which dictated what forms of facial expression were appropriate for different social actors to display.

While when certain social actors displayed the 'dimple' it could be judged negatively, the grin was universally abhorred. It was asserted in the *Guardian* issue 29 that the grin was most often used by 'old amorous Dotards' who endeavoured to recall 'Youth to their Cheeks' when they saw a 'young blooming Wench' they liked the look of. The distasteful aspects of the grin were also examined in article 173 of the *Spectator,* where the narrator discussed a grinning competition he had seen recently at a country fair. The first competitor, it was explained, was a 'black swarthy Frenchman', who was aided in affecting a horrible grimace because he was 'a Man naturally of a wither'd Look, and hard Features'. Despite his valiant efforts, however, this competitor was quickly defeated by an angry Jacobite, whose grin was said to be so fierce that it had caused half a dozen women to miscarry. Nevertheless, the Jacobite's angry grin proved no match against the final competitor, a country cobbler, who 'At the very first Grinn ...cast every Human Feature out of his Countenance; at the second...became the Face of a Spout; at the third a Baboon, at the fourth the Head of a Bass-Viol, and at the fifth a Pair of Nut-Crackers'. This evidence demonstrates that the grin was thought to be a form of facial appearance that was only displayed by people of the lower orders, political dissenters and those of a different national extraction, who were not aware, or concerned, that this action was 'impolite'. In his concluding statement Mr Spectator certainly identified the grin as a form of embodied action only displayed by the 'impolite'. He proposed:

> I would nevertheless leave it to the Consideration of those who are the Patrons of this monstrous Trial of Skill, whether or not they are not guilty, in some measure, of an Affront to their Species, in treating after this manner the *human face divine*…whether the raising of such silly Competitions among the Ignorant, proposing Prizes for such useless Accomplishments, filling the common People's Heads with such Senseless Ambitions…has not in it something Immoral as well as Ridiculous.

It is important to acknowledge that particular forms of facial appearance were not simply believed to betray information about an individual's character, class, gender, political affiliation or nationality, but that contemporaries actively used the display of the face to convey particular forms of social and political information. This is clearly evident in article 81 of the *Spectator,* which discussed the ways that women sought to display their political affiliation through the placement of face patches. Mr Spectator stated that at a visit to the opera he had observed two parties of very fine women sat in opposite side-boxes to the left and right of him. He noted that after a short survey of their appearance he realised that the set of ladies sat to his right were patched on the right side of their face, while those on his left were also patched but on their left side. He stated: 'Upon Enquiry I found that the Amazons on my Right Hand were Whigs, and those on my Left, Tories'. The reason why they were placing their patches in such a manner, the narrator concluded, was because these 'coquets' were trying to attract men from different political parties by surreptitiously conveying their political affiliation through their facial appearance. This evidence demonstrates that contemporaries were keenly aware that their face was often interpreted as a symbol of their personal character and were active in manipulating the appearance of their face for their own social and political ends.

The Face and Personal Identity

In her survey of the relationship between the face and the soul as conceptualised in the pseudo-science of physiognomy, Patrizia Magli demonstrates that the physiognomic understanding that particular facial features displayed the inner state of the soul was at least as old as Aristotle.[43] The continuing practice of physiognomy, popular beliefs that deformities in babies were caused by a secret sin enacted by the mother, and the Christian doctrine that the body was a sign of the inner soul, throughout the Middle Ages into the Early Modern period, all further indicate the prevalence of the understanding that the body was a mirror of the soul in Western thought.

[43] P. Magli, "The Face and the Soul", op. cit., p. 88.

Engraving by J.W. Cook, *Philosophers and virtuosi: twenty portraits* (Baldwin, Craddock & Joy, London, 1825) featuring portraits of Addison, Steele, Budgell, Locke and Hughes

Yet, in the early eighteenth century these long and deeply held convictions were increasingly being challenged by a range of social, intellectual and material developments.[44] While the previous discussion has demonstrated that the appearance of the face and its features were read as symbols of the soul, it is important to acknowledge that through their journals Addison and Steele sought to reconstitute these beliefs in several subtle but highly

[44] R. Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason*, op. cit., p. 249.

significant ways by aligning them with new questions concerning the construction of personal identity.

At a very basic level, 'politeness', in the way it was presented as a code of social behaviour by Addison and Steele, could be described as a project of the 'self'. This is because, above all, these authors were concerned with fashioning man anew as a social being by encouraging their readers to examine aspects of their own behaviour in reference to others. Addison stated in issue 215 of the *Spectator*:

> I consider an Human Soul without Education like Marble in the Quarry, which shews none of its inherent Beauties, till the Skill of the Polisher fetches out the Colours, makes the Surface shine, and discovers every ornamental Cloud, Spot and Vein that runs through the Body of it.

This assertion suggests that Addison and Steele did not follow the traditional philosophical belief that the human soul was intrinsic and given by God, but rather recognised it as an entity created and sculpted by individuals themselves through their education and engagement with culture. Indeed, through the didactic journals, Addison and Steele sought to offer precise models of conscious selfhood in order to provide readers with means of rendering personal identity in relation to society's prevailing social mores; a selfhood that was defined by the appropriate acquisition of certain forms of 'polite' social behaviour.

In the didactic journals the body was presented as an important medium through which individuals could practically render and display personal identity. This understanding was inextricably tied to the way in which these authors understood the constitution of self, derived from the philosophy of John Locke, as the totality of the actions, impressions, thoughts and feelings acquired through lived embodied experience and self-reflection that constituted a person as a conscious being[45]. Repeatedly, Addison and Steele referenced the close connection between the body and soul, and the ways the character of the soul could be crafted and influenced by the conduct of the body. Throughout these journals the relationship between the body and soul was presented as a fine balance. In a discussion concerning exercise in the *Spectator* in article 115, it was stated that without proper forms of embodied labour 'the Body cannot subsist in its Vigour, nor the Soul act with Cheerfulness'. In this statement Addison and Steele revealed their belief that the soul could act upon the body and vice versa. Through their writing, Addison and Steele thus effectively

[45] ibid., p. 77.

constituted the body as an essential feature of personal identity, as they presented it both as the source of the soul's understanding and the means through which the soul could be physically constituted and displayed.

When this understanding manifested itself in discussion concerning the social judgement of individuals through the appearance of the face, Addison and Steele firstly sought to investigate situations where people were judged on their 'natural' facial appearance. They were clearly aware that first appearances could directly inform how individuals were perceived and socially judged. Besides this, they recognised that older understandings of the face as an inscription of the soul continued to thrive. Addison stated in number 86 of the *Spectator*:

> We are no sooner presented to any one we never saw before, but we are immediately struck with the Idea of a proud, a reserved, an affable, or a good-natured man; and upon our first going into a Company of Strangers, our Benevolence or Aversion, Awe or Contempt, rises naturally towards several particular Persons before we have heard them speak a single Word, or so much as know who they are.

The frequent usage of phrases such as 'our thoughts are in our features' and 'every passion gives a particular cast to the countenance' further attests to the belief that the face and its expressions were a direct indication of individual character. This is made explicit in the following statement by Mr Spectator: 'When I see a Man with a sour shrivelled face, I cannot forbear pitying his Wife; and when I meet with an open ingenuous Countenance, think on the happiness of his Friends, his Family and Relations'. Together, these passages reveal that Addison and Steele recognised that within 'polite' society facial appearance was read as an indicator of the self and the face inextricably linked to the social identity of the person that possessed it.

However, while acknowledging that looks could inform how contemporaries were socially judged, Addison and Steele did not necessarily regard the judgement of individuals on aspects of facial appearance that they were born with as a good or proper measure of personal character. Throughout the didactic journals, readers were warned that appearances could be deceptive and to be wary of using traditional physiognomic associations as a judge of character. The assertion that looks could be deceiving was nowhere clearer than in discussions concerning the practice of women wearing makeup. A correspondent to the *Spectator,* whose letter featured in issue 41, wrote to Mr Spectator to urge him to warn other members of society about the deception of women that 'painted'.

He informed the narrator: 'They are some of them so Exquisitely skilful in this Way, that give them but a Tolerable Pair of Eyes to set up with, and they will make Bosom, Lips, Cheeks, and Eye-brows, by their own Industry'. The language employed in advertisements for cosmetics suggests that this was precisely the appeal of such products. The 'Famous Bavarian Red Liquor' proclaimed that it gave 'such a delightful blushing Colour to the Cheeks of those that are White or Pale, that it is not to be distinguished from a natural fine Complexion, nor perceived to be artificial by the nearest Friend'.[46] This issue of deception was certainly revealed in other parts of the letter sent to the *Spectator* mentioned above. The correspondent stated of his own experience: 'As for my Dear, never Man was so inamour'd as I was of her fair Forehead, Neck and Arms…but to my great Astonishment, I find they were all the Effect of Art'. The subject of the man's concern appears to have been not that his wife was not as beautiful as he had first thought, but that she had deceived him before their marriage and was thus not the woman of character he thought, as she was essentially deceitful in nature. This suggests that concerns relating to the use of cosmetic products in the didactic journals centred around fears that they were enabling individuals to construct false personal identities and mask their true characters. The development of material products such as cosmetics, were therefore challenging long-held beliefs that the face could be interpreted as a mirror of the soul[47].

On the other hand, Addison and Steele cautioned their readers that it was not only faces that wore makeup that could be deceptive, and warned that natural beauty itself could mask a flawed moral character beneath and even cause the soul to become corrupted. In a discussion of beauty, Steele proposed:

> Beauty has been the Delight and Torment of the World since it began…It is not indeed to be denied, that there is something irresistible in a Beauteous Form…Yet so it is, that People can bear any Quality in the World better than Beauty…Handsome People usually are so fantastically pleased with themselves that if they do not kill at first Sight, as the Phrase is, a second Interview disarms them of all their Power[48].

[46] *The Spectator*, No. 428 (11th July 1712).
[47] R. Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason*, op. cit., p. 251.
[48] *The Spectator*, No. 144 (15th August 1711).

This shows that Addison and Steele, while admitting their own guilt in this respect, explicitly identified the societal preoccupation with beauty and its use as a measure of individual character as a social illness causing people to neglect their moral instruction and enabling 'impolite' people to hide behind a handsome façade from the censure of society. Addison and Steele thus explained to their readers that beauty itself could have a corrupting influence on the individual, as well as upon society.

In order to highlight the potential danger of beauty, in issue number 33 of the *Spectator* Addison and Steele provided an exemplary moral tale that featured the experiences of two sisters called Laetitia and Daphne, in which good character conquered beauty. While the first sister, Laetitia, was described as 'one of the greatest beauties of the age in which she lives', Daphne was said to be in 'no way remarkable for any Charms of her Person'. Then again, it was explained that all the commendations Laetitia had received since childhood had left her 'insupportably Vain and Insolent, towards all who have to do with her'. Conversely, it was noted that because she did not have her sister's features to recommend her, Daphne had 'found herself obliged to acquire some Accomplishments to make up for the want of those Attractions she saw in her sister', and, as a result, had cultivated a good-humoured, open and innocent countenance. It was stated that after a young lover had come to the house to court the beautiful Laetitia, he had quickly left off his pursuit and turned his attentions to Daphne because of the attractions of her good-humoured countenance. In the end, therefore, it was Daphne rather than Laetitia who won the prize of being made the young suitor's wife. This story, in many ways, thus stood as a moral tale that told of the conquest of character over beauty.

After showing their readers that 'looks' could be deceptive, Addison and Steele sought to construct alternative models that individuals could use to judge others and present themselves 'politely' through their external embodied form. Firstly, in accordance with their understanding that the mind could influence the appearance of the body, Addison and Steele proposed that a good moral character could imprint itself upon the appearance of the face and render the individual 'beautiful'. This was significant as it presented facial beauty as a quality that could be displayed by all through the cultivation of 'polite' cultural mores. In article 33 of the *Spectator*, Addison provided several key maxims for women that revealed the 'true Secret and Art of preserving Beauty'. It was stated:

> No Woman can be Handsome by the Force of Features alone, any more than she can be Witty only by the Help of Speech…Pride destroys all Symmetry and Grace, and Affectation is a more terrible Enemy to fine Faces than the Small-Pox…no Woman is capable of being Beautiful, who is not incapable of being False.

In this manner, Addison and Steele firmly positioned the cultivation of a 'polite' character as the primary means of making one's facial appearance beautiful. Steele noted this explicitly in article 86 of the *Spectator,* in which he stated:

> I have seen many an amiable Piece of Deformity, and have observed a certain Chearfulness in as bad a System of Features as ever was clap'd together, which hath appeared more lovely than all the blooming Charms of an insolent Beauty.

It is important to note, however, that when Addison and Steele spoke of how a good moral character could make an ugly face beautiful, they were largely speaking in metaphorical terms and were using this to describe an individual's character as it was displayed by the body, rather than their facial appearance alone. This understanding demonstrates the ways in which the authors sought to advise their readers not to judge individuals on aspects of their facial appearance over which they had no control, but rather in respect to what their malleable expression revealed about their inner morality and temperament. Addison and Steele were certainly active in their attempts to discourage their readers from judging others on physical appearances that they had no ability to change. It was clearly stated in the *Spectator* issue 17:

> Since our Persons are not of our own Making, when they are such as appear Defective or Uncomely, it is, methinks, an honest and laudable Fortitude to dare to be Ugly; and at least to keep our selves from being abashed with a Consciousness of Imperfections which we cannot help, and in which there is no Guilt.

Addison and Steele thus explicitly denied the ancient belief that the forms of facial appearance that people were born with represented a reflection of the soul. Rather, they urged that people should be judged in reference to their behaviour and the ways they expressed their personal identity through forms of facial expression. In the *Tatler*, the *Spectator* and the *Guardian*, Addison and Steele effectively constructed an entirely new framework for understanding the symbolic meanings of the face, which broadly reflected their efforts to reconstitute man as a social being through the promotion of 'polite' forms of social behaviour.

