

## STORIES FROM THE ARCHIVES

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Following the lead of Professor Yvonne Fuentes, the Ibero-American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (IASECS) organized two panels at the 2016 meeting in Pittsburgh of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ASECS). The panels were dedicated to tales and anecdotes about conducting archival research in Spain and Spanish America. From the serious to the hilarious, the stories sought to explore how archives are experienced by historians, art historians, anthropologists, literary scholars, critics, and writers who delve into the long eighteenth century in an effort to understand it better. Each of the authors approaches the task of archival research from a different perspective, and I have asked them to maintain the conversational and personal nature of their remarks in order to convey to the readers of DIECIOCHO the freshness and intimacy of the archival experience. We hope you enjoy reading them.

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### "FINDING BARTOLOMÉ DE MESA TÚPAC YUPANQUI"

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The story I would like to tell is about seeing and wanting to be seen. It begins with a small portrait from around 1790 and ends with a lawsuit. For me this story began in Lima in 1997, it continued ten years later in Seville, and ended in 2011, again in the "City of the Kings". At its center is Bartolomé de Mesa Túpac Yupanqui, a mestizo from Santiago del Cercado de Lima, who was in charge of organizing the indigenous celebrations honoring the proclamation of Charles IV. In this brief paper I will chronicle the "rise and fall" of Mesa. I will describe his desperate and ultimately unsuccessful attempts at fame and recognition as well as the political backstabbing he became a victim of. It is, to a lesser degree, also a story about my own experience, namely the frustrations, rewards and unexpected findings that are part and parcel of pursuing archival work. My main contention is that archival work is a lot about things that go on at the margins of our attention, it is about unconscious observation, it is about

subliminal patterns of recognition and the susceptibility to divergences from such patterns.

My initiation into the archival world began in 1997 as a graduate student when I set out for a six-month trip to Lima to conduct research related to my doctoral dissertation on colonial satire. Ever since I can remember, I had seen my father – a linguistics professor – poring over sixteenth-century manuscripts that he had gathered at different archives in Spain and in Guatemala, and as an undergraduate I had minored in History at the University of Cologne. But I had never received any formal training in paleography and what searching for materials in archives actually entailed, I did not really know. I left Germany, thus, fairly unprepared and only with two pieces of advice from my father. First, he told me that what I needed most was to be patient (he knew, of course, that I was not patient by nature) and, second, he underscored that I had to establish a good relationship with the librarians because they knew their archives best and could point me into the right direction and save me a lot of time. Both remarks proved to be true, and this is the advice that I have passed on to those of my students who embark on archival research since I have become a teacher. However, I have added one more component to this short list, and that is the importance of “chance” -or should I say "serendipity"?

My first stay in Lima was not as fruitful as I had hoped. Ironically, what I mostly found were texts praising, instead of critiquing the colonial authorities, and many of these laudatory texts had actually been written by some of my satirists. Partly because I was puzzled as to how these writers could switch so easily from satire to panegyric, and partly because I did not want to return empty-handed to my advisor in Germany (and to the German Academic Exchange Program which had funded this trip), I ordered copies of these panegyrics. It was, however, only years later that I looked at them again. As I was revising my dissertation to turn it into a book, I decided to read again the panegyric works of Esteban Terralla y Landa, author of *Lima por dentro y por fuera* (1797) arguably one of the most visceral satires written during the colonial period. This is what led me to my current book project on the festivities celebrating the Bourbon Monarchs in Lima. Rereading Terralla's panegyric works drew my attention to Bartolomé de Mesa Túpac Yupanqui. Two of Terralla's texts, *Alegría Universal* (1790) and *El Sol en el Medio Día* (1790) had been sponsored by him, and the latter, a description of the indigenous festivities in honor of Charles IV, not only mentioned Mesa's sponsorship on the title page, but also included a dedicatory letter by Mesa to the Spanish king and two poems in praise of Mesa at the end of the narrative. Maybe this would have sufficed to arouse my interest in Mesa, however, what really caught my attention was Mesa's portrait right at the outset of the volume.

Naturally, I was intrigued by this portrait, particularly since it was most unusual that a volume - dedicated to a king - was preceded by the picture

of one of his subjects. I also was struck by the fact that this engraving was signed by none less than José Vázquez, one of the most famous Peruvian engravers who was particularly well-known for his portraits of the highest political and ecclesiastical authorities. Mesa's picture was hence in most illustrious company. It was on a par with the portraits made by Vázquez of Diego Antonio de Parada (1781), Archbishop of Lima, Viceroy Agustín de Jáuregui (1783), and King Charles III (1769), portraits destined to illustrate their respective panegyrics. Just like these other portraits, Vázquez's picture of Mesa shows a poised, self-assured man, sporting a Spanish uniform, his gaze firmly fixed on the viewer. The escutcheon on the bottom recapitulates with pride Mesa's social position and his financial contribution to the festivities: "Don Bartolomé de Mesa, Teniente de Milicias, Comerciante Almazenero, y Comisario de las funciones de la Nación Indica. Costeó el día suntuoso y aplaudido de Máscara, Loas, y Carros en las Fiestas Reales del Señor Don Carlos IV; en Lima en 8 de Febrero de 1790". Mesa's presentation in this engraving is thus in many respects fully in keeping with Vázquez' portraits of colonial dignitaries. However, what sets Mesa's portrait immediately apart from these other images is that the engraving, though monochromatic, clearly foregrounds the darker tint of Mesa's skin, thereby stressing his affiliation with the indigenous community. I was struck and intrigued by this singularity, however, at the time, I did not pursue the issue any further. Instead, I continued to focus on the reconstruction of the colonial celebrations of the Bourbon kings. In order to better contextualize the official printed descriptions that I had gathered for the celebrations of the Bourbon kings I went to work at the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, and it was there that I stumbled upon Mesa once more.

