

**WHO WORE THE TROUSERS IN  
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN?  
THE ROLE, FUNCTION AND  
POTENTIAL OF SATIRE IN JOSÉ  
CLAVIJO Y FAJARDO'S PAMPHLET *EL  
TRIBUNAL DE LAS DAMAS* (1755)<sup>1</sup>**

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José Clavijo y Fajardo's satirical allegory, *El tribunal de las damas*, certainly fulfils the great Roman satirist Horace's *utili dulci* dictum, so prized by Spain's neoclassicists, on the importance of literature's being both entertaining and instructive. Its witty representation of the age-old debate about the balance of power between the sexes, in the form of a court-room battle over the introduction of a new fashionable head adornment for women shaped like trousers (*calzones*), is an amusing allegorical tale that personifies a series of positive and negative moral qualities as the plaintiffs, defendants and court officials. Yet arguably like all satire, behind the amusing façade there is a serious message about both the perception that the satirist has of living in a time when things are not as they should be, and the desires and expectations that s/he has for things to change: in this case, as often occurs in satire, for things to return to a former idealized status quo.

This moralistic reading of the work accords with the way in which Dustin Griffin, in his monograph *Satire: a critical reintroduction*, argues satire has been understood for many centuries:

According to that consensus, satire is a highly rhetorical and moral art. A work of satire is designed to attack vice or folly. *To this end* [my italics] it uses wit or ridicule. Like polemical rhetoric, it seeks to persuade an audience that something or someone is reprehensible or ridiculous; unlike pure rhetoric, it engages in exaggeration and some sort of fiction. But satire does not forsake the "real world" entirely. Its victims come from that world, and it is this fact (together with a darker or sharper tone) that separates satire from pure comedy. Finally satire usually proceeds by means of clear reference to some moral standards or purposes. (1)

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is dedicated to the recently retired Professor of Hispanic Studies at the University of Bristol, David Hook, a much-appreciated colleague of wide-ranging interests and abilities from whom I have learned so much, not least to appreciate the value of the apparently small and insignificant.

It is an account that, as will be argued in this paper, can in many ways be seen as an accurate description of *El tribunal*. Women's folly in following the latest fashion to the extent of adopting a trouser-like headdress is exposed through ridicule as indicative of a general decline of *virtud* and of that much-prized female characteristic of *modestia* in favor of a *descaro* that threatens to destabilize the supposedly natural order of society whereby men are left in 'la pacífica indisputable possession de sus unicos Calzones' (14). The work's clear moral purpose shines through: as Francisco Fernández de Jativa, one of the two highly-supportive censors, writes of the work's author, 'la mira de este es alumbrar al entendimiento para discernir entre lo bueno, y lo malo' (fol. 5 r).

Yet such a reading –'To this end it uses wit or ridicule?'– may fail to appreciate the full potential of the 'dulci' side of Horace's dictum and also serve to close it off to other possible readings by tying it in too tightly to a long history of moralistic writing that condemns any forms of assertive behavior in women as symptomatic of vice and in need of immediate eradication. In arguing for a different way of understanding satirical texts, one that moves away from thinking of satire in purely moral terms, Griffin encourages us to see 'an interplay of impulses and effects in a text' (185). He suggests that we think of satire not as simply 'the communication of previously codified moral knowledge or the persuasion of a reader toward a particular course of action' but rather as 'a rhetoric of inquiry, a rhetoric of provocation, a rhetoric of display, a rhetoric of play' (39). In thinking of satire in terms of an open-ended inquiry that uses a variety of rhetorical devices not necessarily to push a firmly-held single perspective, but rather in Bakhtinian terms, to explore 'the adventures of an *idea* or a *truth* in the world' (41), Griffin encourages us to delve more widely into the possibilities of a work of satire. He suggests we should see satire as performance, 'designed to win the admiration and applause of a reading audience not for the ardor or acuteness of its moral concern but for the brilliant wit and force of the satirist as rhetorician' (71). Through its invasion of traditional forms or spaces, we should investigate how the text plays with and questions the 'boundary between the field of play and ordinary life' (93). We should explore the text's potential to 'challenge, [...] taunt and provoke' (52). We should question the pleasure the satirist takes in 'giv[ing] *form* to *deformity*' (167). We should seek to explain satire's 'frequent preference for inquiry, provocation or playfulness rather than assertion and conclusiveness' (185). We should consider 'the satirist as a figure struggling for notice in a particular kind of sociopolitical context' (185).

Using Griffin's wide-ranging theoretical ideas as tools with which to probe and explore Clavijo's text, I aim to provide a reading of *El tribunal* that reveals the subtlety and complexity of what is believed to be the first published text by José Clavijo y Fajardo, the man who was to go on to edit the most well-known and studied periodical of the first great period of press expansion in Spain, *El pensador* (Aguilar *La prensa*, Guinard *La presse*,

Sáiz, Sempere, Trenas). I first look in broad terms at the moral dimensions of the text and contextualize the work in the literary and socio-historical context of mid-eighteenth-century Spain. I then explore the functioning of a variety of its rhetorical features, with a particular focus on the complexities of its central image of an 'adorno calzonesco'. In so doing I aim both to highlight and explain the moral dimensions of the text, considering why and how the text might be perceived as 'a moral art [...] designed to attack vice or folly' (Griffin 1), but also to reveal 'the brilliant wit and force' (Griffin 71) of Clavijo as a satirist, reflecting on other motivations that might have lead to the text's creation. These considerations will finally lead me to conclude that the multiple moral and rhetorical purposes of satire are consummately bound together in this text that provides a sparkling foretaste of Clavijo's literary talents.

As it is relatively unknown a brief account of the text itself, its context and its author, may be useful at this point. *El tribunal de las damas* was published in Madrid around 11 September 1755 in 16mo with pages numbered 1-21.<sup>2</sup> Within a few weeks, a response to it in the form of the *Memorial de las damas* by Antonio Manuel Ruiz had appeared and Clavijo himself then wrote a further work in response to that of Ruiz, the *Pragmática del celo y desagravio de las damas*, in which he targets an analogous concern to that highlighted in *El tribunal*, the question of appropriate male gender behavior, criticizing men for acting like women, characterized as taking an excessive interest in fashion and appearance. All three pamphlets were published in the second half of 1755.<sup>3</sup> Clavijo is of course best known as the editor of the essay-periodical in the style of Addison and Steele's *The Spectator*, *El pensador* (Madrid, 1762-3, 1767). Noted for his witty engagement with contemporary social mores and customs throughout the 86 issues of

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<sup>2</sup> The date of 11 September 1755 is given on the final page of the second of the two *censuras* included in the edition of *El tribunal* that I have consulted, a faithful reproduction of the original work published without date in Barcelona located in the Biblioteca de Catalunya. The original was published in Madrid, Imp. J. F. Martínez Abad, s. a. [1755]. There are two *censuras* included: the first by Dr. D. Juan Francisco del Río, y Soto, August 11, 1755 and the second by Dr. D. Francisco Fernández de Jativa, dated August 4, 1755. Both censors write very favorably of the purpose and style of the work and find nothing in need of the slightest alteration.