Conclusion

This survey of the meanings attached to the face in the early eighteenth-century didactic journals has clearly demonstrated that these sources represent valuable, versatile and highly revealing 'archives' of evidence for examining the ways in which the face was symbolically constituted and perceived. It has further shown that the symbolic meanings attached to the face and its different parts, which enabled individuals to interpret what it was they perceived when looking upon a face, were highly complex and constructed in reference to a diverse array of different cultural understandings and discourses. However, this paper has also evidenced that by investigating the meanings attached to the face through the analytical lens of 'politeness', it can be clearly demonstrated that these associations were constructed in relation to the prevailing social mores and demands of culture at this historical juncture.

On the other hand, the understanding that the face was perceived as a series of symbols that conveyed social and cultural information about the individual that displayed it may appear paradoxical in light of Addison and Steele's own assertion that individuals should not be judged by external appearances. Nevertheless, this paradox can be resolved by looking at the distinctive aspects of the framework that Addison and Steele constructed and promoted for interpreting the symbolic meanings of the face. It must be understood that Addison and Steele did not deny that looks were significant in the rendering of personal identity and that the face represented an important site for judging an individual's character. What they refuted was the older belief that the face could be judged as an imputable signature of the God-given soul, proposing instead that individuals should only be judged on aspects of the appearance of the face that they could control through their expression. Through their didactic journals these authors thus taught their readers that the face should not be treated as a static symbol of self, but rather as an important means through which the self could be constituted and presented.

When the evidence concerning the construction of meanings about the face in the didactic journals is re-examined in view of this understanding, it becomes clear that Addison and Steele were primarily preoccupied with providing information about the social meanings attached to forms of 'expression' that could be managed by the individual. Through analysis of the meanings of the expression of the eyes, the blush of the cheek and movement of the

mouth, Addison and Steele primarily sought to instruct readers on how to display particular forms of 'politeness' through the expression of their faces. Moreover, it must also be acknowledged that discussions which presented a view that the face could be read as a 'natural' indicator of the inner soul were more often 'implicit' than 'explicit', betraying Addison and Steele's self-acknowledged difficulties in separating themselves from older understandings, and were more likely to be contained in letters and advertisements written by other authors. It can therefore be argued that, in the early eighteenth century, looks preoccupied the English elite because Addison and Steele clearly demonstrated that the expression of the face represented an important means through which individuals could demonstrate their 'politeness'. In turn, by formulating and disseminating this framework of interpretation and understanding, Addison and Steele effectively constituted an idealised notion of what the 'polite' face should look like, which could be of direct use for contemporaries when considering their personal presentation and the social judgement of others.

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Sexing the body. The case of Giacoma Foroni

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Keywords:
Hermaphrodite, intersex, medical case study, body, sexual organs.

Abstract:
Giacoma Foroni, born near Mantua in 1779, was raised as a girl and believed herself to be one. Her unusual sexual organs were deemed female by different midwives, both at her birth and after puberty. The value of outward appearance, anatomical knowledge, the way to define an individual's sex, the question of case studies, etc. are posed by and in the texts about and drawings of a body which departed from the norm, as examined by a deputation of scientists from the Virgilian Academy. These learned men concluded it to be that of a male. The body was made to give evidence against the individual's own beliefs regarding his/her sex. As a result, the scientists had to distinguish between sex and gender.

An Italian woman gave birth on 22 May 1779 to an infant baptized as a girl with the name of Giacoma Foroni. Early on in the child's life, it became apparent to her mother that her body presented anomalies in that she seemed to possess both male and female characteristics. In May 1802, a deputation from the medico-surgical class of the Virgilian Academy, authorized by the government, went to the hamlet of Foroni, near Mantua. This was to be the final stage in a series of attempts to draw definitive conclusions regarding the sex of Foroni, who was then just under 23 years old. The members of the committee were to write a very detailed report about the case. This was printed in Italian, before being translated into French. My contention is that the document shows the body as an archive which can deliver information to those who are ready to scrutinize it, but also that the report sets itself up as a form of archive about a singular body, intended to be a potential manual for scientists

confronted by similar cases[49]. I will be basing my reflections on the French version of the text (which includes an extra layer of annotations on the original Italian version), an in-folio brochure entitled *Jaqueline Foroni rendue à son véritable sexe, ou Rapport, Réflexions et jugement présentés à l'Académie de Mantoue, par la Classe de Médecine, sur le sexe d'un individu vivant, connu sous le nom de JACQUELINE FORONI*, published in Milan by the Imprimerie française et italienne, in year 10 of the French Republic (1802)[50]. Giacoma Foroni's outward physical aspect and sexual organs were scrutinized by midwives and doctors, written about and sketched. In this respect, his/her body is particularly well documented. In their decisions regarding the sex to be attributed to the individual concerned, the men and women who examined him/her[51] drew upon diverse sources, folk memory, myths, medical treatises, etc. Problems regarding the value of outward appearance, anatomical knowledge, the way to define an individual's sex, the question of case studies, etc. are posed by and in the texts about and drawings of a body which departed from the norm.

In 1802, Giacoma's mother was questioned about her child. She answered that she had noticed slight anomalies in Giacoma's sexual organs at the time of her birth in 1779, but that she had thought nothing of them and only asked competent authorities for their assistance once her daughter was an adult – there is no specific indication of the exact age to which she was referring[52]. She talked to various midwives, the one from Roverbella, whom she names as the late Rosalia Mollardi, the latter's successor and another midwife from Villafranca. All three assured her that Giacoma was indeed female but warned her about the dangers the young woman would encounter should she become pregnant. The first set of elements we possess are these gendered decisions: the midwives confirmed, in the final years of the eighteenth century, that Giacoma's sex had been correctly determined at birth. There was

[49] There is evidence of the document having been read: it is quoted in subsequent studies, including those by Demangeon (1829) and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1836).

[50] *Jaqueline Foroni rendue à son véritable sexe, ou Rapport, Réflexions et jugement présentés à l'Académie de Mantoue, par la Classe de Médecine, sur le sexe d'un individu vivant, connu sous le nom de JACQUELINE FORONI*, Milan, De l'Imprimerie française et italienne, an X de la République française (1802). I based the study on the two copies of the report held in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Rouen.

[51] Throughout this paper there are times when I will use masculine or feminine pronouns and possessives according to the context: viz., when dealing with Giacoma Foroni's self-judged identity, I will use *she* and *her*, when referring to the identity decreed by the scientists, I will use *he*/*him* and *his*.

[52] Since there was no evidence of menstruation as such, it is difficult to ascertain how female puberty would have been assessed for Giacoma Foroni in her mother's eyes.

therefore no discrepancy between her official social identity and her physical identity, as ascertained by the midwives. It is however worth noting that one characteristic of the female body – the capacity to bear children – was deemed to be potentially fatal to her.

Unsurprisingly, the deputation which turned up in 1802 was made up of male individuals: doctors and surgeons called Tonni, Tinelli, Paganini and Ballardi, along with a military man, Siauve, and the artist Campi. In order to give their mission an official legal appearance, they also brought along Madaschi, the magistrate from Roverbella, and his registrar, Tambelli, who were present at every stage of the examination. When they arrived, Giacoma Foroni was working in the fields. On her return home, she was asked whether she would agree to be seen by the official deputation, which intended to produce useful documents for the Government and could have no unpleasant consequence for her since, she was reminded, no-one believed in the existence of hermaphrodites any longer and fortunately the age of casting such individuals into the sea or the Tiber was long over. These assertions call for a couple of remarks. Nothing indicates the nature of the useful documents the government intended to acquire, though it is fair to assume the report we have in our hands is the repository of the information gathered and, implicitly, is intended to guide subsequent research into individuals whose bodies departed from the norm. There is also here a clear indication that in 1802 Giacoma Foroni could not be classified as hermaphrodite, and thus, at the end of the examination would have an official gender, whether male or female. Finally, the affirmation that there could be no unpleasant consequences for her deserves to be taken with a pinch of salt, as we shall see. Giacoma Foroni herself apparently accepted the initial examination gladly as she believed it would determine her to be a woman and allow her to marry a local peasant to whom she was engaged, the parish priest having seemingly shown some reluctance to celebrate the union. Foroni apparently became less forthcoming when she found out during the investigations of her body that the decision was leaning towards deciding he/she was male.

Giacoma Foroni's outright acceptance of the intrusive examination suggested to her is interesting. Whilst others, looking at her anatomy – and her mother in the first instance – cast doubt on her normality, she had no doubts, she stressed, that she was of the female sex. An examination would be superfluous, according to her. Her lack of doubt about her

own sex is backed up by a gendered response which she expressed: she claimed to feel sexual desire towards men, not women. She was thus entirely fearless when she submitted to medical scrutiny. In a sense, she was waiting for external scientific conclusions to back up her personal certainties. It is as though for her there was no ambiguity except in the eyes of others. She was living in a female body when, as we shall see, others deemed it to be male.

The investigation proceeded according to a series of stages. There was obviously some prior knowledge of Foroni's case[53], which motivated interest in her and explains the official deputation's arrival. Questions were asked of her mother about menstrual discharge – which had apparently only occurred twice, when Foroni was 18 – and any possible illnesses from which she might have suffered. The examination proper started with the external aspect of the 23-year-old's body, subsequently homing in on the sexual parts and ultimately, as we shall see, involving some uncomfortable palpation.

To the lay reader, the illustrations which accompany the text offer the most immediate indication of what is at stake here. They are stark and offer only the amount of information which is immediately necessary: there is no attempt to transform Giacoma Foroni into an anatomical Venus or to show her posing against a background of drapery or foliage.
The body is the artist's sole concern. In addition, there is a clear progression in the set of full-page black and white plates. We start with Giacoma Foroni dressed as a peasant [**Illustration 1**], as she was, we learn, when the scientific deputation arrived in her home village. There is nothing lascivious about her pose. Nothing makes the individual represented look monstrous. Indeed there would be no indication, were we to be shown this single plate, that the individual's anatomy was in any way abnormal. On the contrary, the detail of the peasant costume invites us to believe that this is an accurate portrait of Giacoma Foroni – and therefore, implicitly, that the anatomical detail of the subsequent engravings is perfectly exact, as the text states.

[53] In a brief presentation of the newly published document under discussion, the *Journal général de la littérature de la France* (vendémiaire an XI, p. 289) indicates that there have already been several reports on the case ("On a déjà publié divers mémoires sur une hermaphrodite des environs de Mantoue, nommé [*sic*] Jaqueline Foroni ").

Illustration 1

The illustration sets up an initial means of judging the body: by outward trappings, here a specific costume which offers information about the geographical origin and gender that appear to define the individual. We have successive engravings of a person, clothed, naked, and only then of the bizarre sexual parts: Foroni is being depicted as a human being, not as a fairground monster.

Starting as they meant to continue, the examiners measured Giacoma Foroni's height and the length of her face. They subsequently described her hair, eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth, teeth and chin, paying some interest to her facial hair – she had hairs in her nose, some thick

ones over her upper lip and soft hairs on her cheeks. The hair on her chin appeared to have been cut, which is the only indication that some deceit could have been involved.

Along with the facial hair, which seems to have been more prominent than on most women, she had a visible Adam's apple, some two inches wide. Foroni's voice is characterized as neither male nor female since it is compared to that of a male individual entering puberty.

This voice stuck between two ages is a troubling indication of the fact that Foroni seems in many ways to have been caught between two sexes – an earlier report had said that her voice was in the tenor range[54].

Whilst hairs and Adam's apple tend to make Giacoma Foroni lean towards the masculine, the observers also noted that she was somewhat flat-chested, though other elements in the text and illustrations do not appear to bear this out completely[55] [**Illustration 2**].

This initial stage of an examination intended to offer the final word on Giacoma Foroni was based on a scientific process which the observers describe after having set out what they present as an objective description. They invoke Haller as their model, quoting him in Latin, whilst their official report was to be drawn up in Italian and translated into French: « *Simpliciter ut decet anatomicum narrabo*. […] *Ex minuta rerum anatomicarum descriptione veri quid aut certi definire potest*[56] ». The authors of the report commit themselves to the most scrupulous exactitude in their description of Giacoma Foroni's sexual organs, described as « le théâtre des écarts et des bizarreries de la nature[57] ».

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[54] V. *Jaqueline Foroni*, p. 22 : "Les Académiciens de Mantoue auteurs de ce mémoire, le plus exact qui ait été fait sur *Jaqueline Foroni*, ne me sauront pas mauvais gré de citer quelquefois l'opinion des médecins qui avaient examiné avant eux cet individu, soit qu'il y ait dissidence ou non dans leur manière de penser. Les auteurs du mémoire rédigé à la date du 1er février 1802 s'expriment ainsi, en parlant de sa voix : '*Piuttosto grave risouana la sua voce capace ad eguagliare il tuono di un tenore*'".

[55] *Jaqueline Foroni…*, p. 8 : "Les mamelles sont saillantes et arrondies en forme de deux hémisphères légèrement aplatis [Note, p. 22] Il est dit dans l'original que les mamelles de *Jaqueline Foroni* sont un peu pendantes ; mais la figure 3, qui la représente nue et debout, a été dessinée par le professeur de peinture Campi avec beaucoup de soins et de précision : or on ne voit pas dans cette figure que les mamelles de la *Foroni* soient pendantes, et je ne sais si le léger *aplatissement* qui se fait remarquer ne vient pas de la compression habituelle d'une espèce de plastron mobile, garni de fortes baleines, dont font usage les paysannes d'Italie".

[56] *Jaqueline Foroni*, p. 9.

[57] *Jaqueline Foroni*, p. 9.