I was sifting through the correspondence between the viceroys and the Council of the Indies and came across a missive from Viceroy Lemos, dated July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1790, that not only commended Mesa for the role he had played during the festivities, but had also attached to it six petitions filed by Mesa. By then, I had seen quite a few petitions submitted by subjects who were informing the king of their services and were reminding him of the favors that had been promised in the *real cédula* announcing his succession to the throne. Mesa's request, however, was radically different. In contrast to the other petitioners (which included both individuals and institutions), Mesa did not ask for any tangible reward in return, merely that the king be informed of his merits. Moreover, Mesa did not just file one, but six petitions, and that over a short period of time. As it turned out Mesa's first request, submitted only one month after the conclusion of the celebrations, had been reviewed by two officials. Both readily acknowledged the *comisario's* contribution, but one of them, the *fiscal*, also wanted the participation of the Indian Nation recognized, and this response evidently angered Mesa. He proceeded to submit five additional petitions, and in each one of them he made more demands. Four fellow

members of the indigenous community were cited to testify on his behalf, in the fourth petition he even asked the town council of Lima to hand in a report corroborating his accomplishments. Each of the petitions repeated one constant theme, namely that the *fiscal* had “confundido los hechos” and each one of them added more details, “la ninguna cooperación que había tenido la nación indica”, “los muchísimos miles de pesos” that he had spent and the “animales trahidos expresamente del Mar” that were exhibited in the fountain in the main square during the festivities, to name just a few. It then became clear to me that *El Sol en el Medio Día* had been commissioned to Terralla right during the middle of this fight for official recognition of his individual contribution to the festivities; it was a text that had been deliberately written to bolster Mesa’s request. Slowly, a more complex image of the man emerged, an image that was different from the self-confidence that he exuded in his portrait. Although, of course, mediated through the summarizing discourse of the scribe, Meza’s distinctive voice, his growing impatience and anxiety, could be heard loud and clear. This was a man, who was both annoying in his insistence and self-praise, but whose frustration I could also relate to; a man who was not afraid to make demands, but at the same time insecure about the outcome.

My interest in Mesa grew, but still the main focus of my work was on the celebrations of the Bourbon kings. My next archival stint sent me back to the “City of the Kings”, to the Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad de Lima. My plan was to take a closer look at the local negotiations between the town council and the viceroy. More specifically, I wanted to read the books of the town council which were still unavailable in print. The archive, located right in the historical center of Lima, is beautiful, but, alas, not very comfortable to work in. Furthermore, the books of the town council were so large that I had to read them standing, which after two weeks led to severe back pain. I was forced to take frequent breaks, walk around the archive and stretch, thereby having more time to observe my fellow researchers and chat with the librarians. During one of these conversations I brought up the fact that I had seen other visiting scholars read documents that they were taking out of white card-board boxes. I had not been aware of these boxes before and wondered what documents they contained. The librarians handed me a very rudimentary, type-written “catalogue” of the contents of the boxes and I decided to take a look. It seemed like a welcome break from the at times tedious reading of the *libros de cabildo*. Well, these “Cajas”, which is how they are literally listed in the catalogue, proved to be a veritable goldmine. This is not the place to list all the wonderful, unexpected findings I made there. I will just focus on those related to the topic of this paper. In the section entitled “Cajas: Cabildo y Junta Municipal, Borradores” which contained drafts of letters addressed to the viceroy, I found several that made reference to Mesa and that clearly contradicted the outward support of the *cabildo* as manifested in Mesa’s petitions and in the official minutes of the town council. I found out that



behind the scenes the Creole officials had tried to interfere from the very beginning with the *fiesta de los naturales*. Before the actual festivities took place they expressed their mistrust of the upcoming indigenous celebrations and urged the viceroy to intervene. Once the festivities were concluded, the councilmen continued to campaign secretly against Mesa. On December 24, 1790, the town council wrote to the viceroy complaining about *El Sol en el Medio Día*, the bone of contention being Bartolomé de Mesa's portrait. Mesa, the *cabildo* argued, "no es . . . una persona de altura y condecoración que puede presentarse en Retrato a la frente de una Obra pública". This time the *cabildo* succeeded. As a result of its prolonged campaigning, the viceroy ordered to seize all copies of *El Sol en el Medio Día*.

Mesa's story is obviously only a side-product of a project that has been taking me much longer than I care to admit, but let me conclude by saying that after all these years the Bourbon kings, supposedly the protagonists of the many festivities organized in their honor, still remain abstract entities for me; not so, Bartolomé de Mesa Túpac Yupanqui. Royal celebrations are, after all, ephemeral. What eternalizes them, as numerous chroniclers have pointed out, is their written depiction. Bartolomé de Mesa seems to have been very much aware of this. It is his engraved image that we see when we turn the title page of *El Sol en el Medio Día*, and it his framed picture, and not that of Philip V, Ferdinand VI, Charles III or Charles IV, that now decorates my study.



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**"FROM HELL TO HELL: BODILY REGIMES AND  
ARCHIVAL RESEARCH IN MEXICO, SPAIN, THE  
VATICAN, AND FRANCE"**

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Washington College

I started to do archival research in 2007 when I began investigating the first Mexican colonial folk song that was forbidden by official edict of the Spanish Inquisition. The song, "Chuchumbé" (where 'chuchumbé' means penis), was harshly censored by the Inquisition during Spanish rule because it mocked clerical sexuality, indirectly denouncing the double moral standards imposed by the Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> Discovering the files, reading the verses, and establishing the connection between the colonial song and a version of the song which is part of the living musical tradition of *son jarocho*, cemented my interest in tracing humoristic and sexual folksongs both in Mexico and Spain during the Inquisitorial period. This research ultimately led me to investigate forbidden literature in imperial Spain, and more recently, pornographic and/or erotic literature in early modern Europe. My doctoral dissertation was based on the archival research I conducted both in Mexico and Spain when I delved into the politics and poetics of obscenity and censorship in transatlantic Spain. I have recently expanded the scope of my research to include France, Italy, and England, and my current archival research focuses on prostitution, pornography, and literature in eighteenth century Europe. As my research lies at the intersections of race, gender, class, and sexuality, and examines institutional or symbolic ways of regulating men's and women's sexuality and bodies, the concept of bodily regimes has surfaced as a recurrent theme in my work.

In each archive I have visited, I have become aware of a surprising and direct correspondence between the topic of my research and the

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<sup>1</sup> You can find some of the research outcomes on "Chuchumbe" in Elena Deanda, "The Politics of a Colonial Folksong: Male Bonding, Pardos' Chuchumbe, and the Inquisitorial Body." *Transverse* 10 (2010): 15 pages, at [http://groups.chass.utoronto.ca/complitstudents/transverse/transverse/current\\_issue\\_files/The%20Politics%20of%20a%20Colonial%20Folksong.pdf](http://groups.chass.utoronto.ca/complitstudents/transverse/transverse/current_issue_files/The%20Politics%20of%20a%20Colonial%20Folksong.pdf) Elena Deanda, "El chuchumbé te he de soplar: sobre obscenidad, censura y memoria oral en el primer 'son de la tierra' novohispano," *Mester* 36 (2007): 53-71, at <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4342663d>.

places where I conduct this research. As I have been reading about bodily regimes, surveillance, and restrictions, I have found myself ironically submitted to regimes of the body while conducting my scholarly work in the archives. My first encounter with these bodily regimes was in 2007 at the nation's General Archive in Mexico City (AGN), located in the Palace of Lecumberri, an old prison built during the Porfiriato that was infamous for holding most of Mexico 68's political prisoners.<sup>2</sup> Curiously this place was the perfect starting point to do research on body surveillance since it was modelled after Jeremy Bentham's panopticon. The archive-prison is a polygonal body with a radial structure in which any person at the center can see (and thus control) every hall. Fittingly, in this old prison, in hall number four, one can find the nation's inquisitorial archives. As a result, in Lecumberri, there is a seamless congruity between the place, its history, and its documents.