<sup>3</sup> The catalogue of the Biblioteca de Catalunya lists the *Memorial* as a work of Juan Fernández de Rojas. A further possibility is suggested by Aguilar, *Bibliografía*, T. VII (337) who queries if it could be a pseudonym for Francisco Mariano Nipho, the prolific author/editor of periodicals in the 1760s. *El novelero discreto y piadoso*, the translation by Antonio Ruiz Miñondo of a collection of short stories by a Portuguese nun, Sor María del Cielo, contains a list of the works of Nipho which includes 'Varios papeles curiosos que contienen el *Memorial de las damas arrepentidas*', (Madrid, Gabriel Ramírez, n.d., pp.85-87).

*El pensador*, Clavijo's work as an author, translator, adapter and editor has been the subject of a number of books and articles in recent years (*inter alia* Caso, Espinosa, Ferreras, Galván, Hontanilla, Marún, Nuez, Palacios, Penrose, Sáiz, Trenas).

From its title page, *El tribunal* purports to be an authentic copy of the ruling in the case won by *Modestia* that was presented to the *Tribunal de la Razón*, on which sat in judgment the 'Damas juiciosas de España', presented as the allegorical figures of *Prudencia*, *Fama*, *Rectitud* and *Buena Intencion*.<sup>4</sup> The first page tells us that the hearing took place on 10 July 1755 and the judgment is being read out by *Honestidad*, the public prosecutor, who, before she presents the 15-point ruling of the court, sets out the issue to be judged, namely the recent arrival in Spain of a foreign fashion in headdress shaped like men's *calzones*. The offending item is not in fact named until the fifth page and the first four use a highly rhetorical and emotive language to extend the personification begun with the virtues of *Modestia* and *Honestidad* to include *Honor* and *Verguenza* (*Modestia's* parents) and introduce the foreigner *Moda*, 'cuyos padres, aunque al principio se creyó ser el *Bien parecer*, y la *Novedad*, naturales de todo el mundo, se ha descubierto poco ha son la *Obscenidad*, y el *Descaro*, oriundos del infierno' (3). The ensuing conflict between virtues and vices is then presented through military and biblical imagery and using metaphors of disease and deformity, as a battle for the very soul of Spain:

*España* se halla escandalizada, su *Religion* abatida, su *Honor* ultrajado, sus costumbres corrompidas, desterrada su *Modestia*, exaltado el *Vicio*, depuesta la *Virtud* y que, de no aplicarse algun eficaz y prompto antidoto, se extenderà el veneno, corromperàse la sangre, morirá la *Pureza*, dominará la *Infamia*, y si los funebres lamentos de Raquél resonaron en Ramà por la muerte de / sus hijos, los de España se oiran en todo el mundo, porque sus hijos viven; pero no en muchos de ellos la *Virtud*, el *Honor*, y la *Verguenza*. (8-9)

The judgment of the court forbids any woman from wearing *calzones* on her head and sets out a series of punishments that increase in severity according to the number of offences from, for a first offence, being censured and her good name questioned, through being rejected as a member of the human race and labeled delirious and irrational to the most

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<sup>4</sup> Given the complexity of meaning of these terms and their centrality to debate about women in this period, I have kept the original Spanish. For further information see Martín Gáite, Álvarez de Miranda and Guinard 'Marcial'. The development of definitions over the century can usefully be traced by a search through the *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española* which contains all the successive editions of the dictionary from the first *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726) to the 21<sup>st</sup> edition of the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (1992).

severe punishment for an ‘espíritu tan rebelde’ (10) should she persist in repeating the offence for a third time, of being labeled Old and Ugly. Women who, after reading this judgment, have come to their senses and wish to abjure can hand in their *calzones* to the Office of the Court Secretary, *Caridad*, who will ensure that the offending items are dragged through the streets of the town to outside the municipal limits by a female monkey in order to be burned and the ashes left on show in public places as a warning. The key message of this Inquisitorial-type ceremony, and indeed of the entire satire, is made clear in the eighth point of the fifteen:

Como la experiencia ha hecho ver, que dos Calzones en una casa solo con/ducen á fomentar quimeras, y disensiones, atendiendo á evitar inquietudes en la Republica, mandamos, que las mugeres se contenten con sus Guardapiés, Basquiñas, Briales, Sayas, Zagalejos, &c. dexando á los hombres en la pacífica indisputable possession de sus unicos Calzones, y de executar lo contrario queden legalmente impossibilitadas, è incapaces para siempre de casarse por pensamiento, palabra, ni obra[.] (13-14)

*Modestia*, who had found herself on the very limits of Spain on her way into exile is encouraged to return, at the same time as the enemy *Moda*, whose real name is revealed as *Torpeza*, is ordered to leave the kingdom never to return unless she agrees either to accept the true faith of *Virtud* or risk being burned alive.<sup>5</sup>

As is apparent from this description, this is a satire on women’s interest in fashion and at the heart is the central image of women wearing a trouser-style adornment on their heads. In eighteenth-century Spain, the metaphorical expression of ‘who wears the trousers’ in a household held the same value as it does today signifying who has the power, who is in control in a home. The *Real Academia Española* (RAE) dictionaries from 1729 and

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<sup>5</sup> There is a digital edition consultable at the HathiTrust Digital Library of a plagiarised version of Clavijo’s work published by a D. J. P. y M. in Barcelona in 1831. This digital edition has in turn been made available in print by Nabu Public Domain Reprints. However, there are a number of alterations and omissions that change the work substantially since the central concept of women wearing ‘calzones’ is largely absent and the focus is merely on women’s interest in fashion. For example, where the original writes that women ‘han hecho adorno de sus cabezas el traje varonil en los *Calzones*’ (5), the plagiarised version has changed this to read ‘han hecho uso de trages, no solo locos y desatinados, sino tambien indecentes y deshonestos’ (6-7) and references in the main text to *calzones* are replaced by such terms as ‘modas locas’ (9). There is no mention of ‘calzones’ until ruling number 8 (12-13) which reproduces the reference to how ‘dos calzones en una casa solo conducen á fomentar quimeras y disenciones’, perhaps implying that the ‘modas locas’ refer to women wearing trousers but without any of the wit or force of the original.