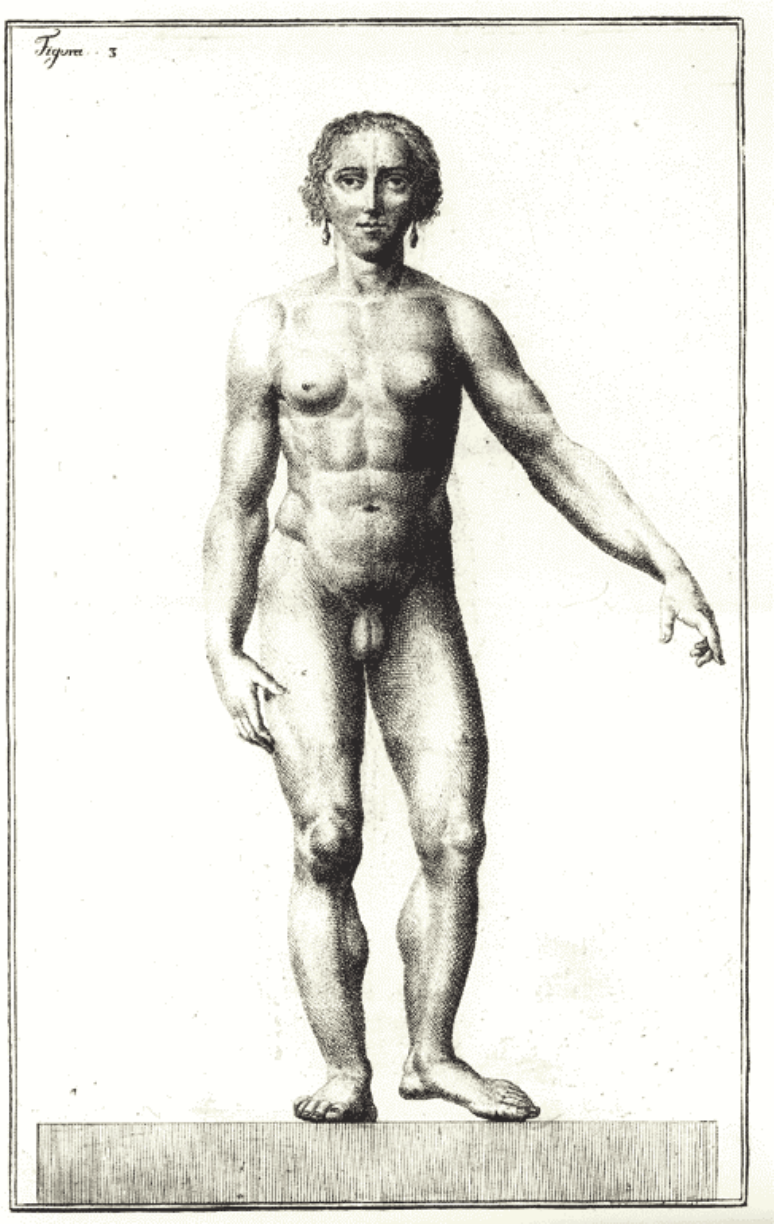

Illustration 2

The private parts are shown as partly deceptive in their appearance. Foroni has what seem to be two ill-formed labia. They are falsely feminine in appearance. In addition, when one separated them to investigate what lay under them, one apparently discovered a small protuberance, about an inch in length, the size of an index finger, which looked like a small phallus, complete with tegument and some trace of discharge [**Illustration 3**].

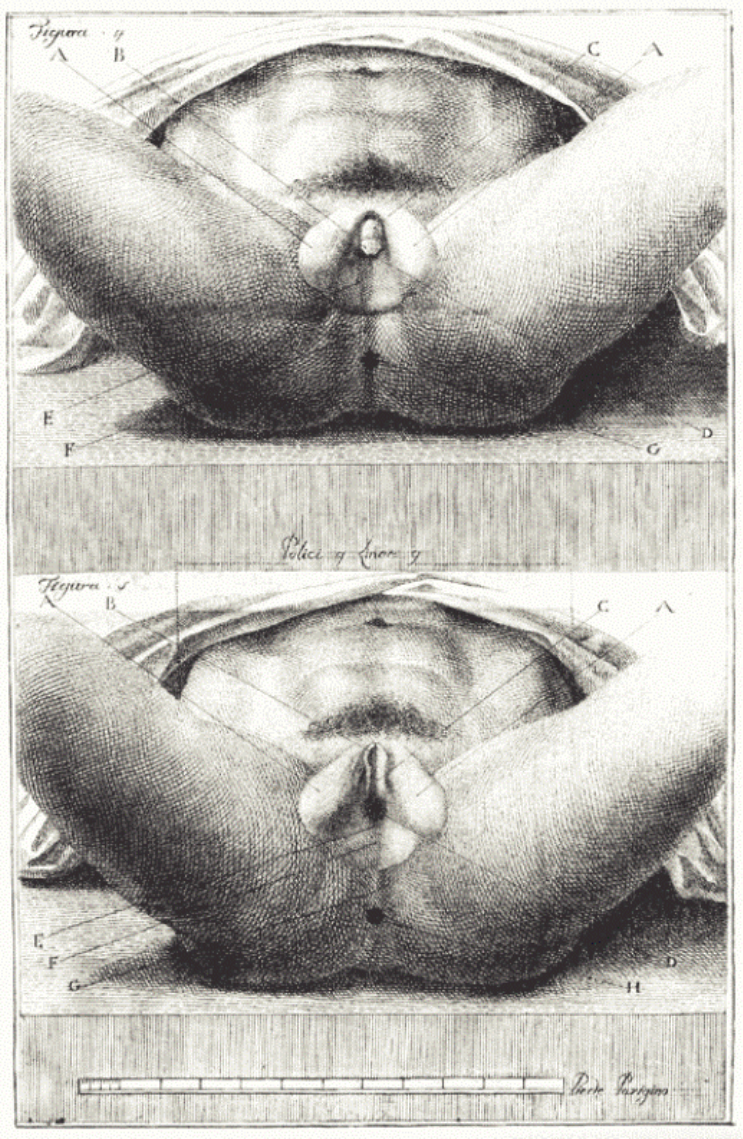

Illustration 3

It is worth noting here that the female aspect is false, a sort of visual trap, and that the male organ is hidden underneath, as though the body were inviting a form of in-depth investigation. There is also an inversion in this body: the female appearance is visible and the male organs are concealed.

Again, there is a hollow which at first glance, according to the scientists, looked like a vagina and could easily accommodate two fingers. Giacoma was duly prodded and the end of the canal found to be soft. The intromission of fingers caused her some pain. When Giacoma Foroni passed water, it could have looked as though she was a woman, but it just seemed on

in-depth examination that her bladder was in a strange place: « la vessie de cet individu est, par un effet de la bizarrerie de sa conformation, située beaucoup plus haut qu'elle ne l'est ordinairement chez les autres individus[58]».

The aim of all this prodding and poking was to check whether there were any other organs inside. This indiscreet examination was stopped as the patient was finding it too painful, though more searching seemed to reveal the existence, where one would have expected it in a man, of a prostate. One can note here that the examination undertaken appears to be the equivalent of an autopsy as carried out on a living individual, the threshold of unbearable pain being the element which sets the limits of possible and impossible probing. Giacoma Foroni is seen as owning her body; there is therefore a limit to intrusion, even in the name of science. Another barrier, mentioned in a note, comes when Foroni admits that friction of her private parts causes some form of discharge but the scientists consider it would be indecent to study the consequence of his or her masturbation even though showing that it was sperm would have been another way to ascertain Foroni's gender.

To reach their decision, the scientists also used their knowledge of previous cases – of archives regarding bodies, often the autopsies of hermaphrodites. Here, the living body is used as the repository of information, as archives which can only be read by specialists. It is, for instance, only because the body had been examined and no trace of a uterus or a vagina found, that the occurrences of discharge which Giacoma Foroni believed to be menstruation were discounted by the scientists, who stated that for blood to be menstrual, it must issue from the blood vessels of a uterus or a vagina. If you have neither, you cannot have menstruation. With no trace of menstruation, one of the elements presented as decisive indicators of her sex by Giacoma Foroni, who claimed she had to be bled[59] to make up for the fact that she no longer menstruated, ceased to exist.

The medico-surgical team sent to investigate Giacoma Foroni's case concluded that the individual duly possessed different important characteristics which made it look, in the first instance, as though she was a woman, including the allusion to two cases of menstrual

[58] *Jaqueline Foroni*, p. 11.
[59] Some deception is surmised by the doctors, who only found the trace of the scars of three bleedings.

discharge and her apparent attraction to the male sex. The examination of the body itself made these seem less important than at first glance, as though they had been exaggerated or were in some cases baseless. This was said once the deputation had duly noted the effective presence of organs corresponding to the male and not to the female sex. The delegation concluded therefore that it had not seen a woman or a hermaphrodite, but a man… a bizarrely conformed man, but a man all the same. The body was used as evidence against the individual's own beliefs. One notes the need, perceptible from the introductory remarks, to arrive at a definitive gender as the completion of discovery, rather than classifying Foroni as 'intersex', which would probably be the preferred modern conclusion.

There remained the problem for the scientists of Giacoma Foroni's other essential argument in favour of her being a female: the attraction she claimed to feel for men. It could, according to the report's author, be considered a moral aberration – a *gioco morale*. We are at a time when same-sex relationships were regarded as a crime. Previous cases, in eighteenth-century Italy, had led to the imprisonment of individuals who cross-dressed to practise homosexuality. Foroni's attraction to men was not something about which the body delivered information. The scientists from Mantua refuse to consider that there is treachery or deceit at work here. They are also quick to state that, as far as they are concerned, Foroni's attitude is far from being criminal. This is a new way of pointing out that the individual they have decided is definitely a man is not to be considered in the same way as male individuals normally would. They appear here to be distinguishing between sex and gender, if gender is to be viewed as a social construct. They believe Giacoma Foroni to be a man, but also to be in good faith when he/she claims to be attracted by men. They attribute this to the unusual body s/he has, but also, more than anything, to educational errors. Giacoma Foroni's parents were convinced, mistakenly, that their child was a daughter; as a result, they had brought the said child up as a girl and instilled in her – or rather him – reactions, beliefs, social cues and attitudes characteristic of the fair sex. The body was thus obeying external influences. There is a double anomaly here with an absence of female organs and an excess of female sexuality.

The scientists who reached this decision did not refer to Christian tradition. They had other references to hand and draw a line between civilized and natural man. Natural man, like an

animal, would, according to them, invariably copulate with individuals of the opposite sex, without requiring any education or examples to do so, his sole desire being the satisfaction of his carnal urges. As to civilized man, according to the Italian team, he still has natural instinct pressing him to seek satisfaction with the opposite sex, but his natural instinct is governed by cultural and social proprieties. He is also led to develop sentiments and to feel love. As a result, man in society does not discover his own gender through the innate instinct which harks back to primitive man, but through what other men tell him. By way of consequence, an individual induced to believe, from his or her early years, that he or she belongs to the opposite sex and educated accordingly, all the more so if his or her body plays tricks on him or her by not making it clear that he or she cannot belong to the gender which has been assigned to him or her, is unlikely to escape from this error. Giacoma Foroni, a man with 'muddled' sexual organs brought up as a woman, naturally believes himself to be a woman and therefore feels sexual urges which are those of a woman. It is interesting here that the abnormality – in the scientists' eyes – of Giacoma Foroni's body's inner urges is attributed to external causes. The learned men concluded that the urge itself is primeval and that all creatures feel a need to copulate and reproduce, but it is because of errors made by his parents, compounded by his education and because of his extraordinary physical aspect that Foroni has, in a sense, been betrayed by nature: he feels the desires of a sex but does not have the right organs to satiate these desires. Only by consciously going against your sex can you be considered to be acting unnaturally, according to the doctors: Foroni's ignorance of his true sex exculpates him from any responsibility for his behaviour in this matter. He cannot be said to have the scandalous mores of the ancient Greeks!

The scientists return to the question of Foroni's maleness: having shown that he does not possess female organs and that his gender is a social construct, not the reflection of an anatomical sexual identity, they now turn back to his body and describe it once more, setting out before the reader's eyes that which makes him a man. Foroni's size, Adam's apple, voice like a pubescent boy's, facial hair, broad shoulders, muscles, etc. All of these seem to lead presumptively to the conclusion that he has a male body – one might add that having a beard was often seen at the time as a sign of maleness and of the capacity to reproduce. Foroni is reminiscent, according to the authors, of similar cases examined by Tortosa and detailed in the *Istituzioni di Medicina forense (cap. IV. Degli Ermafroditi*). The swellings which

looked like imperfect labia are in fact deemed to be testicles. Nature may have shaped Foroni in an irregular manner, he nonetheless has testes which, as everyone knows, are the characteristic of virility – and the scientists recall Zacchia's opinion on the matter: the very existence of testicles makes you a man. They also recollect a case observed by Saviard and mentioned by Tortosa (which is detailed again subsequently): it concerns the body of a child which dissection proved to be male whereas he had been thought to be a hermaphrodite whilst alive.

The translator comments on the conclusions and notes that the academicians present a well-argued case: to the eye of the observer, nature seems to have hesitated constantly between the two sexes but to have been a little heavier-handed when distributing the male characteristics. He also notes that Giacoma Foroni may not be a hermaphrodite in the way that snails are, since they possess the organs of both sexes, but a sort of half-and-half individual[60]. He is here suggesting the existence of an intersex gender, which the delegation did not consider. There is a contradiction in the decision taken, since Foroni was decreed to be a man but not allowed to contract matrimony: « cet être malheureux, quoique tenant à l'espèce masculine, ne peut s'engager dans les liens du mariage. Il ne peut en effet goûter les fruits de l'hymen comme femme, en ce qu'il n'appartient point à ce sexe chéri, et il ne le peut non plus comme homme, n'ayant point la perfection requise dans les organes reproducteurs. Il paraît donc né en quelque sorte pour vérifier la destinée de *Salmacis*, que la mythologie nous représente comme étant privé de l'un et de l'autre sexe. » There is no theoretical room for the intersex subject, but there is a tentative acknowledgment that Giacoma Foroni could be one. Foroni becomes a form of legal outcast, unable to wed. The decision in one sense does not enable Foroni to fulfil her female self in marriage, as she had

[60] "Il m'a paru nécessaire de prévenir les lecteurs que *Jaqueline Foroni* montra, lors de la première visite, une ingénuité, une sorte d'abandon qu'on ne retrouva point chez elle lors de la dernière, et cela parce qu'elle avait été leurrée d'abord de l'espoir qu'on la déclarerait femme, espoir qui ne se réalisa pas. Ainsi, quelque peu exacte que soit la description du 21 février, nous ne pouvons-nous refuser d'en transcrire ici un paragraphe. D'ailleurs les aveux de l'individu, que nous recueillons comme propres à éclaircir l'objet traité par les Académiciens de Mantoue, sont étrangers à la description anatomique ; mais, en les supposant vrais et exacts, il importe d'en faire usage, et l'on me saura gré de les avoir fait connaître, bien qu'ils soient tirés d'un mémoire qu'on assure manquer de critique. Je les transcris en italien, eu égard aux règles de la bienséance. / '*Facile da se eccita la polluzione, a sua confessione medesima, coll'introdur il dito nell'apparente vagina, e la fluida sostanza che n'esce, a suo dire, è simile alla saliva, ed alcun poco filosa. La confricazione e l'alettamento del glande non producono un simil effetto. Se la legge dell'onestà, se la delicatezza degli osservatori non vi avessero posto ostacolo e impedimento, non sarebbe stato difficile di esaminare il colore, l'odore e la consistenza di questa materia'".* (*Jaqueline Foroni*, p. 24).

hoped at the outset, but in another sense *dis*ables her by decreeing her to be male, though a subspecies, unable to lead the normal life of a man, either physically or legally. It is striking that we have no information regarding Giacoma Foroni's subsequent existence.