In AGN I experienced my first bodily regime. In this first of many regimes, I was informed that I needed gloves and a mask and that the gloves were to be made of cotton or latex of a special kind that only a store nearby sold. Once I got them and was admitted, I was thoroughly examined: no pens were allowed, only pencils; similarly no notebooks, only the specific number of sheets of paper that were needed. As I read the files, the librarians and the policeman next to me constantly reminded me to refrain from touching the document too much, resting my hand on it, or even breathing too closely to it. One of the most surprising findings in that archive was the discovery that the Mercedarian friar Nicolás Montero, the first person who denounced the "Chuchumbé" and who vehemently sought its prohibition, ended up years later facing charges in the Inquisition for sexual misdemeanor in the confessionary. This discovery showed me my first lesson in archival research: persevere, be methodic, and you will make headway. I later came back to the AGN a number of other times but I reached an impasse in 2009 when I was not able to find key documents on the second folk song forbidden by the Inquisition: the "Jarabe gatuno."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Among the most famous political prisoners sent there after the Tlatelolco's massacre orchestrated by the government of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz on October 2, 1968 were the writers José Revueltas and the activist Heberto Castillo. Other more interesting prisoners were William S. Burroughs, the painter David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Pancho Villa.  
<http://www.agn.gob.mx/menuprincipal/quienesomos/hist.html>

<sup>3</sup> On "Jarabe," see Elena Deanda, "'Maldito' 'Jarabe gatuno:' Poéticas de la censura inquisitorial en la Nueva España," *Vanderbilt e-journal of Luso-Hispanic Studies* 10 (2014): 25-36, at <http://ejournals.library.vanderbilt.edu/index.php/lusohispanic/article/viewFile/4208/2154>.

Spanish archives thus became imperative for my research. In 2009 I went to Madrid ready to be surprised by Spain's National Library (BNE) and the National Historical Archive (AHN). In the latter place, I made another discovery: I found the edict and the theological notes censuring the colonial "Jarabe gatuno." This finding showed me a second lesson: there was and is a transatlantic dialogue between archives, especially in Mexico and Spain. While the AHN was more benign than the AGN with regards to controlling my body, in comparison the BNE was singular. I worked at the BNE from 9am to 9pm, trying to minimize my photocopying by transcribing most of the documents to my laptop. Due to bad circulation in my legs, I incessantly move my limbs, and I need to lift them often. These gestures caught the attention of the librarians who not only promptly told me to stop lifting and crossing my legs but also brought the police in to reinforce their demands. As I was reading essays that aimed to control prostitutes and singers in Spain during the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, I found my legs and feet also being strictly controlled. So controlled in fact that I was forced to ask for a formal letter from my family doctor that could explain my circulation problems in order to be permitted a more flexible policy with regards to my legs.

In 2014, as I expanded my research from imperial Spain to Europe, I was granted the opportunity to work in Vatican City (the Secret Archives and the Vatican Library) and France (France's National Library and the Arsenal Library). I knew that acceptance in the Vatican was hard but I was generously coached by historians who had already worked there and who helped me to craft a letter that would guarantee me acceptance. The generosity of the librarians in Vatican City was unprecedented. In these libraries I found great documents that furthered my knowledge about the Catholic Church and imperial Spain, but moreover, I found humoristic poetic collections, treatises on the Americas with beautiful illustrations, the actual papal correspondence about the Jesuits' controversy in China, and even documents showing an intriguing campaign lead by Puebla's nuns in Mexico to dispute the choice of their confessors. The beauty of the place and the excitement of working there struck me every day as I crossed Piazza San Pietro to go to the library where I would spend my whole day. Nonetheless, the bodily regimen I had already experienced in the previous archives were in place here too, albeit in a different manner. There were no people looking at me, but I was *always* aware of being observed. In the Secret Archives and the Vatican Library, once you are accepted, you are given a card that you must carry at all times. Once you get in the elevator or you go outside to the cafeteria, you have to swipe the card through a reader that informs their surveillance system if you are in, out, up, or down. One day, as I was making multiple phone calls and as a result made multiple exits to the exterior grounds, I found myself worried that the

system may interpret all this restlessness as something suspicious and troublesome.

After Vatican City I ended my summer archival work in Paris, France, where I literally visited the “Hell” (“l’Enfer”), which is the special collection at France’s National Library’s (BNF) with sexual, pornographic, or erotic literature. I did much of my work at “l’Enfer,” although with the increasing digitization in Gallica, the BNF’s online archive, a large number of documents have become inaccessible in their hard copies. As I deepened my research on Sade, his novels, correspondence, diaries, and prison files, I had to move to the Arsenal library, a branch of the BNF, where the Bastille Archives are located. I found myself immediately fighting with the availability of documents since Sade’s Bastille archives are mainly on microfilms which are very difficult to read since most were burnt in the prison’s siege. Time was running out and obtaining the originals became an almost impossible task, until I asked a colleague who also works in the archives to intercede on my behalf with the main librarian. This operation showed me once again that having a network of colleagues who can orient you in each archive is your best asset both before and once you are there. I thus spent my last two weeks living in the nearby *metro Bastille* and reading the Bastille’s actual archives.

As I was frowning at the manuscripts trying to understand old French in an almost burnt document, and I was also deliriously transcribing Sade’s frenetic lists of the foods he ate and the pain that he experienced in his colon, stomach, or eyes, I gradually started to hunch my back and rub my eyes more and more. It was not a surprise then that upon my return to the US, I had to change my eye prescription and found myself with a stiff neck that lasted two months and which was later diagnosed as a symptom of a greater degenerative cervical disk disease. As I focused on Sade’s body, my own body was impacted by my archival research. Once in the USA, my neurologist asked me if I had been lifting heavy weights or doing straining physical work. I confessed that I spent three months working from 8am to 9pm, reading manuscripts and transcribing them to my computer, while giving myself no more than 15 minutes to eat. He told me with a quirky smile that I somehow deserved it for hardly moving at all. Yet, as I remember the many serendipitous and calculated discoveries that I have made during my archival work, I plan to change nothing (well, maybe I will work on better posture). In considering my latest memorable discovery, Sade’s project of writing a ‘philosophical novel’ that would take place in Spain and that may have easily been the *120 Days of Sodom*, I confirmed my choice to work in archives.<sup>4</sup> Reading manuscripts and first editions gives texts and time periods three dimensions. As I get ready to visit the Vatican archives at Trinity College in Dublin and the Private Case

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<sup>4</sup> On Sade, Elena Deanda, “Quixotic Sade: Echoes of Cervantes in *120 Days of Sodom*,” *Studies of Eighteenth Century Culture* 46 (forthcoming).