1780 indicate that the phrase 'ponerse o calzarse los calzones' is said of women who take control in the home: 'se dice de la muger que todo lo manda en su casa sin hacer caso de su marido' (RAE 1780, 178,3). The use of allegorized moral qualities encourages us to read this work as part of a long history of satire against women that can be traced back to Classical times with Juvenal's well-known *Sixth Satire* and finds Spanish precedents in the work of numerous writers from the medieval period through to the seventeenth century (Oñate, Ornstein, McKendrick). Indeed, Clavijo sees himself as the inheritor of this tradition of satire, as he tells us in *pensamiento* 46, a fictitious letter to the editor on the subject:

Confieso, que en substancia es una satyra la Obra del Pensador. / [...] Baste decir, que la materia de toda satyra es los vicios de los hombres: su forma, el gracejo, y estilo mas, ò menos picante; y el fin la correccion de los acusados. Por lo comun son tantos, y tan varios los asuntos, quanto las costumbres viciadas, ò errores. Por esso Juvenal dice, / que la materia de las suyas se dàn *los deseos, temores, iras, placeres, locuras, discursos*: en suma, quanto erradamente piensan, dicen, y hacen los hombres. (101-3)

The publication of *El tribunal de las damas*, as is frequently argued to be the case with satire, indicates that in the eyes of its author the world is not as it should be: 'satirists always say that the times have never been worse' (Griffin 134). The powerful, image-rich language used in this satire establishes clear and easily-understood links between the question of women's fashionable dress and behaviors, encapsulated in this key notion of an 'adorno Calzonesco' (18), and a series of moral judgments about women's supposedly natural character and subordinate place in the world, expressed through the establishment in the text of a clear binary opposition between positive moral qualities such as *virtud, modestia, pureza* and *vergüenza* and the immorality and evil nature of those associated with fashion, such as *vicio, descaro, obscenidad, torpeza* and *disolución*. Its appearance can be seen as indicative of a perception of an unacceptable change in behavior of those satirized, a perception of moral and social decline, of a 'time when moral norms are being called into question and must therefore be reaffirmed with some force to prevent further breakdown of the moral order' (Griffin 134).

Within this context we can describe *El tribunal* as a disciplinary moral allegory, a text that seeks to exercise control over those it targets, 'to instruct, educate [and] train [them ...] to habits of order and subordination; to bring [them] under control' (*Oxford English Dictionary* entry for 'discipline'). Indeed we can read *El tribunal* as part of a wider eighteenth-century Spanish discourse that seeks to discipline women, to subdue them and to control their behavior. This behavior is perceived to have changed significantly away from the idealized norms and is frequently interpreted as indicative of a wide-spread moral decline (Kitts, chapters 3 and 4). In her work on the *petimetra*, Rebecca Haidt argues that there existed 'cultural

anxiety about female agency in the eighteenth-century urban luxury marketplace' (34). Texts like *El tribunal* and the later *El pensador* enable us to extend this notion to reveal the perception of a wider area of cultural anxiety about modes of gender behavior, here specifically in relation to women although there is also a mention in the pamphlet of men.<sup>6</sup> *El pensador* directs its satire on numerous occasions at the behavior of women in society and in their homes, offering from a Foucauldian perspective of discourse functioning as a disciplinary practice that supports and underpins power relations (*The Will to Knowledge*), an understanding of the text as exercising disciplinary power, giving 'a clear and persuasive account of the required behavior of women for the benefit both of the women themselves and as a set of guidelines for parents and husbands' (Kitts 93). *El tribunal* can be seen as part of this wider discourse found in a variety of genres (periodicals, essays, plays, poems) that seeks to control and contain women through subtle techniques of persuasion and manipulation: 'It functions in terms of controlling women's expectations and perceptions of the female social role and duties and educating them to desire to maintain the traditional notions of subordination and restriction to the home and care of children' (Kitts 94).

These ideas raise the question of the extent to which a change in social mores leading to 'cultural anxiety' about gender can actually be documented to have existed at this time in Spain. One of the most powerful indicators of such an actual change is of course provided by the existence of texts like *El tribunal* that complain about it, and it is clear from research into this period over the last 30 years that many such texts exist, ranging across the genres from pamphlets to poetry, periodical essays to plays (Bolufer, Haidt, Kitts, Smith). It has also been documented that women were increasingly visible in social circles at this time: Martín Gáite notes the existence of mixed *tertulias* held in the traditional female domain of the *estrado* as early as 1739 (36-7); Fernández-Quintanilla documents the history of *salons* held by women from 1749 (52); and Lynch notes that the reign of Fernando VI saw increased social activity by both men and women, '[it] was a time of court operas, balls and suppers, and also of royal patronage of the arts, when Domenico Scarlatti and the singer Farinelli made the Spanish capital a centre of musical culture and talent' (158). Another indicator that the fashionable practices decried by Clavijo were well established is the existence of an extensive common vocabulary naming different fashion items and techniques, again something that can be found across genres at this time (Martín Gáite). As well as textual portraits of women, there are visual images that confirm that extremes of hairstyle, for example, can be

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<sup>6</sup> Male behavior is the subject of a further publication that year by Clavijo, the *Pragmatica del zelo*, which singles out *petimetres* as ultimately responsible for this perceived moral decline. It is another very interesting and understudied pamphlet but is however beyond the scope of this article.

found across Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century (McCreery, Miles, Peacay). While the trouser-style headdress condemned by Clavijo undoubtedly involves comic exaggeration and should be read as a metaphor rather than as a reflection of an actual contemporary style, it is not hard to envisage from these engravings what such a style might look like, nor that the French fashions to be found for example in the illustrations (provided below) might easily have found their way into the Spanish Bourbon court. As Griffin notes, 'Satire derives its strength and its very life from its grounding in a certain time and place' (116) and it is the fact that the existence of such a head adornment is not beyond the bounds of possibility that lends conviction and power to the satire. It enables us to see this pamphlet as a part of wider contemporary debates on the nature and performance of gender and on the moral and economic pros and cons of spending money on luxury items (*lujo*), in particular items of fashionable dress.