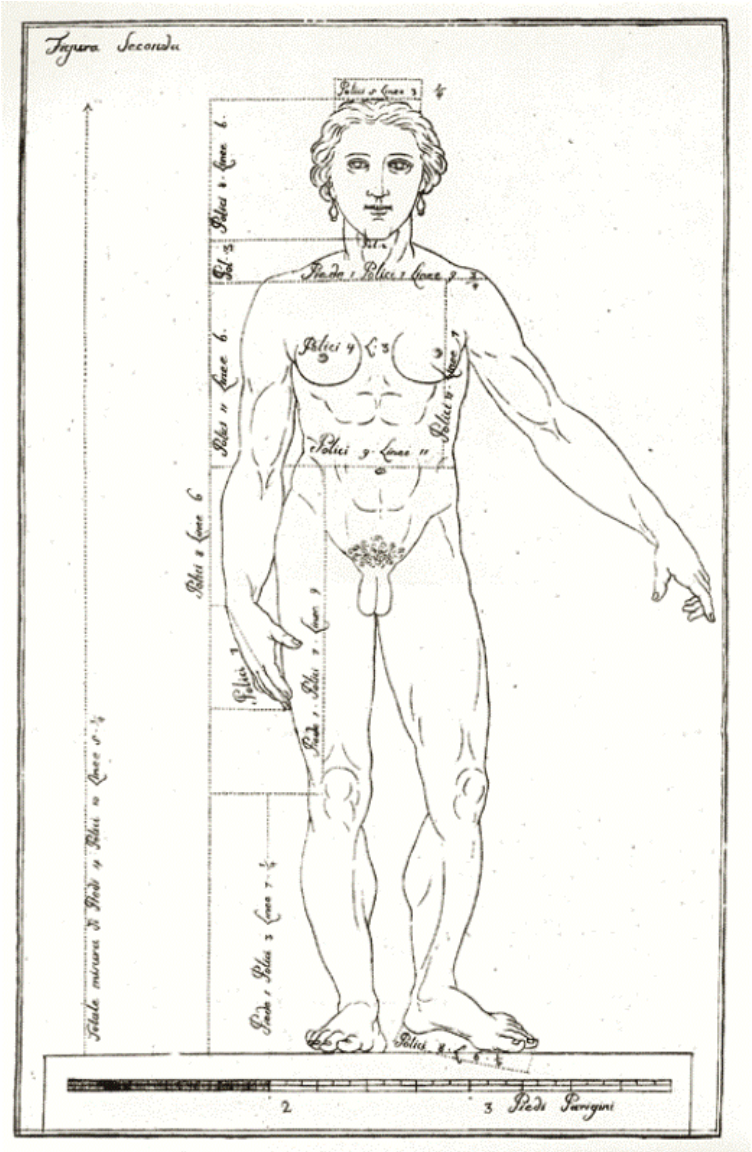

Illustration 4

The report allows each of us to follow through the process but removes any authority from us as individuals, as it did from Giacoma Foroni. Men of science have gone through the different stages and are sharing their conclusions with us. It is not for us, as readers, to agree

or disagree. A brave new world of physical and psychological studies is unveiled. The engravings included with the text are signed by a minor artist of the time, Felix Campi, who accompanied citizen Etienne-Marie Siauve – a Frenchman of the Mantua Academy, interested in all aspects of nature and progress – and undertook, we are told, to prepare precise sketches of the individual which, together with the measurements taken, offer a guarantee of absolute accuracy – he is an expert in his own right. The scale is visible on a couple of the plates [**Illustration 4**] and there are indications in the text of the size of various parts of Giacoma Foroni's anatomy. In accompanying the scientists' progress by reading the text, we are implicitly able to judge just as well as they were even though we only have two-dimensional drawings whereas they had the living individual before their eyes. In a sense, it is rather like a report on the resolution of a crime: we have the facts and then the explanation.

The case has a strikingly modern ring when one considers the recently announced choice of Swedish parents not to reveal to anyone the sex of their offspring in order for the child to be able to make up his or her own mind about his or her gender, regardless of his or her sexual organs. The question of the body as archive of its own identity, and of a case study as an archive of information for future researchers, is clearly at the forefront of the scientists' approach to Giacoma Foroni and of that of the translator, who calls for the foundation of an institution for individuals who are neither wholly male nor wholly female. The capacity to distinguish between gender and sex, without passing moral judgment, is an indication of attempts to use the body as a repository of objective information and to make science work towards understanding the individual[61].

[61] For a discussion of the way in which this case heralds a new way of looking at abnormal sexual organs, see C. Seth. For an evaluation of hermaphrodites in French texts, see P. Graille (*Les Hermaphrodites aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles* and *Le Troisième sexe : Etre hermaphrodite aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles*).

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An Archive of Sins: Experimenting with the Body and Building a Knowledge of the 'Low' in José Ignacio Eyzaguirre's *General Confession* (1799-1804)

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Keywords:
Body, writing, sin, sexuality, knowledge.

Abstract:
In this paper I will analyze an unpublished document from the late eighteenth century, currently held in Chile's National Archives. In it, its author, José Ignacio Eyzaguirre, an educated man in his twenties, tries to analyze himself and his actions using confessional discourse. The result is an archive of bodily sins, intended to help Eyzaguirre's memory in the process of confessing all his bad deeds. It will be shown how he recounts his actions and desires in relation to sexuality and how the document reflects the ways in which Eyzaguirre built his own knowledge of the body.

Introduction

Between 1799 and 1804, José Ignacio Eyzaguirre Arechavala, a young member of the Chilean elite, kept a notebook where he wrote down all of his sins in order to make a complete general confession. This unpublished manuscript is conserved at Chile's National Archives[62] in the collection left by the historian Jaime Eyzaguirre (1908-1968) after his death, and donated in 1970 to the institution by his widow[63]. The document is exceptional in several ways. On the one hand, it is one of the rare remaining examples of a confession written down

[62] Archivo Nacional de Chile. Fondo Jaime Eyzaguirre [ANJE], vol. IV, f. 360-413v. The document has a modern title in the institutional catalogue, "Diario íntimo de Miguel de Eyzaguirre". After a few years of researching this diary, I have come to discover that the real author is José Ignacio Eyzaguirre and not Miguel. Also, it is definitely not a journal or personal diary. These claims are more fully developed in a book I am preparing on this manuscript, from which this article is an extract.

[63] *Guía de Fondos del Archivo Nacional Histórico: instituciones coloniales y republicanas*, Santiago, Archivo Nacional de Chile / Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana / DIBAM, 2010, p. 80.

without any literary intentions; and on the other, it allows us to see how a Catholic individual organized, catalogued, and analyzed his own practices. Among these practices, those related to the body and to what we call "sexuality" are especially important. Through them we can study how a child and a young boy in a Catholic context built his own knowledge of "the low" by experimenting with his own and with others' bodies.

José Ignacio Eyzaguirre was born in 1779 in Santiago de Chile. He was the son of Domingo Eyzaguirre Escutusolo, a merchant who arrived from Vizcaya in 1757, and Rosa de Arechavala y Alday, a rich aristocrat with connections to the elite of Concepción, south of Santiago[64]. José Ignacio had four brothers and five sisters. In this male-dominated society, the personal trajectories of José Ignacio's brothers enlighten us as to what was expected of a male member of the elite. Miguel, the eldest brother, as President of the Real Universidad de San Felipe, Santiago de Chile's University, and fiscal of Lima's Real Audiencia, was a man of political importance for the Spanish Empire[65]. Agustín was head of the Government on three occasions and a prominent political figure in the early years of the Chilean Republic. Domingo was renowned for his philanthropic work and is considered the founder of the village of San Bernardo, south of Santiago. José Alejo, José Ignacio's only younger brother, was an important priest who came to be Santiago de Chile's bishop for a short period of time. From the 1820s onwards, all the brothers, with the exception of Miguel (who died in 1821), were members of the first National Congresses of the recently declared independent State of Chile, including José Ignacio.

During his adult years, José Ignacio came to be an important member of the Chilean elite. According to his son, José Ignacio Víctor Eyzaguirre Portales, José Ignacio was "one of the founding fathers" of the Chilean nation,

> which he served as deputy or senator in almost all of its legislative bodies, as secretary of the Finance and War Departments, and also [...] as director of Santiago de Chile's Mint, as general administrator of the National Customs Service, and as General Inspector of the Estanco[66]. He was a member of the State

[64] J. Eyzaguirre (ed.), *Archivo Epistolar de la Familia Eyzaguirre. 1747-1854,* Buenos Aires, n.d., 1960, p. 12; J. Eyzaguirre, "El Doctor don Miguel de Eyzaguirre, Universitario y Magistrado. 1770-1821" in *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, 52, 1955, p. 76.

[65] The Audiencias were the highest Courts in the Spanish Americas. The Audiencia of Lima was one of the most important in the continent.

[66] The *estanco* was an important tax on tobacco, liquors and other products, whose administration became a major political issue in Chile's first decades as an independent nation. On its history, see S. Villalobos and R. Sagredo, *Los estancos en Chile*, Santiago, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2004.

> Council from its creation by the 1833 Constitution until his death. His devotion was unswerving, his integrity unstained, and his charity to the poor incomparable. He died in Santiago on 11 June 1848 [...][67].

A knowledge of the social status of the Eyzaguirre family helps us understand some of the young José Ignacio's actions and appreciate more fully the process of personal development that the manuscript depicts. As we shall see, the doubts and fears that accompany Eyzaguirre's exploration of the body show the fragilities and obsessions of a young member of the Spanish American ruling class. Those fragilities, fears and doubts are the result of a Catholic education and of confession as a devotional practice.

Writing down the Sins: Eyzaguirre's Manuscript and Ecclesiastical Discourse

José Ignacio Eyzaguirre's manuscript is not a homogeneous corpus of writing. It can be divided into at least three parts. The first is a small notebook with generally short annotations, which are always dated (see **ill. 1**).

The first date to appear in this part of the document is 26 August 1799 and the last is 22 July 1804. This would mean that José Ignacio kept this notebook for about five years, writing down his sins in it and indicating specific dates. These dates can be confusing as, rather than representing the day on which each sin was committed, they indicate the day the comment was written. For example, on 6 February 1803, he writes "Angry with father, I called him a bloody old man, I disobeyed his call to pray the Rosary"[68].

[67] "á la cual sirvió de diputado ó senador en casi todos sus Congresos, de ministro de Estado en los departamentos de Hacienda y de Marina y […]: de ensayador mayor de la casa de Moneda: administrador general de aduanas: inspector general y factor de Estanco. Ocupó una silla en el Consejo de Estado desde la creación de este cuerpo por la Constitución de 1833 hasta su fallecimiento. Su piedad fué eminente: su integridad á toda prueba, y su caridad con los pobres incomparable. Murió en Santiago el 11 de junio de 1848 [...]." J. I. V. Eyzaguirre, *Historia eclesiástica, política y literaria de Chile*, volume 2, Valparaíso, Imprenta Europea, 1850, p. 249-250.

[68] "Rabia contra padre, decir viejo de mierda, no ir a su llamado para rezar el Rosario". All quotes from José Ignacio's manuscript have been modernized.