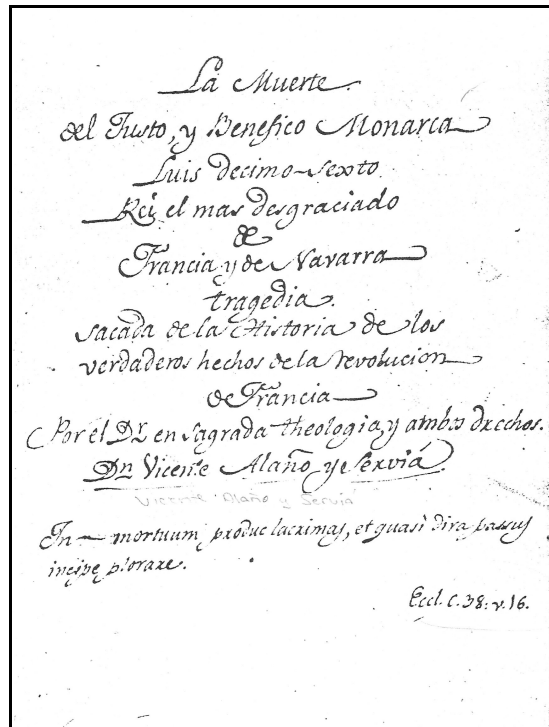
in the British Library, I am excited by the prospect of continuing to work—although always under some sort of bodily regime (and a bodily condition)—in that intriguing “lieu de memoire” that is the archive.

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**"A STORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, LOST  
KEYS, AND THE CALAIX DE SASTRE"**

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My story begins in 2001 when a colleague at Oberlin College sent me information about a play titled *La Muerte del Justo y Benéfico Monarca Luis décimo Sexto Rei el más Desgraciado De Francia y de Navarra tragedia sacada de la Historia de los verdaderos hechos de la revolución de Francia*. It is a manuscript, as stated on the cover page, of a play written by "el doctor en Sagrada theología y ambos derechos, Don Vicente Alaño y Serviá" [Figure 1], however it includes no date or place.



Based on the title and the topic, the death of the Fair and unfortunate Louis XVI, my first hypothesis was that it was penned by a conservative writer. My second supposition was that the author had to be a conservative writer who wrote more than likely around the time of the return of the absolutist king Fernando 7<sup>th</sup> in 1823, or later. I was wrong on both.

Since the play does not appear in any drama catalogue, in any library catalogue, in any list of plays published or performed, and no reference to this play and/or the playwright appears in any book, I was advised to first look in the archives of institutions that offered those degrees and in their *libros de grado*. Before doing that, however, I needed to establish a time frame. Given that the play addresses the events that occurred at a specific time, that is, the days and months before the regicide of Louis XVI on January 21, 1793, I set a parameter of approximately 50 years before the events and 50 years after, in other words between 1750 and 1850. I was not alone doing this detective work: archivists and librarians in the universities of Salamanca and Seville helped by searching in their archives. However, they found no evidence that Vicente or any Alaño y Serviá had studied there. The summer of 2005 I was able to spend three months in Madrid, Alcalá de Henares and Barcelona pursuing my own investigations.

I did not find Vicente in Madrid or Alcalá de Henares, but I discovered that students have not changed much. You see, on the left margin of the pages recording the particulars of a doctoral defense, there were occasional notes about students who wished to contest a grade. From Madrid I went to Barcelona on the hunch that since Alaño y Serviá were Catalan surnames I might find something or someone related there, assuming of course these were his given names and not a pen name. Since the University of Barcelona and all six universities in Cataluña were shut in 1714 as a result of having supported the defeated side during the War of Succession, all records between 1714 and 1842 are in what is called the *Fondo Cervera*. Cervera was at the time a small city which contrary to most of Cataluña had supported the Bourbon contender, the future Felipe V, during the Spanish war of succession. I found no records of “our student” but I did find records of people with similar surnames. I worked with the *Fondo Cervera* in the mornings and spent my afternoons in the *Biblioteca de Cataluña* reading the *Diario de Barcelona* for any news regarding the French revolution.

One afternoon, and by pure chance, I came across a notice in the lost and found section of the *Diario de Barcelona* of August 5, 1794 [Figure 2].

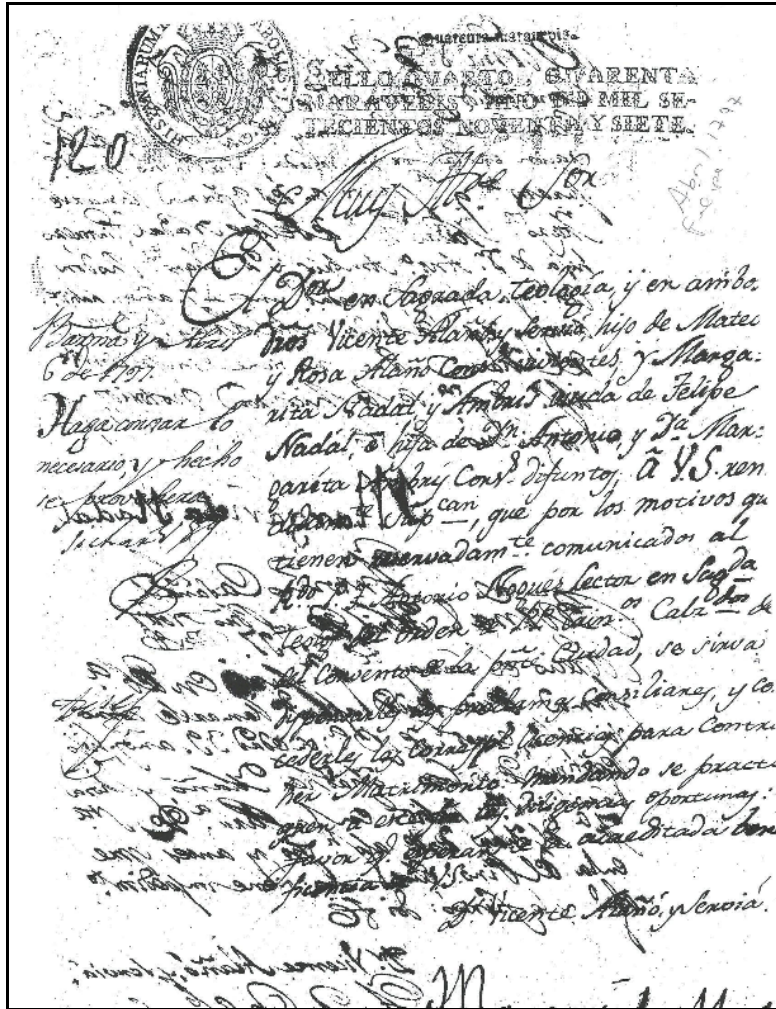
***El 31 de julio se perdieron dos llaves medianas atadas con un retazo de grana. El que las hubiese hallado, se servirá entregarlas en casa de Mateo Alaño, sastre, que vive en frente a la lotería de la Boquería, en donde se dará una gratificación.***