These accounts of contemporary historical practices enable us to locate satire of contemporary social mores in *El tribunal* within a context of a perceived decline in moral standards, and to read it in a straight-forward way as a moral text seeking to correct unacceptable behavior, as Griffin writes, a key feature of successful satire according to traditional interpretative theories. Yet, as his book goes on to argue, this moral dimension is only a part of the picture and an exploration of the rhetorical techniques – of inquiry, of provocation, of play, of display – can demonstrate in greater detail not only exactly how the author's literary and linguistic skills enable this powerful moral purpose to be successfully achieved, but more interestingly, from Griffin's perspective, also reveal other possibilities and purposes of the text, its skill as a piece of persuasive writing for example, its wit and charm, and its possible role in advancing the author's social and literary standing. In his 1818 lecture on the allegorical tradition, Samuel Taylor Coleridge defined

allegorical writing as the employment of one set of agents and images with actions and accompaniments correspondent, so as to convey, while in disguise, either moral qualities or conceptions of the mind that are not in themselves objects of the senses, or other images, agents, actions, fortunes and circumstances, so that the difference is every where presented to the eye or imagination while the likeness is suggested to the mind; (30).

This notion of disguise, and the subtle deception and clever manipulation of language and thence ideas that it implies, is particularly interesting and apposite when exploring Clavijo's seemingly somewhat frivolous and amusing text. The idea that allegorical texts are multi-layered, highly rhetorical and deliberately deceptive may help to explain why *El tribunal* has received up to now little more than a descriptive interest from scholars of



Clavijo, myself included, as simply an amusing precursor to the wit he employed in *El pensador*, ostensibly clearly and easily understood as little more than a witty moral satire on fashion: 'Como se ve, no es más que una sátira, en forma alegórica, de la moda' (Espinosa 96-7). Theresa M. Kelley also writes of this gap or space identified by Coleridge, in her monograph *Reinventing allegory* (1997), '[t]here is always an irreducible difference between allegorical representation and its referent' (5) and it is in this difference, in this gap that exists between the created textual or visual figure (for allegory has a long tradition in both) and the idea or ideas to which it refers and from which it grew in the mind of its creator, that satirical allegory may be seen to 'hide' or 'disguise' its judgments. It is in this space created by the use of a series of complex rhetorical figures that the author can propound and project his vision of the world. This may be on a fairly obvious level in terms of offering a moral vision of both the unsatisfactory world that he perceives as existing and the idealized version to which he wishes to return. However, as we shall see, it may also operate on a much more subtle and complex level and reveal an acute sense of the social and intellectual challenges of a rapidly changing early modern world.

In shifting the focus in his book from the satirical text as moral art form on to the rhetorical skills of the satirist, Griffin writes of the way satire invades traditional forms or spaces, plays with and questions the 'boundary between the field of play and ordinary life' (93). This view is echoed by Charles Knight in *The Literature of Satire*, who notes more specifically that 'satire itself often parallels legal patterns of attack and defence: the satirist is a prosecutor' (26), an observation that has particular resonance in considering *El tribunal*. Normally a serious place, here the courtroom is used in a playful and witty way while nevertheless still able, as we have seen, to communicate a serious moral message. Griffin writes of how 'the idea of a boundary between the field of play and ordinary life – a boundary that is often porous – may help us to see the "play element" in two other common features of satire: its irony, and its use of fantasy' (93). He continues that 'the satirist invades a form or parodies it (not necessarily in order to mock it)'; rather this approach blurs the boundaries between fiction and reality. In Clavijo's use of the courtroom setting and employment of the related formal language and procedures (*Honestidad* is the 'Fiscal', *Caridad* the 'Secretaria del Consejo', the final judgment is to be archived in Simancas), we can see him using a rhetoric of play as he presents an apparently frivolous subject in a very serious setting. In so doing, rather than undermine and devalue the traditional values of the court, he arguably endows his subject with the associated seriousness that characterizes court processes. Through his apparently playful, ironic invasion of the metaphorical court space, he links the gaze of the 'Damas juiciosas de España' to that of his readership who will in turn decide upon the rights and wrongs of the case. The ensuing adjudication extends the fundamental legal metaphor of the work into a context with which Spanish readers were

all too familiar as Clavijo employs the language and formality of inquisitorial judgments. He seeks to persuade women to abjure their headdresses (11) and hand them in to the Office of the Court Secretary; from there they will be subjected to ritual burning and display.

This playfulness is also very apparent in the hyperbolic language of Clavijo's opening pages which accord well with Griffin's description of the satirist as a 'demotic lexicographer, in love with the richness and variety of the language of insult' (168). They provide a good example of a rhetoric of display, of provocation and of play, yet still reveal *El Tribunal* as a rhetorical piece of writing designed with a moral purpose. The moral and persuasive purpose of Clavijo's text is apparent from the first pages when the author appeals directly to 'qualesquiera personas de entendimiento' to share his indignation at 'la mayor injusticia, el mas negro borron, feo lunar, y asquerosa torpeza, que pudo caber en la imaginacion indecente de un entendimiento barbaro, y corrompido' (1-2). His use of hyperbole is intended to cause an immediate alignment between himself and his readers: who would wish to see themselves as anything but intelligent or be included in a group of people described as barbarous and corrupt? He continues in his clever and witty use of simile to compare the present state of Spanish customs and behavior with 'la decadencia de Roma, el incendio de Troya, la destruccion de Cartago' only then ironically to consign these major catastrophic events to second place when compared with the '[m]as alto motivo [que] enronquece mis fauces', namely 'las voces de tristes desentonzados gemidos: O tiempos! O costumbres! O España!' (2). This is an allusion to the well-known phrase, 'O tempora, O mores!' from the opening paragraph of Cicero's *First oration against Catiline* where Cicero bemoans the corruption of his age and the failure of the Senate to take action against Lucius Catilina's attempt to overthrow the Republic (Henderson). The inference is that women are attempting to overthrow established society by attempting to 'wear the trousers' in their households and by forms of behavior (*descaro, insolencia*) that are not only considered inappropriate to their sex but are seen as indicative of a lack of social conformity and moral rectitude.