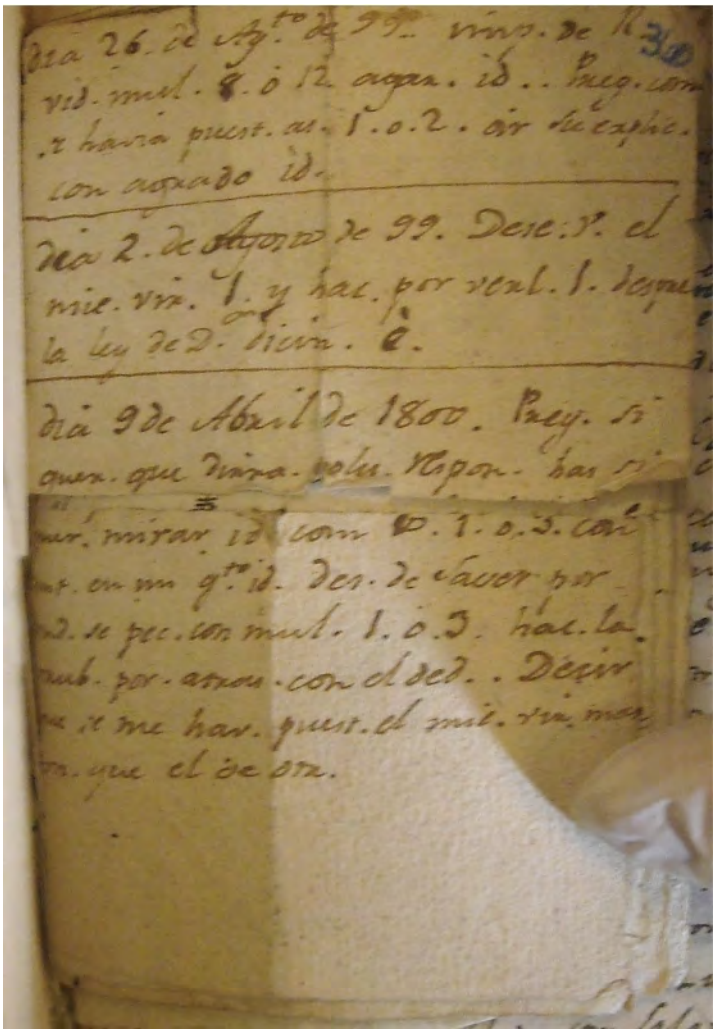


Illustration 1

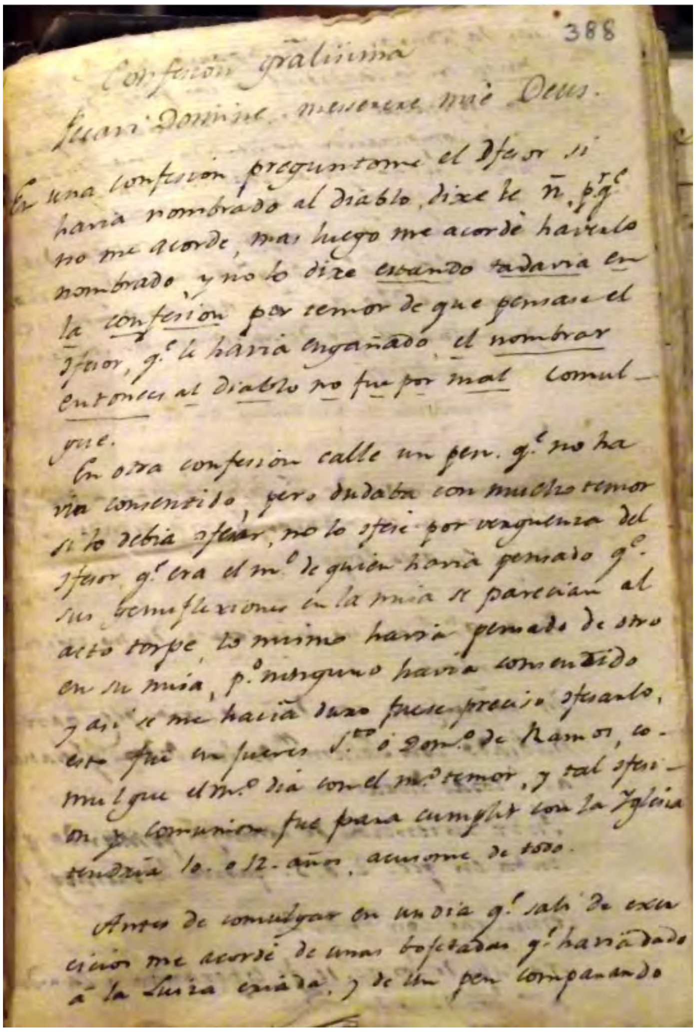
As we know that his father died in 1800[8], it is impossible for this fragment to be a note on what happened on 6 February 1803. Another fragment, which deals with a political conflict, is dated 1804, when we know from José Ignacio's letters that the episode occurred in 1803[9].

[8] See [Anon.], *Relacion de los meritos y servicios de don Josef Ignacio de Eyzaguirre, Abogado de la Real Audiencia de Santiago, y Ensayador de la Real Casa de Moneda de este Reyno*, [¿Madrid?], n.d., [¿1804?]. This Relacion was certainly published in Madrid by the efforts of José Ignacio's older brother, Miguel, who was at the time visiting the Court. It was made in order to obtain a job in Santiago de Chile's Mint. It closely follows the instructions given by Miguel to another brother, Agustín, in a letter of 8 June 1803, in J. Eyzaguirre, *Archivo Epistolar de la familia Eyzaguirre,* op. cit., p. 54.

[9] The episode is in f. 381 of the manuscript, while the letter is in J. Eyzaguirre, *Archivo Epistolar de la familia Eyzaguirre*, op. cit., p. 55.

In other words, these fragments are in fact memories, written down to establish an account of past events that needed to be confessed.

The second part of the manuscript (as it can be found in the archives) is written in a larger format than the previous part, and has a title: "General Confession"[10] (see **ill. 2**).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Confesion gralisima

[illegible] Domine, miserere mei Deus.

En una confesion preguntome el confesor si havia nombrado al diablo, dixe le no, porque no me acorde, mas luego me acorde havelo nombrado, y no lo dixe cuando todavia en la confesion por temor de que pensase el confesor, que le havia engañado, el nombrar entonces al diablo no fue por mal comulgue.

En otra confesion calle un pen. que no havia consentido, pero dudaba con mucho temor si lo debia confesar, no lo confese por verguenza del confesor que era el mismo de quien havia pensado que sus [illegible] en la mia se parecian al acto torpe, lo mismo havia pensado de otro en su misa, pero ninguno havia consentido y asi se me havia [illegible] preciso confesarlo, este fue un [illegible] de Ramos, [illegible] el mismo dia con el mismo temor, y tal confesion y comunion fue para cumplir con la Iglesia tendria 10. o 12. años, acusome de todo.

Antes de comulgar en un dia que sali de [illegible] me acorde de unas bofetadas que havia dado a la [illegible] criada, y de un pen [illegible]

Illustration 2

[10] "Confesión generalísima".

In contrast with the first manuscript, where the sins are written down confusingly and without any order, in this second part they are organized and classified according to eight kinds of sin. This classification seems to be taken from one of the many authors who published books to guide and instruct both confessors and penitents during the Early Modern era[72]. Paolo Segneri, a very influential Italian Jesuit, classified the ten precepts of the Church in eight items to be confessed by merging the sixth and ninth, and the seventh and tenth precepts[73]. This part of the document is better organized, and easier to understand than the first, but cannot be considered a coherent document as it conserves the fragmented nature of the first part of the manuscript. This document also has dates, but they only cover June and July 1804. It is followed by a short fragment of writing that also has a title: "Confession from Passion Sunday to Holy Saturday"[74] (see **ill. 3**).

After this, another "General Confession"[75] begins (see **ill. 4**), where he states the same sins we can see in the first, but it is interrupted by two pages of sins written mostly in Latin. Finally, the document as it is conserved today ends with pages filled with fragmentary writings on Eyzaguirre's sins.

[72] On the origins of this literature, J. Delumeau, *Le péché et la peur. La culpabilisation en Occident (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Fayard, 1983, p. 222-229.
[73] P. Señeri, *El confessor instruido. Y el penitente instruido*, Madrid, Gabriel Ramírez, 1743, p. 229-237. On the importance of Paolo Segneri in Spanish America, A. Araya, "El discurso sofocado: el epistolario confesional de una monja del siglo XVIII", *Mapocho*, 53, 2003, p. 169. We know that Miguel Eyzaguirre, José Ignacio's older brother, had a copy of this book. "Nota de dos caxones de Libros", n. d., ANJE, vol. IV, f. 416. In this article, I will be using Segneri's work as a key to understanding Eyzaguirre's manuscript, as I have found striking coincidences between the theologian's advice and Eyzaguirre's confession.
[74] "Confesión desde el Domingo de Pasión hasta el Sábado Santo".
[75] "Confesión generalísima".

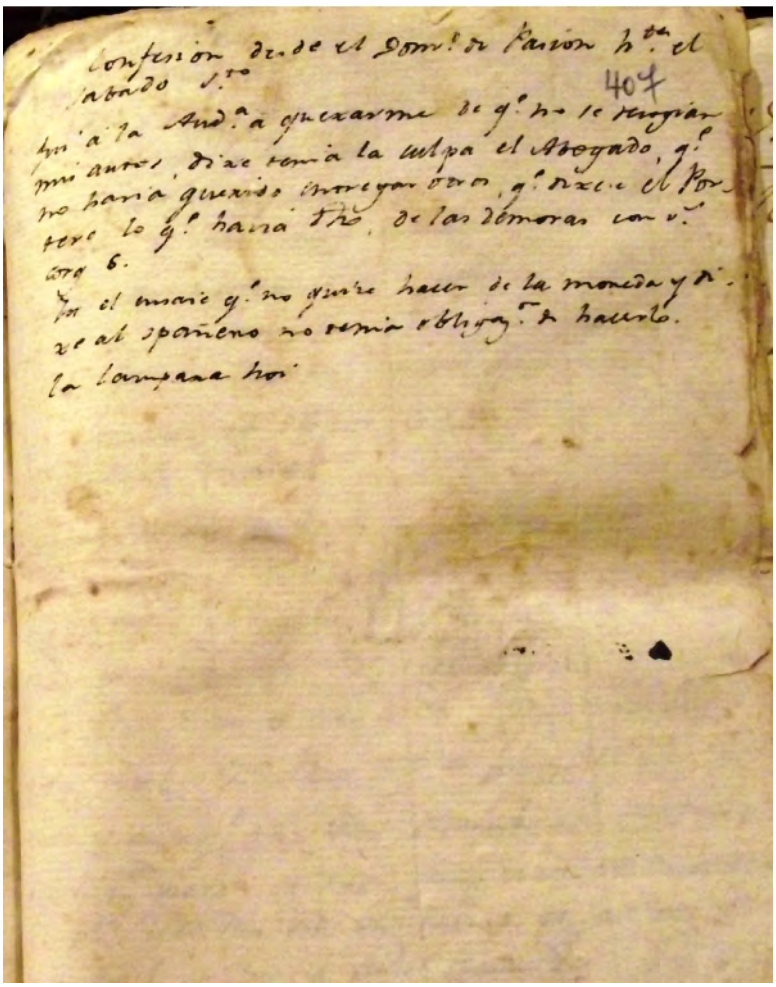

Illustration 3

The apparent disorder of the document is one of its most interesting features, distinguishing it from the standard confessional discourse of early modern Spanish America. The manuscript is not autobiographical writing with literary intentions, nor is it an intimate account of a rich internal life[15].

[15] I am referring here to works like those of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651-1695) or Sor Úrsula Suárez (1666-1749).

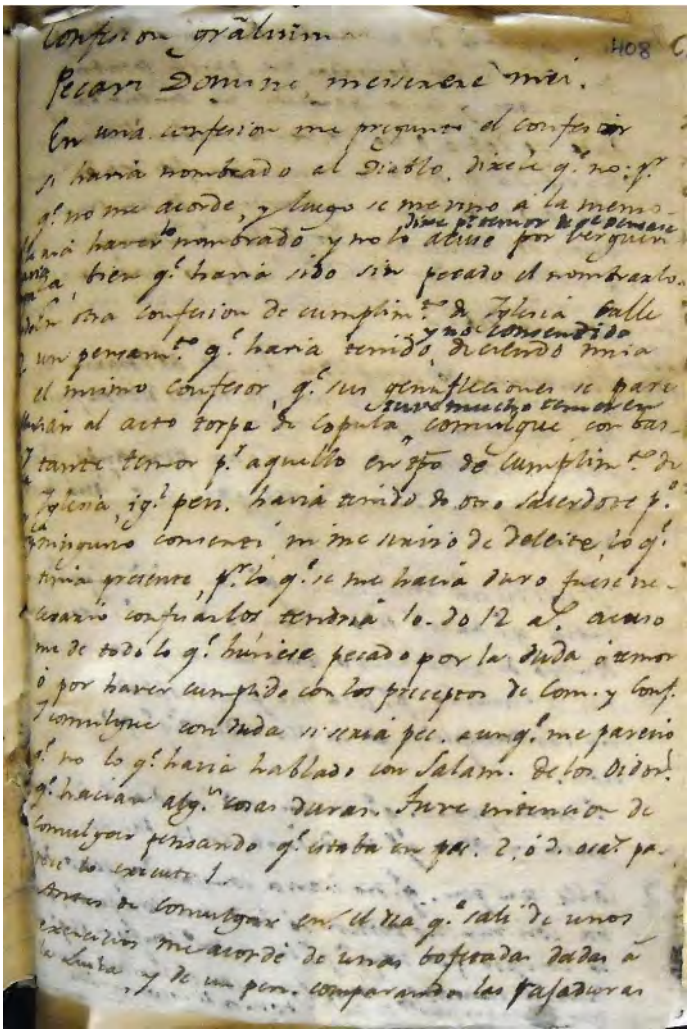

Illustration 4

It is interesting precisely because it differs from what Alain Corbin defined as the "autobiographical narration" of general confessions, an account which, according to the obsessions of the period, constituted a "sexual autobiography" of the sinner[16]. On the contrary, it is an example of the use of writing as a cognitive tool to comply with the precept to confess all sins. Its confusing nature is the result of the difficulties that this obligation posed to Catholics. It is, for this reason, a non-mediated testimony on the problems of

[16] A. Corbin, *L'harmonie des plaisirs. Les manières de jouir du siècle des Lumières à l'avènement de la sexologie*, Paris, Flammarion Champs, 2010, p. 364, 385 and 411.

memory and confession in the modern period. These pieces of writing are Eyzaguirre's personal archive of sins, his own way of resolving the difficulties imposed by confession as a religious practice.

Since the imposition of annual confession[78], it was mandatory for every Catholic to remember and confess all his sins. Paolo Segneri stated that a confession had to satisfy certain conditions before being considered a "successful" confession. Among those conditions, one of the most important was "to be complete". This meant that both the penitent - by examining his bad deeds - and the confessor - by posing the right questions - had to achieve the fullest possible account of the penitent's bad actions and thoughts[79]. It was sacrilege not to confess all one's sins, one of the worst sins for Catholics. According to Jean Delumeau, the efforts of early modern Catholic thought to build a complete knowledge of all possible sins and to establish a list of their corresponding punishments or penances was a result of the anxieties and fears of being condemned because of some unnoticed sacrilege[80]. It was necessary to know all the weaknesses of human nature and all the tricks of the Devil so as to save oneself from Hell. Paolo Segneri highlighted this fact to his readers, writing "Saint Teresa used to say that because of sacrilegious confessions, Hell was constantly fed; and, writing to a Preacher, she warned: Father, preach many times against wrong Confessions, because the Devil has no other snare as effective as this to hunt souls"[81].