**August 5, 1794  
Diario de Barcelona  
lost and found section**

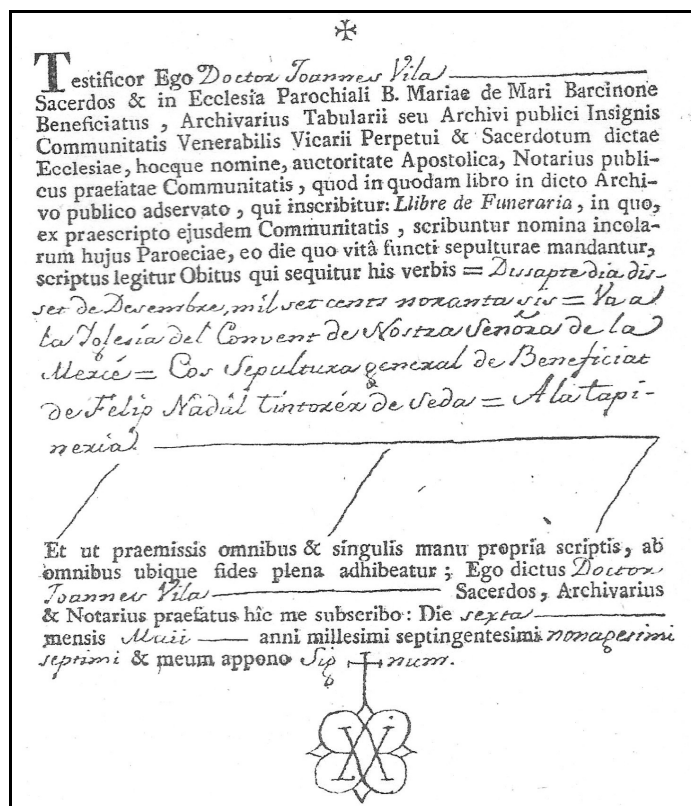
A set of keys were lost on July 30, 1794. Please return to Mateo Alaño, tailor, who lives in front of the lottery of the Boqueria. Notice found in the *Diario de Barcelona* of August 5, 1794. Biblioteca de Catalunya

That was the first of my "aha!" moments: I knew there was a person with the exact surname in Barcelona at the exact time of the events narrated in the play. Because Matheo Alaño, the guy who lost the keys, was a tailor, I was told by the librarians at the *Biblioteca de Catalunya* to go the *Arxiu de la Ciutat* (the City Archive) where I would find information on guilds, craftsmen and businesses in the cadastre (*el catastro*). The archivists at the *Arxiu* suggested I also go to the diocese of Barcelona in search of birth, marriage, or death records. At the diocese I narrowed the years to 1789-1805. I hit the jackpot and had my second aha moment at the diocese when I found a marriage license dated April 1797 between a Vicente Alaño y Serviá and a Margarita Nadal. In the license we see the groom's name, his father's name, the bride's name, and on the second page we can see the name of her late husband [Figures 3 and 4].

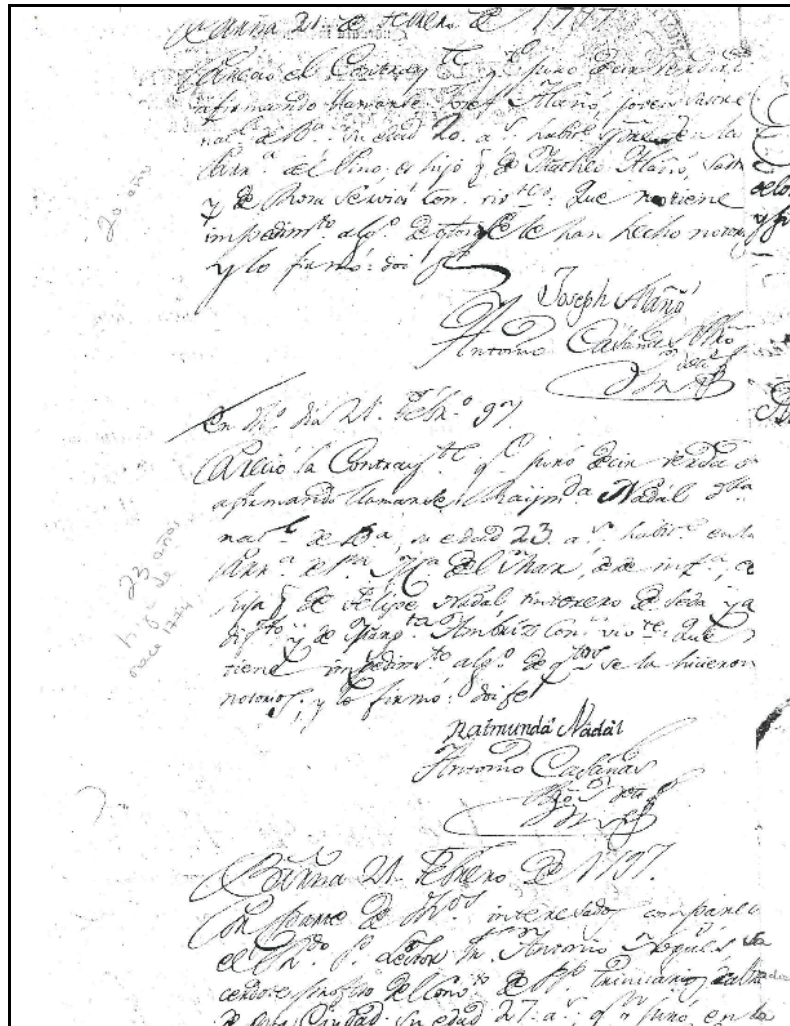








In addition to Vicente's marriage certificate and information, I located similar documentation for Joseph Alaño, son of Matheo, and a tailor like his father. His bride was a young 23 year old woman named Raymunda Nadal, whose mother was ..... yep, you guessed it, Margarita [Figure 6].