Strongly worded, exaggerated images of illness, deformity and corruption are also used by Clavijo to insult and condemn women who follow fashions. They are 'torpes, è infames' (5), 'enfermas', suffering from a 'llaga' that threatens to become 'incurable' (6). Those judged guilty of the charge for a second time are to be 'excomulgadas del gremio de la humanidad' and exiled to a place where 'solo se alimenten del manjar grossero de sus *delirios*, y de la hedionda corriente de sus *torpezas*' (10). Yet rhetorical playfulness and provocation are also present in his judgment that the worst offenders are publically to be declared '*Feas*' and '*Viejas*' (11), qualities also condemned in women by Moratín some 50 years later when his mouthpiece don Diego complains that the series of housekeepers he

wishes to replace with a pretty young wife have been ‘viejas, feas como demonios’ (*El sí de las niñas*, I, i).

Hyperbole is not only reserved for condemning the negative but is also used to exaggerate the positive, with the allegorical figure of *Modestia* described as ‘aquel dulce imàn, que con doradas hechiceras cadenas aprisiona las almas, aquel precioso, Oriental grano, que sazona los deliciosos manjares de la sociedad, irreconciliable enemiga de la torpeza, inseparable compañera de la virtud’ (2). The choice of language here is particularly interesting, seeking to persuade the readers of the attractiveness (presumably to the opposite sex, in the task of gaining a husband?) of modesty in women, but also, in employing terms of imprisonment and limitation, seeing it as something that women can deliberately employ in order to entrap men (into marriage? Into illicit sex?), a quality that bewitches men, and recalls the ‘bewitching’ of Adam by Eve in the Garden of Eden. There seems to be a playful game going on here since, in the terms used to define the apparently positive female-gendered characteristic of modesty, there lurks a double-edged sword that reveals women to be supernatural creatures with designs to control men’s very souls. In describing it as ‘aquel precioso, Oriental grano’, that is as something highly prized, rare and foreign, the author reveals apparent uncertainty and confusion, in fact contradicting his very next sentence that describes *Modestia* as ‘natural de los Reynos de España’. However rather than an inconsistency in his text, it could be argued that Clavijo is engaged here in a ‘rhetoric of provocation’, where, as Griffin notes, quoting P. K. Elkin, ‘in modern eyes satire is “a catalytic agent rather than an arm of the law or an instrument of correction: its function is less to judge people for their follies and vices than to challenge their attitudes and opinions, to taunt and provoke them into doubt and perhaps into disbelief”’ (*The Augustan Defence of Satire*, p.201).’(52)

Of course the very setting in the courtroom does in fact suggest judgment and, as has already been said, there is no reason why a satire should not act both as provocation and as an instrument of correction. In these apparently confusing lines, Clavijo can be seen to use satire as an instrument of control and correction through provocation, through attempts to manipulate his female readership into self-discipline by means of challenging comments that work as part of a game that blurs the boundaries between appearance and reality. *Moda* appears to have the innocent attraction of the new and modern yet she is deceptive, on the outside all harmless show, *Bien parecer* and *Novedad*, but underneath hiding a filthy underbelly of *Obscenidad* and *Descaro*, ‘oriundos del infierno’ (3). *Moda* is a foreigner in disguise, wearing a mask of geniality and pleasure but hiding ‘tiros’ and ‘ataques’ (5) that strike at the flesh, damaging the very essence, the very nature of the women involved such that they become unnatural (‘contra el orden natural’ (5)). Clavijo’s attack on fashion is a two-pronged one that appeals to the different ways in which women perceive

themselves: on the one hand to a notion of essential female identity which is threatened with the loss of supposedly natural female characteristics summed up as 'las sabias Ordenanzas del *Decoro*' (5), and on the other to a sense of pride in a national identity linked to the virtuous characteristics of *Modestia*, *Honor* and *Verguenza* which have been 'el idolo, la gloria, y la emulacion de los Naturales, el exemplo de los Estrangeros, y la admiracion de todos' (3). Knight writes that satire's purpose 'is perception rather than changed behavior, although change in behavior may well result from change in perception' (5) Clavijo's later work in *El pensador* would support this view as it indicates that much of what he is arguing with regard to women's behavior and role in society is indeed about changing perception. In *pensamiento* 2, 'Carta de una señora sobre su educacion', for example, again through the use of the fictional strategy of a letter to the editor, this time from a young woman complaining about her flawed upbringing and asking 'El pensador' to provide guidance through his periodical to her younger sister, we can see Clavijo's writing as setting out to change the way women perceive themselves and their role in society. This *pensamiento*, and a number of others in *El pensador* and indeed in many other publications of this period, appear to encourage women to value themselves within strict gender role of wife/helpmate and within the confines of the home. Here the choice is set out much more starkly and provocatively between being seen as a good Spanish woman of modesty and virtue or aligning oneself with the spawn of hell itself.

Clavijo's powerful language continues throughout the pamphlet as he makes extensive use of imagery of war, illness and deformity in his rhetoric of provocation and moral purpose. A satirical precedent for the allegorical personification of warring virtues and vices can be found in the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius; it dates from c. 405CE and the second part hominifies virtues and vices and presents them as at war with each other (Tambling 48-9). The *Psychomachia*, as Tambling tells us, could look in turn to Tertullian's *De Spectaculis* (late 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries) in which he 'represented the virtues as warrior-maidens struggling with vices': 'Behold unchastity overcome by chastity, perfidy slain by faithfulness, cruelty stricken by compassion, impudence thrown into the shade by modesty' (49). As Regalado writes:

The graceful female characters of personification allegory carry philosophical debate and moral exhortation with equal ease. The moral meaning of personifications remains stable (and therefore useful to political discourse) because it is inseparable from the concepts embodied, the words personified. Moreover, Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, the battle of Vices and Virtues for the soul, offered medieval authors a prestigious Classical model for staging the struggle of good versus evil. Such figures, therefore, were central to the discourse of moral and political admonition that counseled the prince in the principles of right reign. (135)

Clavijo structures the argument presented by *Honestidad* around a similar war metaphor to that used by Tertullian and Prudentius to represent the struggle between good and bad morals, referring to *Modestia*, *Honor* and *Verguenza* as natural residents of Spain fighting against the deceptive foreigner *Moda* whose parentage, as has already been mentioned, lies not as originally thought in the apparently benign figures of *Bien parecer* and *Novedad* but rather in the two former inhabitants of Hell ('oriundos del infierno'), *Obscenidad* and *Descaro*, who are described as working 'à beneficio extraño' (3). This is likely to be a highly persuasive technique, relying as it does upon the national consciousness of seven centuries of the Reconquest, in its powerful mythification of this process as a struggle by ethnic natives of the Iberian peninsula against the intrusive infidel, in an attempt to protect and affirm the core Catholic values by which they defined themselves in opposition those represented by the non-Christian beliefs of 'foreigner' Jews and Muslims.