Two things were at stake in the problem of sacrilegious confessions: first, the cognitive process that would help the penitent and the confessor to identify and classify any bad action or deed in a proper way; and, secondly, the penitent's memory, as he was called to remember all of his sins. This was even more important in the case of general confessions. A general confession, according to the Diccionario de Autoridades published in 1729, was "that of the whole past life, from the age when the penitent was able to sin and to receive the Sacrament of Penance, to the day of the confession; or that where particular confessions

[78] The obligation for Catholics to confess their sins annually was first established by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and in the seventeenth century it was a firmly established institution in Catholics' lives.
[79] P. Señeri, *El confessor instruido*, op. cit., p. 192.
[80] J. Delumeau, *Le péché et la peur*, op. cit., p. 220-221.
[81] "Santa Theresa solia decir, que por las Confessiones sacrilegas se llenaba perpetuamente el Infierno; y escriviendo à un Predicador, le diò esta advertencia : Padre, predique muchas veces contra las Confessiones mal hechas, porque el demonio no tiene otro lazo con que caze tantas Almas, como este solo." P. Señeri, *El confessor instruido*, op. cit., p. 136.

of a certain time are repeated, out of necessity or devotion"[82]. Thus a general confession was the practice of remembering all past sins, or sins from other specific confessions. For the Diccionario de la Academia of 1780, it was only about confessing "sins of all past life, or those of an important part of it"[83]. Sometimes, a general confession was considered an obligation: this was the case when a penitent had not confessed all his sins in previous confessions[84]. But it was also recommended when the penitent felt that his ordinary confessions were insufficient for him; or as part of the celebration of particular religious festivities or events[85].

Eyzaguirre seems to follow these precepts. At the beginning of the first fragment entitled "General Confession", the most coherent piece of writing in the whole manuscript, he states some of his transgressions of the first commandment:

> In a confession, the confessor asked me if I had invoked the Devil, I said no, because I didn't remember; but later I remembered having invoked him, and I had not told him while still in the confession, because I feared the confessor might think that I had lied to him [...]. In another confession, I did not confess a thought [...], but I doubted greatly whether I should confess it, I did not do it because I was ashamed, [because it was about] the confessor, whose genuflexions at Mass I had thought looked like a lewd act [...]. I was 10 or 12 years old, I accuse myself of all this[86].

Later, he mentions other general confessions, made perhaps as a result of some devotional practices: on one occasion he wrote that he wondered whether "in making a general confession I should have confessed all sins already confessed"[87], while on another occasion he briefly mentioned some sins "from the last general confession"[88].

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[82] "que se hace de toda la vida passada, desde la edád en que estuvo en capacidad el penitente de pecar y de recibir el Sacramento de la Penitencia, hasta el dia en que se confiessa; ò aquélla en que se repiten confessiónes particulares de cierto tiempo determinado, yá se haga por necesidad, ò por devoción" , in *Diccionario de la lengua castellana, en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad [...],* volume 2, Madrid, Imprenta de Francisco del Hierro, 1729, p. 497.

[83] "pecados de toda la vida pasada, ó de una gran parte de ella" cit. in *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana compuesto por la Real Academia Española,* Madrid, Joaquín Ibarra, 1780, p. 256.

[84] P. Señeri, *El penitente instruido*, op. cit., p. 226. On the general confession, see p. 226-241.

[85] A. Corbin, "Le secret de l'individu", in Ph. Ariès and G. Duby, *Histoire de la vie privée. 4. De la Révolution a la Grande Guerre*, Paris, Le Seuil ("Points"), 1999, p. 421; A. Corbin, L'harmonie des plaisirs, op. cit., p. 406-416.

[86] "En una confesión preguntome el confesor si havia nombrado al diablo, dixele no, porque no me acordé, mas luego me acordé haverlo nombrado, y no lo dixe estando todavia en la confesión por temor de que pensase el confesor que le havia engañado [...]. En otra confesión callé un pensamiento que no havia consentido, pero dudaba con mucho temor si lo debía confesar, no lo confesé por vergüenza del confesor, que era el mismo de quien havia pensado que sus genuflexiones en la misa se parecían al acto torpe [...]. Tendría 10 o 12 años, acúsome de todo." All additions between bracket signs are mine.

[87] "haver hecho confesión general debería confesar todos los pecados confesados".

[88] "en la confesión general pasada."

As we can see, Eyzaguirre is remembering old sins, some of them committed when he was ten or twelve, and, at the same time, he is correcting old confessions that were incomplete. This confirms that Eyzaguirre's writings obey the terms of a general confession, and that what guides his writing is the obligation to remember all his unconfessed or wrongly confessed bad thoughts and actions. For this reason, it seems quite possible that these writings are not a full account of his sins, but only an account of those that fall into the latter category.

The act of writing is not meant to be art for Eyzaguirre, but a tool. Writing is what makes it possible for him to give an account of his sins. In fact, some early modern authors saw writing as a useful tool for penitents willing to make a general confession, as long as they kept to a concise style in their writings[89]. Writing a confession down was not an unusual practice. By the end of the eighteenth century, in Valdivia (a city south of Santiago de Chile), the merchant José Lopetegui Villar "made a general confession each month, and took pleasure in writing these down, carefully keeping the manuscripts" for himself[90]. At the end of the nineteenth century ordinary people could also write down their confessions, like the criminal Jean Bladier, whose papers were studied by the historian Philippe Artières[91].

However, the difference between this archive of sins and those finished versions of personal confessions is that in this case we do not have the final result of the Catholic devotee's introspection, but a fragment of the process of remembering, of constructing the confession. This is particularly clear in one area: the number of faults Eyzaguirre committed.

In the Modern period, a general confession was not only an account of bad actions and deeds: the Catholic devotee had to state the exact number of times he had committed each sin in order to give a measurable dimension to his faults and, consequently, give himself the possibility of redemption by an equivalent penance[92]. As Segneri put it, the "completeness" of a general confession consisted "not only in a manifestation of all mortal sins remembered after a diligent examination of oneself, but also of their number". And he added that if the penitent could not remember the exact number of times he had committed

[89] Cf. A. Corbin, *L'harmonie des plaisirs*, op. cit., pp. 411-412.
[90] "cada mes hacía una confesión general y se daba el gusto de escribirlas, guardando cuidadosamente esos apuntes", according to the memoirs of his grandson, Antonio Barrena Lopetegui, reproduced in J. Molina, *Vida de un soldado. Desde la Toma de Valdivia (1820) a la Victoria de Yungay (1839),* Santiago, RIL, 2009, p. 16.
[91] P. Artières, *La vie écrite. Thérèse de Lisieux*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2011, p. 44.
[92] On penitential regimes and the equivalences between sins and penances (often numerical), see J. Delumeau, *Le péché et la peur*, op. cit., p. 218-221.

each fault, he should state "the most probable number that comes to [his] memory"[93]. This imposed on sinners the obligation to remember all of their sins exactly. Alain Corbin, in his study of confessors' manuals, called this relationship between confession and numbers "the arithmetic of faults": God had an account of the sins of each human being, and this account was numerically exact[94]. In fact, numbers were widely present in the Modern period's interpretations of Christian salvation, as we can conclude from Lucia Dacome's study on the arithmetic of salvation in eighteenth-century England [95].

Eyzaguirre's manuscript is a privileged window onto a Catholic devotee's attempt to deal with this obligation as well as an insight into the cognitive processes working in the practice of confession. Sometimes, Eyzaguirre seems to be enumerating his faults, such as when he writes:

> I saw Fraga's member four or six [times], Xavier's once or twice, Alexo's once or twice, Olivo's once. [...] I grabbed Fraga's [member] three or six [times], Benites's once, Xavier's once or twice, Alexo's once or twice, Fantóbal's once. How long did it last? Mine was grabbed by Fraga two or three [times], by Xavier I don't know, by Benites once[96]. (see **ill. 5**)

In this fragment, as in almost the whole document, Eyzaguirre is remembering his bad actions, not taking any time to analyze his feelings or experiences. In this sense, he is creating a catalogue of his actions.

[93] "su entereza consiste, no solo en manifestar todos los pecados mortales, que vienen à la memoria, despues de el diligente examen, mas tambien su numero [...]. Mas si despues de haverlo pensado bien, no le podemos hallar, debemos decir, con poca diferencia, el numero mas probable, que se nos representa à la memoria". P. Señeri, *El penitente instruido*, op. cit., p. 192.
[94] A. Corbin, *L'Harmonie des plaisirs*, op. cit., p. 412-413.
[95] L. Dacome, "Resurrecting by Numbers in Eighteenth-Century England", *Past & Present*, 193, 2006.
[96] "Ver el miembro a Fraga cuatro o seis, a Xavier una o dos, a Alexo una o dos, a Olivos una. [...] Agarrar a Fraga tres o seis, a Benites una, a Xavier una o dos, a Alexo una o dos, a Fantóbal una. Quanto tiempo duró. Agarrar a mí Fraga dos o tres, Xavier no sé, Benites una."

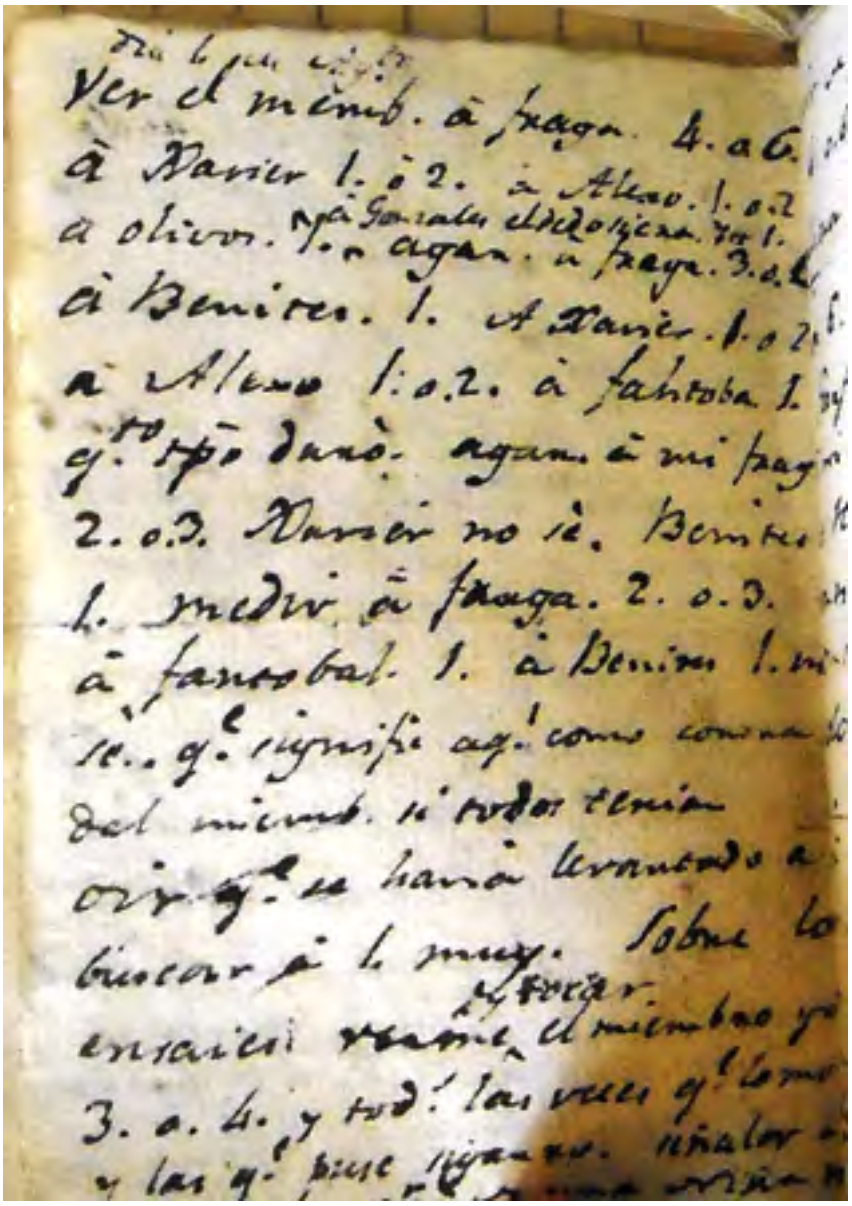

Illustration 5

There is no doubt that Eyzaguirre is trying to establish a definitive (or at least probable) number of his sins before confessing. This becomes clearer when he writes down additions to his sins:

> I saw my member during the night once in the room; in Don Juan's room once; in the stable once; in the corner where the stocks were once. I also saw it four times when I peeled it at school, four or five [times], and twice I saw it when I peeled it in the Dormitory [...]. Ten or twelve incidents [97].

Sometimes Eyzaguirre seems unable to remember the exact number of times he committed a sin. In those moments of his manuscript, he again shows that he is aware of the theological exigencies of the practice of confession, as he writes down the amount of time instead of the number of times he committed a sin. This was the solution recommended by theologians like the already quoted Paolo Segneri, who recommended to confessors:

> for the confessor, the most common difficulty is the number of faults. [...] When it is impossible to establish an exact number, or even a probable one, ask the penitent how long the sin lasted, the frequency with which it was committed each month or each week[98].

Eyzaguirre follows this kind of advice when he writes, for example, that he had had bad thoughts about a "single" woman "for a month and a half"[99].

In this sense, Eyzaguirre is constructing an archive of his sins, trying to stabilize his memory and to duplicate honestly, at least, if not exactly, God's own great archive of his sins. Writing is the tool that allows him to translate his bodily experiences and their imprint on his personal memory into another form of data storage that is different in nature from memory[100]. Eyzaguirre's manuscript is not an expression of his bodily experiences, but the result of a cognitive process that consists in remembering, counting, and cataloguing each sin according to the exigencies of ecclesiastical discourse. As we have seen, the way Eyzaguirre

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[97] "Me vi el miembro a la noche en la quadra una; en el quarto de Don Juan una; en la caballeriza una; en el rincón del sepo una. También cuatro veces lo vi quando lo mondé en el colegio cuatro o cinco, y dos veces lo vi quando lo mondé en el dormitorio [...]. Son vistas diez o doce." Note, in this case, the vocabulary Eyzaguirre is using to confess his sins. What I have translated here as "peel" is the verb "mondar", which Eyzaguirre always uses when referring to his penis. "Mondar" was a verb that signified "to clean, or to purify something, removing from it what is superflous or strange in it" ("limpiar, ó purificar alguna cosa, quitándola lo superfluo, ó extraño que tiene"),in *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana compuesto por la Real Academia Española*, 1780, p. 631. It is interesting to note how Eyzaguirre perverts, in a way, a verb unrelated to anything sexual. The importance of the ways of naming sex has been analyzed by L. Sigel, "Name Your Pleasure: The Transformation of Sexual Language in Nineteenth-Century British Pornography", *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 9/4, 2000.