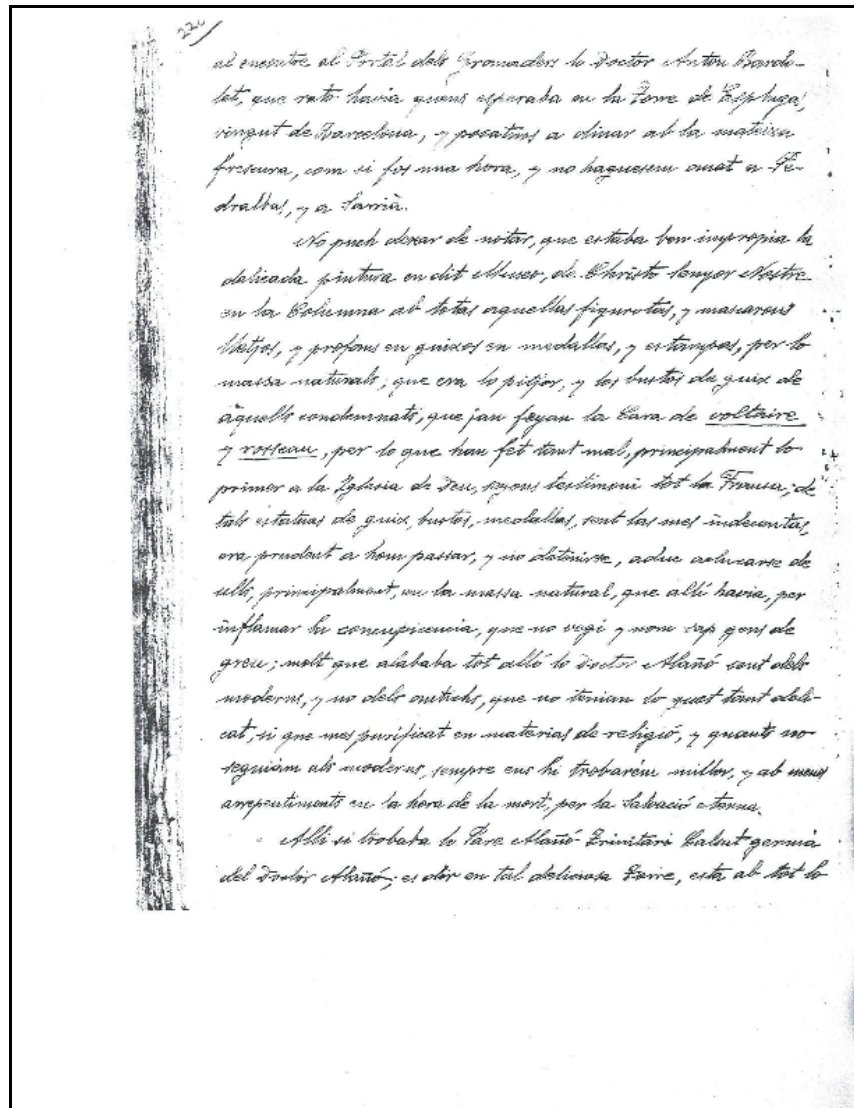


So we have two brothers, Vicente and Joseph, marrying mother and daughter, respectively.

It was at the diocese where I first heard of the *Calaix de Sastre*, a diary kept by Rafel d'Amat i de Cortada, baró de Maldà, between 1769 and 1816. It is a combination of Who is Who and the National Enquirer, as well as a day-by-day account of the performances, recitals and concerts that took place in Barcelona and nearby towns. Again, by pure chance and luck I read that on October 23, 1801 the baró and some friends decided to go outside Barcelona to visit certain prominent friends at their summer homes. The entry for October 23, 1801 included the visit to Torre Nadal and el doctor Alanyo. The house was clearly spectacular and to speak about each room would take too long. I will only repeat part of what the



baró had to say: "it is one of the finest and most entertaining homes in Sarriá, they have a theatre, they have many paintings, BUT I could not help notice the impropriety of having a painting of our Lord Jesus among the statues, medallions and busts of masons and heretics such as Voltaire and Rousseau for they have done so much harm to the church ... clearly Doctor Alanyo is one of the modern people... [Figure 7].



Here was the uncontroversial and indisputable evidence that I had finally found my man: a man of good taste and a modern man.

Another visit to Barcelona years later, allowed me to spend time with the archivists in the *Real Academia de Buenas Letras* in Barcelona. I assumed that a man like Vicente would have been a member of that society of learned men. Speaking with them I found out that the current president of the academy is Pere Molas Ribalta a historian specialized in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and author of *Los Gremios de Barcelona del Siglo XVIII* (1970). We uncovered no evidence that Vicente had been a member of the society, but we did find an article written by Molas Ribalta in which he mentioned both the Alaño and the Nadal names, however this time it was not in reference to the bride and groom, but to his father, Matheo, and her late husband, Felipe. It seems they might have been acquainted since they both served as city councilmen (*diputados*) [Figure 8].

DIPUTATS I SÍNDICS A L'AJUNTAMENT FORPÒNIC DE BARCELONA (1765-1838)

TAULA 1 (Continuació)  
Eleccions de diputats del consell i síndics personers de Barcelona  
(1766-1808)

Data	Presidents	Diputats del consell	Síndics personers
13-5-1783	Fulgencio A. Molina (alcalde mayor)	Francesc Morer (apotecari) <sup>63</sup> Pau Rovira <sup>64</sup>	Antoni Juglà (doctor en dret)
12-5-1781	José Javier Gandara (alcalde mayor)	Joan Cabrisas Mateu Alanyo	Manuel Bruguera (doctor en dret) <sup>65</sup>
8-5-1782	José Javier Gandara (alcalde mayor)	Ferran Peral (sastre) Francesc Bransí (passamaner)	Antoni de Meca i Caçador (marquès de Ciutadilla) <sup>66</sup>
14-5-1783	José Javier Gandara (alcalde mayor)	Manuel Berenguer (velluter) Esteve Martí	Vicenç Rovira (doctor en dret)
8-5-1784	Andrés de Ciria (alcalde mayor)	Josep Albareda (guanter) Dionís Miró (sastre)	Antoni Lafont (doctor en dret)
8-5-1785	Andrés de Ciria (alcalde mayor)	Silvestre Satorrés (sabatier) Felip Nadal (fincorer)	Francesc Feubella (doctor en dret)
13-5-1786	Pedro C. Saravia (alcalde mayor)	Francesc Morer (apotecari) Manuel Clarà (perxer)	Josep Riera (doctor en dret) <sup>67</sup>
10-5-1787	Pedro C. Saravia (alcalde mayor)	Manuel Berenguer (velluter) Agustí Puig (doctor en dret)	Joan Cerdà (doctor en dret i advocat)
7-5-1788	Andrés de Ciria (alcalde mayor)	Raimon Molinés (sastre) Joan Albareda (velluter) <sup>68</sup>	Francesc Genecas (doctor en dret)
8-5-1789	Gaspard Jover i Terés (alcalde mayor)	Miquel Paludàries (doctor en dret) Josep Costa (argentar)	Marià Viquer (doctor en dret i advocat)