War imagery is employed throughout the text as a way of giving form and context to the otherwise abstract concepts involved. *Modestia* is portrayed as using 'las vanderas del *Honor*' in an attempt to raise an army composed of 'las personas de *Juicio* para servir en los Exercitos de la *Virtud*' (4). Her efforts are thwarted however by the 'advenediza' *Moda*: 'le ha sacado con engaños multitud de Reclutas, que por la debilidad de sus espíritus se hallan oy sirviendo al *Vicio* en las Fronteras del *Escandalo* [...] que tiene su Campo en los Cuarteles de Estío de la *Deshonestidad*' (4). In warning women of the dangers of the enemy *Moda*, Clavijo also uses language redolent of despoilment, rape and uncontrolled sexuality, which in the context of Griffin's observation of there being an 'old idea that satire could heat the blood [which] suggests a link between sexual and satirical pleasure' (173), would further suggest a rhetoric of provocation linked to a strong moral message. He writes of those women under *Moda*'s influence as being 'enfermas con la maligna rebeldia de la *Calentura*' (6) which the RAE dictionary for 1780 describes as 'movimiento desordenado del pulso que procede de alguna causa interior que le altera y causa calor, ó encendimiento' (176.2) and that of 1786 gives as 'Ardor, inflamacion, exaltacion y alteracion vehemente de alguna cosa espantosa y activa' and 'La viveza y ardor de los afectos y pasiones humanas; como ENCENDIMIENTO de amor, de odio, de ira, etc.' (400.2). Clavijo also tells how *Modestia* has had to 'ced[er] á las violencias de la Fuerza [...], despojandola de sus vestidos' (6). 'Despojar' is defined in the RAE 1780 dictionary as 'Quitar y privar a alguno de lo que goza y tiene, desposeerle con violencia de ello' (350.2).

The violent overpowering of the female bodies by the foreign *Moda* recalls a previous moment of female loss of honor that led to a significant period of national decline, that of La Cava, a Spanish legend often referred to as a condemnation of women's inherent lack of virtue but one rebutted

by Feijoo in his 'Defensa de las mujeres' as a failure of her father don Julián (para 8). Another even more famous example of the supposed ease with which women can be tempted into vice is that of Eve and Clavijo plays on the notion of women being deceived by false appearances, just as Eve was by the Devil disguised as a snake, when *Moda* is presented first as a deceptive creature of misjudged parentage. The question of appearance versus reality can thus be seen to be at play in multiple levels of this work: in the deceptive nature of *Moda* described above; in the element of disguise at the heart of allegory identified by Coleridge as linking the allegorical figures and their referents; in the nature of satire that disguises its moral message behind a rhetoric of play and display; in the playful and provocative use of the courtroom to give mock judgment on an apparently frivolous matter of fashion that is in reality disguising a very serious matter of morals; in the performance of gender where women may wear that 'parte del vestido, que mas indica [el] Sexo [varonil]' (7) and 'ambos sexos [...] cambia[r] de adorno' (7) and commit 'diferentes desordenes [...] en ciertos parages destinados à la diversion, los quales, segun noticias, llegan ya à ser la quinta essencia, y el grado ultimo de la *disolucion*' (17).

As the playful elements build up through the pamphlet, the text transcends its apparent purpose as a piece of disciplinary moral writing and inquires into the nature of identity, raising fundamental questions about how we can know what something or someone really is when their appearance, the messages they present to the world through their actions and behavior, no longer conform to what had previously been understood to be the essence, the 'true' reality of the object or person. The text is revealing itself less as a clear-cut assertion of moral outrage and judgment and more as a work of inquiry and uncertainty at a time of change. On the one hand the gendered characteristics that Clavijo hominifies and manipulates within his text reflect a fundamental belief in the existence of a natural female essence that exists in harmony with a similar natural male essence. Yet, on the other hand, if women can wear the trousers, if they act in ways seen as characteristic of men and, as Clavijo describes in his later *Pragmatica del zelo*, if men engage in what are seen as womanly habits and behaviors, then what is the real difference between men and women? This text, like many others from this period, reflects an unsettling situation where people like Clavijo find themselves on disconcerting ground, not knowing any more what they can rely on. Times are changing, women are being more visible outside of the home, becoming more educated, there is greater socialization between the sexes and the classes, and fashions of dress and of behavior are blurring the boundaries.

Seen from the perspective of the moral purpose of the text, the immediate answer for authors like Clavijo who engage with this sense of decline is to seek refuge in an appeal to traditional values, to turn to the established beliefs of the Catholic church, where woman is man's helpmate, secondary and subordinate. The use of language in his descriptions of the

women that is redolent of moral codes of virginity and notions of despoilment and violent attack reinforces a central message of his satire, that of the need to preserve time-honored standards of female purity and the accompanying social structure that fosters and maintains them. The very opening lines of the work reflect this fundamental belief as we hear the 'Damas juiciosas' who preside over the court describe themselves as women who have managed to remain true to their God-given natures, 'por la gracia de Dios havemos conservado el juicio, de que se sirvió dotarnos, la decencia de nuestro sexo, y el honor de nuestra Nacion, &c.' (1). Clavijo can be argued to be a man who has a clear sense of certainty about his enterprise, both here and in the later *El pensador*, reflecting the idea of Kernan that the satirist 'sees the world as a battlefield between a definite, clearly understood good, which he represents, and an equally clear cut evil' (*The Cankered Muse* 21-22, quoted in Griffin 35). Yet, in thinking further about the openness of his text, its elements of play, display and inquiry, we may be led to question the seriousness of Clavijo's enterprise, to see him perhaps simply as a man engaged in an age-old game of sparring between sexes and to think about other motivations for writing this text. In order to understand fully this complex and multifaceted text, we need to turn our attention to the intricacies and functioning of the key central image of the 'adorno calzonesco'.