[98] "Aquello, pues, que comunmente halla con mas dificultad el que oye las confessiones, es el numero de las culpas. [...] Quando no se puede saber el numero cierto, ò à lo menos el probable, preguntad por mayor el tiempo que durò el mal, la frequencia con que se bolvia à cometer cada mes, ò cada semana". Señeri, *El penitente instruido*, op. cit., p. 12.

[99] "con la de Lara, soltera, de fornicación un mes y medio".

[100] On the differences between writing and oral memory, W. J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word,* London/New York, Routledge, 1999.

analyzes his bodily experiences in his writing is dictated by the necessities of confession. Confession and the need to save his soul is what forces him to pay attention to all his bad deeds and all the weaknesses of his flesh. But confession was not the only way to understand or to know his body. By describing his bodily practices, Eyzaguirre lets us see how he, as a child and a young man, built another kind of archive of his body.

Building a Knowledge of the 'Low'

Most of the sins confessed by Eyzaguirre are related to sexuality. This may be the result of the obsession with lust - as a sin - that was developed by Catholic theologians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries[101]. Eyzaguirre follows very closely the instructions and precepts of the ecclesiastical discourse on confession, which may have influenced his approach to the subject. But this may also be the result of Eyzaguirre's age, given that he is a young man confessing the sins of his childhood. According to Segneri, one reason for making a general confession was to confess the unconfessed sins of childhood, as some penitents "do not confess some faults committed by them when they were little boys; even if they remember them, because until then they were ashamed of them"[102]. Be that as it may, this preeminence of sexuality in Eyzaguirre's manuscript allows us to analyze both the nature of the manuscript as an archive of bodily experiences and the significance of the practices confessed, as related to a history of the knowledge of the body.

Many bodily experiences confessed by Eyzaguirre are "experimental" in nature. At least in the way Eyzaguirre writes of them, they seem to be dictated by his will to explore and understand his body and its pleasures. He writes, for example, "I put a cigar on my member once or twice"[103], or "Pollution, I was awake, I left my excited member against my thigh, in order to see if it peeled itself"[104]. Those examples show that Eyzaguirre is not just accusing himself of having some kind of sexual intercourse with other humans, or of having sexual desires related to them, he is also attesting to some practices of exploration (the cigar on his

[101] Cf. A. Corbin, *L'Harmonie des plaisirs*, op. cit. According to Jean Delumeau, in the early modern period, lust, while not the most important sin, was already subject to theologians' warnings and debates. J. Delumeau, *Le péché et la peur,* op. cit., p. 238-246.
[102] "no se confiessan de ciertas fealdades, en que cayeron siendo niños; aunque se acuerdan, que hasta entonces tenian rubor de ellas". P. Señeri, *El penitente instruido*, op. cit., p. 226.
[103] "Puse sigarro en el miembro una o dos".
[104] "polution despierto, el miembro alterado dexarlo contra el muslo a ver si se mondaba".

penis) that are guided by curiosity (in the second case, he wanted to see what happened to his excited penis). At this point, Eyzaguirre's archive takes on several layers of meaning, as it not only reproduces the ecclesiastical discourse on the body that made it possible but also reproduces an alternative "archive", formed by a series of practices and discourses that the penitent experienced as a sin, but which constructed his own knowledge of the body.

Eyzaguirre's research on his own body seems to have been guided by ignorance. Whether this is because he was raised in a very Catholic and pious family[105] or because it was normal at the time, the fact is that many of Eyzaguirre's confessions are the result of his aim to understand not only his body but also the mysteries of sex. On April 9 1800, he writes "I wished to know the way to sin with a woman one or three [times]. I tried it out from behind with my finger"[106]. This means that he did not know exactly how to have sex, and that he tried to find out by experimenting with himself, introducing his finger into his anus. He seems to be accusing himself of the same sin when he writes: "I used my finger [to find out] if it could be done in the ass two or four [times], with excitement"[107]. The fact that he did not know exactly how things worked when having sex is confirmed when he writes that, at the age of 13 or 14, he was afraid "of being stuck in the act, and not being absolved afterwards"[108].

Eyzaguirre's will to understand his body and the mysteries of sex and to experience its pleasures are revealed not only in confessions regarding experiments with himself, but also in his interactions with other people. We know that when he was a small boy he tried to obtain information about this sin in his own household. In these confessions, we can see the different children that shared the same space in a classic hispanic-american domestic unit: the sisters and brothers of the owner's family, the slave-born children and the free servants[109]. The kind of interaction they could have is very interestingly reflected in Eyzaguirre's notes. He writes

[105] According to the historian J. Eyzaguirre, "El Doctor don Miguel de Eyzaguirre", op. cit., p. 79. In fact, all Eyzaguirre's brothers who participated in politics between 1810 and 1830 were conservatives.
[106] "deseé de saver por dónde se peca con mulier una o tres. Hacer la prueba por atrás con el dedo".
[107] "Hize con el dedo si se podría por el culo dos o cuatro con alteración".
[108] "temor que me quedase unido en el acto y que no me absolviesen después".
[109] On these different members of the Spanish American elite households and their conflicts, see A. Araya, "Sirvientes contra amos: Las heridas en lo íntimo propio", in R. Sagredo y C. Gazmuri (dirs.), *Historia de la vida privada en Chile. Tomo I. El Chile tradicional: de la Conquista a 1840*, Santiago de Chile, Taurus, 2005.

> Having heard from Dolores, a slave, that Antonia had told of what women did with men, I asked her what she had said, [and] a sister of mine, who had heard it, rejected it, saying to her that she should not tell it, that it was wrong, and I urged the slave to tell me, and even though I think she did not tell me when my sister was there, she did so later, I do not know if I insisted again. I heard attentively, I do not know whether with pleasure, that women fondle the man's member. [...] I was 9 or 10 years old, and the one who told it was 8 [years old].[110]

This text presents José Ignacio Eyzaguirre's strong desire to know. Being a nine- or ten-year-old boy, he pushes an eight-year-old slave to tell him what women and men do, even after facing the resistance of one of his sisters. The manuscript shows us how the first learning about sexuality happened within the domestic unit (at least in the list of faults that were confessed in it). It also shows us how this knowledge was built not only by means of the spoken word. José Ignacio, one of his brothers (Alejo), three slaves (a boy and two girls, one of them the aforementioned Dolores), and other servants also practised a sort of polymorphous sexuality:

> I touched a four- or five-year-old brother, like he who gelds a bull, I saw his member [...] and I touched him [later]. I invited four girls to do the same, one four or five years old, a sister of hers, six- or seven-year-old daughters [sic]; The slave Dolores five or seven years old and another slave aged eight or ten, the first two were daughters of a free servant. I saw and touched their members, all of them, eight or twelve times [...]; I also once saw and touched the member of Xavier, an eight- or nine-year-old slave [...]. It seems to me that Xavier once said this could be a sin, and I denied it once or twice. We hid. Xavier, the slave, once asked why he didn't do the same thing to me, I agreed, I lay down for him to touch me [...][111].

We can see here how different individuals from the household - all of lower status than José Ignacio, as he touched his younger brother, slaves and servants - practised some sort of early sexuality. It should not surprise us that Eyzaguirre accuses himself of these

[110] "Haviendo oído á la Dolores esclava que la Antonia havia contado de cosas que hacían las mugeres con los hombres. Preguntele qué havia dicho, repugnó una hermana mía que lo havia sabido, diciendo a la esclava que no lo dixese, que era malo, y yo insté a la dicha Esclava que me lo contase, y aunque me parece no lo dixo estando mi hermana allí, después lo dixo, no sé si a instancias nuevas mías. Oí con atención, no sé si con agrado, que las mugeres sobaban el miembro al hombre. [...] era yo de nueve a diez años, y la que lo contó de ocho."

[111] "Hize con un hermano de cuatro o cinco años como quién capa toros, le vi el mienbro [...], y le toqué lo mismo. Convidé para lo mismo quatro mugeres, una de quatro o cinco años, y otra hermana de ella, hijas de seis o siete años; Dolores esclava de cinco o siete años y un esclava de ocho o diez años, hijas las dos primeras de una sirviente libre. Vi y toqué el miembro por todo, y a todas ellas ocho o doce veces [...]; también Xavier, esclavo de ocho o nueve, le vi a éste una y toqué lo mismo [...]. Me parece decir una ves Xavier sería pecado, y dixo yo que no una o dos veces. Nos ocultábamos. Dixo Xavier esclavo que por qué él no hacía lo mismo conmigo, se lo facilité, me puse voca abajo para que me tocase [...]."

childhood practices. For early modern Catholicism, childhood was not exactly an innocent age, free of sins[112]. Moreover, Eyzaguirre is aware of having shown signs of doing wrong, by hiding with the other children, a manifestation of personal guilt according to Paolo Segneri[113].

But it is within the all-male institution of the Santiago de Chile Seminary that Eyzaguirre will take his bodily experimentations to the next stage. It is almost certain that José Ignacio studied in that institution. As far as we know, all his brothers, including José Alejo, the only one younger than him, studied there[114]. José Ignacio's Relación de méritos states that he studied in Santiago de Chile's "Colegio"[115], which could mean the Seminary, as at the time it was called Colegio Azul [Blue School] because of the blue clothes worn by seminarians. Even more conclusive, if we match the names cited by José Ignacio in his confession with a list of the Seminary students conserved at Chile's National Archives[116], we can see that more than ten of the people named in Eyzaguirre's manuscript were seminarians between the years 1789 and 1795. Almost all his sins of lust or sexuality are related to these names.

One of those seminarians was Manuel José Fraga. He was some five years older than José Ignacio, as he entered the Seminar in 1790, aged sixteen[117]. Fraga tells Eyzaguirre of his sexual adventures: "I heard from him that he woke up to search for a woman. I heard from him of fornications, etc."[118]. Eyzaguirre seems to be learning about sex from him. For

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[112] J. Delumeau, *Le péché et la peur*, op. cit., p. 296-303.
[113] P. Segneri, *El confessor instruido*, op. cit., p. 226.
[114] According to J. Eyzaguirre, José Ignacio's father chose the Santiago de Chile Seminary for the education of "his two older sons, Agustín and Miguel." J. Eyzaguirre, "El Doctor don Miguel de Eyzaguirre", op. cit., p. 79. We know that Domingo, the third oldest son, also studied in the same institution. Homenaje a la memoria de don Domingo Eyzaguirre (9 de febrero de 1884), Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1884, p. 5. Alejo, according to his biographers, also studied in the Seminary. F. Taforó, "Don José Alejo Eyzaguirre", in N. Desmadryl (dir.), *Galería Nacional, o colección de biografías y retratos de hombres célebres de Chile, volume 2,* Santiago, Imprenta Chilena, 1854, p. 102, and V. Chaparro, "Elojio fúnebre del señor Dr. Don José Alejo Eizaguirre", in P. G. de la Fuente, *Oratoria sagrada, o colección escogida de sermones de oradores sagrados americanos, volume 1*, Santiago, Imprenta del Independiente, 1866, p. 439.
[115] *Relacion de los meritos y servicios de don Josef Ignacio de Eyzaguirre*, op. cit.
[116] *Libro de Constitución y entrada de colegiales de este Seminario de la Iglesia Catedral de Santiago de Chile bajo la advocación del Santo Ángel de la Guarda*, in *Archivo Nacional de Chile. Fondo Varios*, vol. 235. This is an incomplete list of the Seminar's students, as it only indicates the students who paid for their studies. No Eyzaguirre is ever mentioned, even though we know for sure that all José Ignacio's brothers studied there. Indiciations on its author can be found in A. Fuenzalida, *Historia del desarrollo intelectual en Chile (1541-1810)* (Enseñanza pública i cultura intelectual), Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1903.
[117] *Libro de Constitución y entrada de colegiales de este Seminario de la Iglesia Catedral de Santiago de Chile bajo la advocación del Santo Ángel de la Guarda*, op. cit., f. 41v.
[118] "Oíle que se havia levantado á buscar una muger. Oíle de fornicasiones &".

example, he writes "I asked him how it was, and I heard from him, attentively and with pleasure, that when he was a young boy, a woman made him fornicate, and of the pleasure he had; I don't know if I wished to do the same"[119]. The pedagogical role of this older student is more clearly revealed in other fragments, such as "I wanted to know how one fornicates with women twice or four [times]. I asked Fraga once, I heard his explanation once or twice"[120]. Fraga not only tells Eyzaguirre how to have sex: he also proposes practical experience, as Eyzaguirre indicates that "he offered to take me to his women to fornicate"[121].

But the relationship with Fraga went a little further, showing us how eroticism and exploration of the body were closely related. Eyzaguirre writes "I saw Fraga's member four or six [times], I touched it three or six, I measured it two or three [times]"[122]. Another fragment of the manuscript is more explicit:

> Fraga asked me if I wanted him to pollute. I said do as you wish, I was alone in my bedroom, I was twelve or thirteen years old. Fraga did it. I watched how he did it two or three [times] and its spilling once. I consented to the same thing in my room two or three [times]. I was probably excited. I listened to what he was saying[123].

Eyzaguirre also writes, about Fraga, "I let him rub my member, it wasn't my initiative, but I laughed and I didn't do anything to avoid him or to escape"[124].

Eyzaguirre's confessions reflect some of the most common moral issues of the traditional discourse on masturbation and sex[125]. At the same time, these practices seem to have been quite common. The sins committed by Eyzaguirre with other men at the Santiago de Chile Seminary are the same sins that Leonardo da Porto Maurizio, a Franciscan friar, mentioned in a sort of "standard confession", written by him to guide penitents. Only the

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[119] "pregunté cómo así y le oí con atension y agrado, que pequeño una muger lo havia hecho fornicar y del gusto que havia tenido, no sé si tuve deseo de lo mismo".
[120] "Pensé de saber por dónde se fornica con muger dos o cuatro. Pregunté a Fraga una, oír su explicasion una o dos".
[121] "me convidó para llevarme a sus mugeres para fornicar".
[122] "vi a Fraga el miembro cuatro o seis, toqué tres o seis, medí dos o tres"
[123] "Preguntome Fraga si quería que hiciese polución. Le dixe haz si quieres, estaba yo solo en mi quarto, tendría doce o trece años. La procuró Fraga. Miré cómo lo hacía dos o tres y su derramamiento una. Consentí aquello en mi quarto lo mismo dos o tres. Tendría alterasion. Oíle lo que decía."
[124] "dexeme fricar de él el mienbro aunque no de mi voluntad, pero con risa y sin hacer lo necesario para evitarlo ni huir".
[125] For example, his preoccupation with the spilling of semen. On the traditional discourse about masturbation, T. W. Laqueur, *Solitary Sex. A Cultural History of Masturbation*, New York, Zone Books, 2003, chapter III "Masturbation before Onania".