63. Fou suspès.  
64. Fou suspès.  
65. En morir Manuel Bruguera fou substituït per Bartolomeu Amat, doctor en dret.  
66. Remonà el març de Ciutadilla i el substituí Pau Serà, doctor en dret.  
67. Josep Riera fou substituït per Francesc Oliver, doctor en dret.  
68. Joan Albareda fou substituït per Pau Rovira, sociolater.

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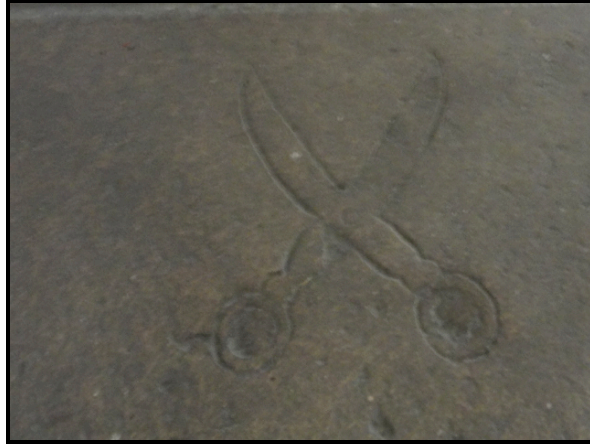
Among the records in the *Arxiu de la Ciutat* there were city ledgers showing how much *diputado* Alanyo was paid in that capacity [Figure 9].

Libram <sup>to</sup> de Sala y las pensiones de Censos y censales y alim <sup>to</sup> de la casa Libram <sup>to</sup> total	Auepentidas	84175188.266. 287.
Conuento de Dn. el Alcaide me de Propien al Conueno de la	Aquepentidas	101.
Concesion de	Admon	de Coanes 40582792.106
7 <sup>a</sup> casa Sala Civil de la Real	Agua	Dn. Lamen y Dn. Bue naventura Sans. 106.
Sobre la Concesion de	Audencia	comotivo de la Com petencia con el tri bunal de la Inquisi cion en punto de la obra de la casa de Gabriel Colom. 119.
Revolta de Souza para de Diputades del Co. y Matheo	Agua	al Sr. Marques de Pu extomueso y Dn. Ignacio de Dou. 138.
Sobre el p <sup>o</sup> de la p <sup>o</sup> de Diputades del Co. y Matheo	Apremios	cominados de Jacinto Massana por lo que venido en calidad de Talla. 149 163.
Sobre el p <sup>o</sup> de la p <sup>o</sup> de Diputades del Co. y Matheo	Alano	162.163.
Sobre la composi <sup>o</sup> que se propone para de Juan Salgado. 57 y subcomp. de	Alos	170.171.172.186.
Informe al Reuero de Almones	Axiendo	de Coanes de hoga de un punto pendien te en Justicia. 173.
Informe de la solicitud de Magd. y Juan Gu. ma de la unlogia de in dustria	Albaniles	que se com <sup>o</sup> por de la Ma estas por el riuon de Aprendices. 182.
Libram <sup>to</sup> de la Sala y conuentos de	Almanagues	Calendarios y Pro nosticos. 182.
	Aquepentidas	por la fiesta de Sta Maddalena. 189.

That has led me to look into the extra-literary function and role of people like Vicente's father, Matheo, a tailor, or his wife's late husband, Felipe, a silk dyer.

I also visited the parish church of Santa Maria del Mar where so many prominent craftsmen and guild members lived and were buried. To my surprise I found many tombstones inside the church which clearly indicate

the guild or trade of the parishioners who chose to be buried there. Some are evident [Figure 10];



others are still a mystery [Figure 11].



What does all this reveal? First and foremost, networking and collaborative efforts are priceless. Second, trust your instinct. Third, be open to where the thread might take you, and finally, don't despair.



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**"SEXTING IN THE ARCHIVES: EROTIC SOCIABILITY  
AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EPISTOLARY  
COLLECTIONS"**

HAZEL GOLD  
Emory University

Some scholarly discoveries are epic in nature and immediately revolutionize prevailing interpretations of literary and cultural history; others represent discoveries on a smaller scale, moving the needle incrementally towards a fuller understanding of the texts we study and their relevant contexts. For every newly uncovered trove of writers' correspondence or unearthing of a previously unknown work by an author of renown there are no doubt countless, more modest encounters with archival materials. These beckon, nonetheless, with the promise of helping scholars fill in the blank spaces in complex sociocultural panoramas like those of the long Iberian eighteenth century, if only we have the patience to seek them out.

Of the many moments of archival revelation I have experienced the one I would like to share here was the result of equal measures of sweat equity and serendipity. It occurred in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid one particularly torrid summer while I was conducting research for a book on epistolary and postal poetics and politics. Having previously determined that the genealogy I was seeking to trace needed to begin in the eighteenth century—when the Bourbon dynasty, under Felipe V, reclaimed from the Tassis family their monopoly of the postal service and placed Correos directly under State control—I dedicated several research trips to examining relevant Enlightenment-era volumes. These included published collections of letters, usually of prominent Spanish statesmen or members of the clergy, where I was looking for commentary in an editor's preface or in the letters themselves about the socioliterary significance of epistolary exchanges, as well as treatises on rhetoric, which invariably included sections dedicated to the letter genre and the conventions of letter writing as they had evolved from the medieval *ars dictaminis*. My research also included letter formularies, which multiplied in the long eighteenth century under such titles as *Nuevo estilo y formulario de escribir cartas missivas y responder a ellas . . . y las cortesías que se han de guardar . . . y con qué personas* (Ginés Juan Portillo y Soto, 5th printing, 1733) and *Fuentes de la elegancia en tres tratados: sintaxis elegante; metrología o método claro, para saber brevemente todo género de versos latinos; epistolopeia, o modo fácil de escribir cartas* (Francisco Guerra, 1782). I saw how the proliferation of these books betokened the changing economic and political structures of the Spanish

Enlightenment; they responded directly to the need for guidance on the subject of politesse and the proper forms of address and register to use during a period of improving national and local communications when education, even for the elites, was still a scarce commodity and the acquisition of symbolic social capital was crucial. In these volumes rhetoric and etiquette were drawn together in the tightest of embraces.