What really makes Clavijo's pamphlet stand out as a consummate and complex piece of satire is the ability he has to capture the essence of his issue in the central image of the trouser headdress. Charles Knight highlights how satirists both visual and textual harness the 'satiric force of representation' (2) in their attempts to effect a change in their targets and notes that,

the correction of perception is not effected by admonition – by the translation of behavior into abstract moral language – but by a form of representation so skewed as to allow recognition to take place and to force a new judgment on it, so that viewers recognize that they are what is represented and that what is foolish is them. We become both the subject and object of satire. (2-3)

Clavijo himself describes this notion of skewed representation in *pensamiento* 46 through the image of satire as a mirror that reveals deformities: 'un espejo, que se pone en la plaza del Mundo: todos se miran en èl; y el que por / verse deforme, lo hiciere pedazos, sera injusto en querer que pague el crystal inocente la culpa, que està en sus facciones horribles' (110-1). In *El Tribunal*, the 'satiric force of representation' is channeled through the central image of the 'adorno calzonesco' and by means of prosopopoeia with the presentation of the allegorical figures of a variety of virtues and vices. Theresa M. Kelley notes that, '[i]t is allegory's principal game to bring ideas to life and thereby make absent things seem

present' (15), and in the light of this comment, as well as the personification of virtues and vices in the form of female figures, the trouser headdress itself can be understood as an allegorical figure. Kelley argues that central to allegory is the notion of what she terms 'Phantasia': 'literally "image-making"'. This figure depicts absent things as though they were present' (6). Using this idea we can see how the allegorical figure of the 'adorno calzonesco' functions as a metonymic representation of all the unacceptable behavior of women, concentrated into this single, powerful, emblematic, ridiculous visual image. Kelley elaborates on this idea quoting Ricoeur who, in turn, was speaking of Freud's dreamwork that 'a figured language ... gives a contour or visibility to discourse' (6). In this case we can see how the emblematic figure of the trouser head adornment, through being 'la parte del vestido, que mas indica su Sexo' (7) (that is to say the *calzones* serving here as a metonym for male social primacy and power) links to a disciplinary discourse of control and manipulation of women's behavior to conform to the way those in power (men) want it to be. Kelley notes that '[l]ike Freud's dreamwork, allegory's punning verbal (and visual) wit invites readers to work out its meaning by piecing it together from the figures and images at hand' (6). The ridiculing of women who wear the headdress sends a strong message about what Clavijo sees as the appropriate gender balance of power and condemns those women who are failing to conform to idealized forms of female behavior.

In the figure of the headdress fashioned like trousers, we can see the power of the satirist's gaze to transform an abstract idea, in this case a moral opinion, into a visual image in the mind of the reader, and through the ridiculous nature of that image, in turn make the associated idea seem ridiculous and untenable. This satirical gaze, as Cunningham notes,

is indeed what we learn from Michel Foucault's *Surveiller et punir* (1975) to read as disciplinary, punitive (Foucault's English title is *Discipline and Punish*). Satirical surveillance is indeed done with an eye to Foucauldian subjugation, the exercise of superior power over subordinated opponents, making victims out of subjects. Satire does catachresis as intellectual, moral, spiritual subjugation. [...] [S]atirists tend to be [panoptocists]. The satiric gaze is nothing if not panoptic, sweeping, dominant. From his vantage point, his privileged height no less, the satirist looks down, defining, controlling, dealing out the analyses that hurt, dishing out the critical medicine, the allegedly cathartic purge Huxley admired in Ben Jonson. (430-1)

Both the moral and the rhetorical purposes of satire are captured in this single, ridiculous metonymic image of the 'adorno calzonesco'. We can see how Clavijo 'the demotic lexicographer' uses satire in order to harness the power of ridicule and 'give form to deformity' (Griffin 167-8), a moral and social deformity that the satirist considers to exist in the world. The idea of deformity here is important for encapsulated in satire is the idea that there



are some timeless, universal, essential principles of nature that have been subject to forces that have caused them to become misshapen, twisted, deformed. In *El tribunal*, the pamphlet is presented initially as the work of the ‘damas españolas’ who then introduce the *memoria* presented to them on 10 July 1755 by *Honestidad*, their public prosecutor. *Honestidad*’s voice is the one that then dominates the text and although she refers to numerous other allegorical figures in the form of personified virtues and vices, it is she alone who ‘speaks’ to us and focuses all our attention on the central metonymic figure of the headdress. Kelley considers ‘what happens when [rhetorical] figures allegedly get up and move. Insofar as such figures look or act like deeds or are by law so judged, they suggest how abstract ideas might be invaded or overtaken by material particulars’ (46). What we find in Clavijo’s text is the idea that threats to established gender practices are posed by the material particulars of women behaving in ‘unnatural’ ways and that these contemporary behaviors are invading the apparent timelessness of the allegorized moral qualities which come together to form the ideal woman. Thus to paraphrase Kelley again: ‘Operating within an epistemology that is both skeptical and materialist, allegory thus mediates between material, historical particulars and [what are perceived by the satirist to be] transhistorical and metaphysical truths’ (47, my addition in brackets). As she goes on to explain, ‘personification, allegory, and similar figures depend on a degree of generalization or typicality to make their point’ (82-3), in other words to a commonly-held notion about the figures, such as that all would agree, for example, that *modestia* is a good quality whereas *descaro* is not. Underpinning allegorical satire, then, is a paradoxical situation whereby the author reveals, on the one hand, his fundamental assumption that there is a clear, stable, fixed meaning for these terms that will be understood by all while at the same time revealing, through the action of producing the satire, that this is not the case. Similarly there is the presentation of a ‘natural’ way for women to behave, an essential female identity founded on the moral qualities of modesty and virtue and the social relation of subordination to a husband who wears the literal and metaphorical trousers yet the revelation that it is possible for women to act in an ‘unnatural’ way that thereby calls into question the very notion of a gendered nature in the first place.

Kelley provides us with a further insight that may help us to understand what is happening in Clavijo’s text when she describes a difference in the understanding in the thought of Diderot that can be seen in his changing views on the relation between word and image. In his earlier uses, Diderot saw ‘words [as] transparent carriers of meaning’ whereas the view he expressed by 1765 revealed a change in his understanding, ‘that words are arbitrary signs for things’ (90). Perhaps we are seeing something similar revealed through the writings of Clavijo, who uses terms like ‘*modestia*’ and ‘*virtud*’ in ways that suggest they have a clear stable meaning, which in turn is linked to and expressed through a set of acceptable, idealized social behaviors, and yet in so doing also reveals a tension that suggests just such

a shift in understanding as we see in Diderot. It suggests that the area of meaning about how such moral terms are performed is unstable and changing. What appears to be confusion over the 'true' meaning of *moda* reveals itself as a much more widespread and significant confusion over all these key terms: what does it mean in 1755 to act in a modest way, or with *descaro*, or as a woman or as a man?