"perfect sodomy" (sodomy with another man) seems to be absent from Eyzaguirre's manuscript[126]. This is not surprising when we consider, as Anne-Marie Sohn has demonstrated in the case of nineteenth-century France, that such practices were common among the students of educational institutions[127].

Eyzaguirre's manuscript, as argued here, does not only reveal these practices; it also shows how a Catholic built up a knowledge of his body, of sins. It is interesting to note that the scenes and practices that made it possible for Eyzaguirre to explore his body and to learn about sex, were kept in his memory for years in a sort of archive of his sins, inscribed (as memory is inscribed) on his body. In other words, all the practices that helped Eyzaguirre to understand sex were also understood as sins. In a way, Eyzaguirre's notes confirm the analysis by Michel de Certeau, who thought of the body as a surface where the Law comes to be inscribed, and of paper as a substitute for human skin[128]. We can say that Eyzaguirre had his transgressions written in his body, in the form of memory, before turning them into paper and ink.

As we can see, José Ignacio Eyzaguirre was still constructing his own knowledge of the body and sexuality while studying in the Seminary, even though that knowledge was considered a sin. Some other examples are quite clear: for instance, when Eyzaguirre writes about having asked Fraga "what is that sort of crown of the member"[129], and also "what's that sort of grain that he had on his member, and whether everyone had it"[130] (both sentences may be asking the same question, expressed differently in each case). Eyzaguirre also accuses himself of wanting "to see Vilvado's member [...]. Having heard from him that a women had asked him to fornicate, I wished to know if he had fornicated with her, and I tried to undo his trousers with my hand"[131].

In fact, the students in the Seminary told each other their sexual adventures. According to Eyzaguirre, one of them once recounted "that on having women, he found

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[126] Cit. in A. Corbin, *L'harmonie des plaisirs*, op. cit., p. 410-411.
[127] A. M. Sohn, *Sois un homme! La construction de la masculinité au XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2009, p. 147-152.
[128] M. de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien. 1. Arts de faire*, nouvelle édition, París, Gallimard Folio, 1990, p. 205-209.
[129] "qué significa aquella como corona del miembro".
[130] "qué significa aquél como grano que tenía en el miembro, y si todos tenían así".
[131] "deseé ver a Vilvado el miembro una. Haviendole oído que una muger lo havia llamado para fornicar, deseé saber si havia tenido con ella fornicación, y hize por verle a Vilvao el miembro con las manos por la bragueta" The "Vilvado" he mentions here could be Bernardino Bilbao or Rafael Bilbao, both students at the Santiago de Chile Seminary. *Libro de Constitución y entrada de colegiales de este Seminario de la Iglesia Catedral de Santiago de Chile bajo la advocación del Santo Ángel de la Guarda*, op. cit., f. 42 and 71v.

himself incapable [of having sex], and that he was angry at his member"[132]. Eyzaguirre also accuses himself of having heard, from the same student, "two obscene tales of fornications"[133]. Another student told him that, wanting to have sex with a reluctant peasant woman, he lifted her skirt up "and fornicated her"[134], that is, he raped her[135].

However, Eyzaguirre learned of the body not only from interpersonal relationships. We know that he was connected to some of the cultural manifestations that his contemporaries saw as dangerous for morality: novels and theatre. Eyzaguirre accuses himself of reading novels and attending theatre performances (which could be considered a sin in itself), and also of having been excited watching an actress on stage[136]. But even in canonical books, a young man like Eyzaguirre could find pleasure: "I read González Téllez on how to determine a woman's virginity. I got excited several times. I was studying the subject. I read with fear"[137]. Here Eyzaguirre seems to be writing about Manuel González Téllez's Commentaria perpetua in singulos textus quinque librorum Decretalium Gregorii IX, a book of canon law first published in the seventeenth century[138]. As we can see, Eyzaguirre drew inspiration from different and sometimes suprising sources in order to understand and create his own knowledge of the body.

The High, the Low, and the Body

Eyzaguirre's admissions enable us to understand how an individual of the modern period approached the forbidden knowledge of the body. Experimental practices, explorations on his own and on others' bodies, questions addressed to those more experienced than him, stories heard from others, non-conventional ways of reading: all these situations reflect how an individual constructed his own knowledge of the "low". As Carlo

[132] "teniendo mugeres se havia hallado inabil, y que se havia enojado con su miembro".
[133] "le oí dos cuentos obcenos de fornicaciones".
[134] "y la fornicó".
[135] The work of Georges Vigarello shows that violent stories of this kind, told in an all-male context, were not uncommon, nor were they necessarily criticized. G. Vigarello, *Histoire du viol, XVIe-XXe siècle*, París, Le Seuil, 1998.
[136] We do not know the novel he was reading. For the theatre in Santiago de Chile and its conflicts with the religious authorities of the time, see E. Pereira, *Historia del Teatro en Chile desde sus orígenes hasta la muerte de Juan Casacuberta, 1849*, Santiago de Chile, Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1974, p. 58-82.
[137] "leí a González Téllez sobre el modo de conocer la virginidad en las mugeres. Tuve alteraciones. Estaba estudiando una questión sobre ello. Leí con temor me parece".
[138] The book seems to have run through several editions. See M. González Téllez, *Commentaria perpetua in singulos textus quinque librorum Decretalium Gregorii IX*, Lyon, Annison & Posuel, 1715.

Ginzburg has demonstrated, in the economy of knowledge of the Early Modern Era the "high" matters - the divine truths, the high political issues - were not open to everyone's curiosity. They could even be conceived as forbidden knowledge for individuals. For example, José Ignacio's brother Miguel, when finishing his studies in Theology at the Real Universidad de San Felipe of Santiago de Chile, was reminded "not to abuse the licence obtained to interpret the Sacred Scriptures because of the danger and harm that may ensue"[139]. It was against this prohibition that the motto sapere aude! - 'dare to know', which would become the Enlightenment's leitmotiv - was used from the seventeenth century onwards[140]. But what is often disregarded - or seen as a self-evident attribute of Early Modern societies - is that it was also forbidden for anyone to investigate or to learn about the "low", the corporeal, the sinful parts of existence, and that this social prohibition affected the relationship between individuals and their bodies.

Sapere aude! is a motto that could also qualify Eyzaguirre's explorations. He dares to know what was supposed to be kept secret from him. He pushes other people to tell him what he does not know. He explores his body. Here, the double image of the Archive is complete: on the one hand, we have the ecclesiastical discourse and institution, which, wanting to punish the sins related to the low, developed a knowledge of it and encouraged individuals to talk about these forbidden things[141]. Eyzaguirre's own scrutinizing, as we have seen, is the result of this institutional obligation, and the translation of his experience into a written form, in the language of sins, is a direct result of it. But at the same time the sins of which he accuses himself allow us to see how he constructed his own knowledge of the "low", how he got to know what was clearly kept secret from him. The obligation to talk about sex in the confession is mirrored here by the audacity and experimental practices of a Catholic individual. Eyzaguirre can write, for example, that he stared at a donkey and a mule that were copulating out of "curiosity", the keyword for sins related to forbidden knowledge[142].

Eyzaguirre's confession shows that we should not assume that individuals have a clear and immediate knowledge of their bodies. Bodies, even one's own, could be a difficult

[139] Cit. in J. Eyzaguirre, "El Doctor don Miguel de Eyzaguirre", op. cit., p. 85.
[140] See C. Ginzburg, "High and Low: The Theme of Forbidden Knowledge in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Past & Present*, 73, 1976.
[141] M. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité 1: la volonté de savoir*, Paris, Gallimard, 1976.
[142] On curiosity and religion in the Iberian Atlantic World, see S. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved. Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World*, New Haven / London, Yale University Press, 2008, p. 82-84.

enigma to solve. The "low", which is opposed to the "high" in modern theology, could also be an arcane matter and not necessarily due to prohibition. Let us take another example: the case of a friar from New Spain, Diego Núñez, abbot of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción Monastery. In 1737, he was a witness to the Inquisition in a case of witchcraft. He presented himself as victim of a woman's sorcery. He knew something was wrong with him because of his faeces. According to his account, he urinated and defecated stones of variable sizes and colours, hairs from his own and from others' bodies, pieces of wool and other strange elements. For this enigma, the official Christian culture did not offer him an answer. He therefore went to a local "witch", expecting her to explain to him why he was suffering such a strange illness. And so he came to "discover" that he was being magically manipulated by one of his servants. Leaving aside the obvious gender and power issues of this case, what I found interesting here, and related to José Ignacio Eyzaguirre's case, is how a man of God, a man who was supposed to dedicate his life to the "high" issues, was confronted with the enigma of the "low". For, as he stated to the Inquisition, is it normal to defecate and urinate "eyebrows, eyelashes and all kinds of hair from my own body?"[143]. In order to solve this enigma, he referred to an alternative knowledge of the "low", a knowledge that was prohibited by the Church because it dealt with forbidden matters: witchcraft. The image of an ecclesiastical individual closely examining his own faeces is an interesting example of how those at the height of knowledge in modern societies could still find unanswered questions in their own bodies.

The manuscript should also lead to a better understanding of the body as a social and political metaphor. It is well known that in the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern period, society was conceived as a body, and all social functions were thought of as those of a body. This was still the case at the time Eyzaguirre was writing down his sins[144]. But what Eyzaguirre's manuscript also shows us is that the body was not just an obvious metaphor. If the body was the predominant image chosen to explain society, it was not simply because it functioned as a supposedly self-evident symbol. Furthermore, we can see from José Ignacio Eyzaguirre's writings that the relationship between Modern individuals and their bodies was

[143] I took this example from an interesting article by Ruth Behar on sexual witchcraft in colonial Mexico. R. Behar, "Brujería sexual, colonialismo y poderes femeninos: opiniones del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México", in A. Lavrin (ed.), *Sexualidad y matrimonio en la América hispánica*. *Siglos XVI-XVIII*, trans. G. Pelcastre, Mexico, D.F., Grijalbo, 1991. The quote is from p. 214.

[144] A. de Baecque, *Le corps de l'histoire. Métaphores et politique (1770-1800*), París, Calmann-Lévy, 1993.

far from being transparent. As Thomas Laqueur has shown, even in those aspects where the body was expected to give clear and visible signs, like the sexual division between men and women, they could turn out to be difficult and confusing to read or to understand [145]. In this sense, Eyzaguirre's manuscript confirms that the body was both intimate and strange at the same time.

The difference between the "high" and the "low" worked as an anthropological structure for modern culture. The fact of being divided, of being conceived as two poles of human experience, paradoxically attracted them to each other and helped to develop a constant dialogue between them. This is made particularly clear in comic practices that mixed the low and the high, producing laughter as a result of this interaction[146]. This kind of operation is also present in Eyzaguirre's own manuscript when he accuses himself of comparing the appearance of a church's sanctuary to the unholy "parts" of our Lord[147], and of having thought that a priest's "genuflections" in mass were similar to a sexual position[148]. Given the structural parallel between the "high" and the "low", it is not surprising that Dolores Peña y Lillo, an eighteenth-century Chilean nun, also made the same comparisons[149]. Historians, too, had realized this parallelism. In an inquisition case of the seventeenth century, where a Mexican woman declared that she had had some kind of sexual and mystical relationship with Jesus, the Virgin Mary and some saints, Zeb Tortorici identified a "simultaneous sacralization and vulgarization" of religious devotion[150]. And Niklaus Largier chose the religious practice of whipping oneself in his cultural history of arousal, suggestively titled In Praise of the Whip[151].

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[145] T. W. Laqueur, *Making sex: body and gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1992.

[146] M. Bakhtine, *L'œuvre de François Rabelais et la culture populaire au Moyen Âge et sous la Renaissance*, Paris, Gallimard Tel, 1982. The images of defecating people inside medieval churches seem to be one of these junctions of the "high" and the "low". Cf. Welleda Muller, "The Iconography of Gothic Choir Stalls: An Enhancement of the Body in all its States in a Sacred Space", presentation at Archives of the Body: From Medieval to Early Modern, Cambridge, Cambridge University, 7-9 September 2011.

[147] "pensamiento comparando las rajaduras de un Sagrario estando oiendo misa en la Cathedral a las partes de N. S." N. S. may be an abbreviation for Nuestra Señora (Our Lady) or Nuestro Señor (Our Lord).

[148] "genuflexiones en la misa [...] se parecían al acto torpe".

[149] Cf. D. Peña y Lillo, *Epistolario de Sor Dolores Peña y Lillo (Chile, 1763-1769)*, Raissa Kordic (ed.), Madrid, Universidad de Navarra / Iberoamericana, 2008.

[150] Z. Tortorici, "Masturbation, Salvation, and Desire: Connecting Sexuality and Religiosity in Colonial Mexico", *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 16/3, 2007, p. 367.

[151] N. Largier, *In Praise of the Whip. A Cultural History of Arousal*, trans. Graham Harman, New York, Zone Books, 2007.

My purpose here has been to show how the sex-related sins of Eyzaguirre's manuscript are intimately bound to confession-writing practices and to ecclesiastical discourse. The high and the low are two dimensions that must be studied together in any reading of the manuscript. Eyzaguirre writes this archive of his bodily sins because he wants to save his soul. And for this reason he is forced to remember the practices and occasions that allowed him to learn and to build his own knowledge about the body, in parallel to the "official" knowledge. Eyzaguirre's manuscript, between these two intertwined sets of knowledge of the body, shows us, albeit in a fragmentary way, how bodily experiences could be inscribed in a modern Catholic individual's subjectivity.

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