The essential oppositions that Clavijo sets up between the natural 'female' characteristics of *modestia*, *virtud*, etc. with the 'unnatural' ones of *descaro* and *torpeza*, etc. reveal that these characteristics are not in fact essential but rather performed and socially and culturally defined. This creates an apparent aporia in his text in that, according to a traditional moral understanding of satire, Clavijo can be understood as writing his text in order to bring about a change in behavior that involves a return to the natural ideal, yet this perception of changed behaviors that led to the existence of the very text itself reveals that there is no natural ideal and thereby provides the counter argument to its own arguments simply by its own existence. It is in this context that Griffin's encouragement to look beyond the moral to the many rhetorical features of the satirical text becomes highly significant. Through our understanding of Clavijo's mastery of the complex linguistic games of allegorical satire, we can engage with other readings of his text that reveal to us in turn his ability to engage with the paradox at the heart of the issue through inquiry, provocation and play and show us a man grappling with a world undergoing immense intellectual and social change.

A final aspect of Griffin's rhetorical approach to satire involves seeing 'the satirist as a figure struggling for notice in a particular kind of sociopolitical context' (185). The idea of *El tribunal* as a text as involving a 'rhetoric of display' is particularly pertinent when it comes to thinking about Clavijo's first published text. From an inauspicious entry into the world in 1726 in Lanzarote, 'uno de los lugares más alejados de la cultura de su tiempo' (De la Nuez 35), Clavijo had to make his own way in the world in both physical and social terms. The first step was to move from the Canary Islands in 1745 initially to another outpost of the Spanish Empire in Ceuta, having obtained the post of Oficial de la Secretaría del Ministerio de Marina. Following a move to the Secretaría de la Comandancia General del Campo de San Roque, he finally made it to the Spanish physical and cultural capital Madrid in 1749, having obtained the post of secretary to the Commander himself, don José Vázquez Priego. In 1750, through his friendship with the Duke of Grimaldi, he was transferred to the Secretaría del Despacho Universal de la Guerra. He was forced to leave Madrid once more in 1754 in his role as Ayudante de Guardia Almacén de Artillería de Ceuta, which city he finally left for good the following year as he began a period of extensive travels through Spain and France finally establishing himself back in Madrid in 1761 (Espinosa 19-21). In the context of this personal history, it is not difficult to see *El tribunal*, Clavijo's first known

foray into the world of published literature, as a stall that displays Clavijo's intellectual wares and foregrounds his creative and linguistic talents as a writer. While the similarity of themes and approach between his pamphlet and his later periodical *El pensador* supports the view that he had a moralistic purpose in his writings, his own words from *pensamiento* 46 also indicate that he understood the importance and value of play in satire:

impugna solamente los vicios con una sal, y pimienta tan moderadas, que sazonan, no irritan: assi corrige agradablemente à los hombres de sus flaquezas, preocupaciones, y engaños, y les dà una alta idèa de la providad, y sano juicio: mucho mas si es viva, è ingeniosamente insinuada, moral, instructiva, y con un ayre de chiste, y gracejo, que no degenera en bufonada, y chocarrerìa. (108-9)

His combination of hard work and literary talent enabled him to attract the support of powerful men including the monarchs Charles III and Charles IV, the former making him Director of the Royal Theatres (1770) and Secretary to the Gabinete de Historia Natural (1777) and the latter finally raising him to Director of the Gabinete de Historia Natural in 1798. His life is described as 'ascendente y triunfal' (Trenas 749) and de la Nuez notes how from someone 'nacido y formado en uno de los lugares más alejados de la cultura de su tiempo, Canarias, va a ser uno de los hombres claves más representativos de España dentro de las corrientes de la Ilustración europea' (35).

With *El tribunal de las damas*, we can see Clavijo establishing himself as a satirist with a strong moral purpose, a subtle and provocative engagement with his intellectual and social times, and a powerful imagination, in terms of an ability to crystallize a key aspect that is at heart of eighteenth-century Spanish discourse –the balance of power between sexes– in a single ridiculous yet potent image. An analysis of the intricate language, meanings and purposes of his pamphlet has demonstrated his command of the rhetorical techniques of play, display, provocation and inquiry identified by Griffin as key features of successful satire. It has revealed a young thinker who is very much in touch with his times and sensitive to its rapidly evolving social and intellectual landscape. It has uncovered the complex and subtle ways in which discourses of gender are used in an attempt to discipline men and women and make them docile, in the hope that they will conform to established expectations of gender behavior presented as normal, variations to which are condemned as abnormal (or in the language of the eighteenth century, as irrational and immoral). *El tribunal* demonstrates the ability of the future editor of *El pensador* to maximise the potential of satire not only as a rhetorical skill and a moral art form but as a multifaceted response to complex changing times, ideally suited to capturing the adventures of ideas in the rapidly-changing cultural and intellectual world of eighteenth-century Spain.

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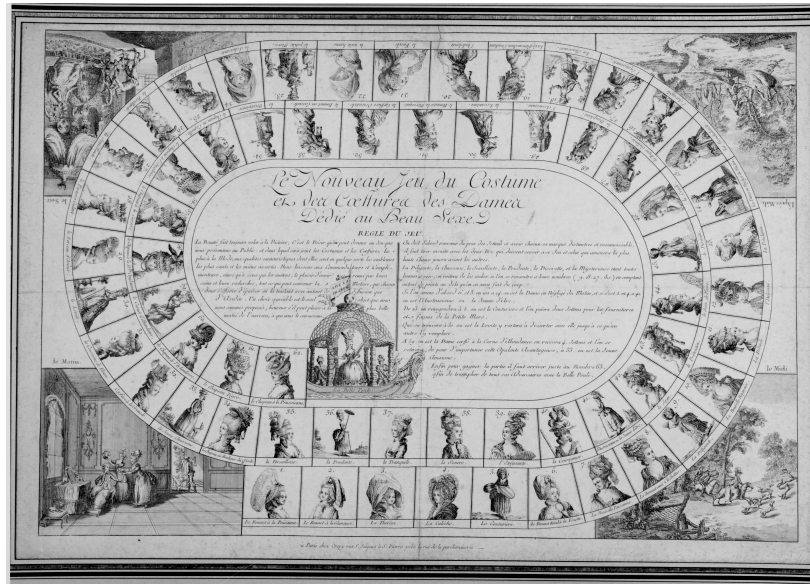
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A French engraving, 1778 or later.

<http://hammondharwoodhouse.wordpress.com/2011/06/17/friday-photo-very-high-hair/>





A French board game from 1778.

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