During earlier dives into the archives I had examined Gregorio Mayans y Siscar's *Retórica* (1752) and the letters he collected in his *Cartas morales, militares, civiles y literarias* (1734); I had also reviewed Antonio Marqués y Espejo's *Retórica epistolar, o arte nuevo de escribir todo género de cartas misivas y familiares* (1803). Next on my reading list was José Valbuena y Pérez's *Arte nuevo de enseñar niños, y vasallos a leer, escribir y contar; las Reglas de Gramática y Orthografía castellana, precisas para escribir correctamente; y formulario de Cartas con los correspondientes tratamientos* (1791). In this latter work, in a section dedicated to "what must be observed to become instructed in the method and style of writing letters ("De lo que se debe observar para instruirse en el método, y estilo de escribir cartas"), I jotted down the following passage, which exactly mirrored what I had previously found in so many of these types of works:

Ninguno hay, que aunque tenga un talento nada vulgar, y algo superior al común, y regular, esté esento de poner atención a las cartas que debe escribir, cuidando de que vayan acompañadas de las circunstancias que las corresponden . . . La política, el interés, la amistad, la obligación, la urbanidad, y el amor son los vínculos, o lazos de la sociedad: tienen infinitas circunstancias, y por consiguiente son muchos los diferentes objetos que se han de tener a la vista. De esta misma diferencia de pensamientos nacen todos los asuntos que puedan escribirse en todo género de cartas.... (234-235)

[No person, even someone who may possess a not uncommon talent that is superior to the ordinary, is exempt from paying attention to the letters he must write, taking care that they are accompanied by the circumstances they correspond to . . . Politics, interest, friendship, obligation, urbanity, and love are the links or ties of society: they have infinite circumstances and, therefore, the different objects letters must keep in view are many. All the topics that can be written about in every genre of letters are born of this same difference of thoughts...]

Valbuena's observation on epistolary variety was reflected in the multiplicity of model letters and styles that readers could find in these formularies, always accompanied by the caveat that the formality and personal reserve characteristic of public letters that circulated at large are out of place in familiar letters that remain in the private sphere. As Juan Andrés explained it in the section dealing with "Eloquencia epistolar" in his *Origen, progresos y estado actual de toda la literatura* (vol. 5, 1789), familiar

letters should avoid affectation and panegyric, striving instead for an “espontánea fluidez,” a “natural pausa y noble gravedad.” So I knew what to expect—or thought I did—when I set about reading the sample letters supplied by eighteenth-century *preceptistas* and rhetoricians. The categories of *cartas mensajeras* were indeed replicated from one manual to the next: letters for birthdays and saint’s days; Christmas and New Year’s greetings; congratulatory letters on marriages and births; letters of thanks; letters of condolence; love letters; letters dealing with commerce or employment; letters that petitioned for some favor or that shared news of recent events.

I dutifully plowed through countless *formularios* and their rote inventories of sample letters for all occasions. The cumulative effect became specular, like reading a single volume infinitely refracted. The reading was repetitious, the model letters tedious, the afternoon in the Sala de Raros was sweltering, and the stub of my pencil as I sharpened it over and over grew smaller and smaller. That’s when I made my discovery. In an otherwise anodyne *secretario*—that is to say, a volume that up to that point had struck me as analgesic or mindnumbingly ordinary—I chanced on a previously unseen epistolary category. It was a letter from a male correspondent to his friend (also male), congratulating the latter on his full recovery from “una enfermedad de Venus,” the only such prototype of a *carta de amistad* I’ve ever encountered.

The concept of eighteenth-century sociability—more precisely, erotic sociability—immediately sprang to life in this single text. Here was a document that exemplified how two men, separated by distance and thus sustaining an absent conversation via the epistolary medium (*absentium amicorum quasi mutuus sermo*, as Erasmus wrote in his *De conscribendis epistolis*), could privately share a discussion of the moral and physical consequences that came of the free exercise of sexual congress. Offering no further narrative elaboration, it was presented as a sample that might be copied or adapted as needed by the user, thus making the letter serviceable in a multitude of possible scenarios. I could not help but speculate in what circumstances such a letter might have been duplicated and sent. Were we dealing with gonorrhea, syphilis, or some other sexually transmitted disease? (If indeed a case of *el mal gálico* or “the French disease,” as syphilis was often referred to in the Spanish eighteenth century, then the letter’s congratulations might well have been premature; the disease was less likely to have been successfully combated than to have advanced to an asymptomatic latent phase). Had the letter’s recipient contracted his illness through intercourse with his wife or lover or was it the result of having patronized a female prostitute? Or might it have been acquired through a male partner? Beginning in the 1980s, scholars including Iris Zavala and Guillermo Carnero began documenting the “cara oculta” or “cara oscura” of the Spanish Enlightenment, referring to the transgressive discourses—especially of sexuality and the body—that circulated throughout the Iberian Peninsula in the shadow of normative treatises on

reason and Catholic morality. Here, apparently, was concrete textual evidence of the heterogeneity and waywardness of those embodied discourses. Similarly, this text offered a window onto questions of public health in the Siglo de las Luces. How widespread were venereal diseases in the eighteenth century that they merited a model congratulatory letter for those who had ostensibly been cured of them? My fortuitous archival encounter with this text unexpectedly conjured an entire literary, sexual, and medical universe in a single *carta*. That sultry summer afternoon spent in Raros turned out to be 'hot' in more than ways than one.

The lessons to be learned are fairly obvious. When doing archival research, go with a well-mapped plan but also be flexible enough to accommodate detours. Pack your patience, as locating and then sifting through texts may take considerable persistence, and be prepared for disappointment when the hunch you've been chasing fails to pan out, leading only to dead ends—or a rusty pair of scissors and a hole in the newspaper at the exact spot where the article you'd been expecting to consult should have been, as once happened to me at the Hemeroteca Municipal in Madrid. Finally, while there's every reason to take advantage of the increasing number of digitized resources that libraries are placing online, bear in mind that the *frisson* of discovery is often best experienced on site in the archive, where the unrelenting July heat is, if you're lucky, outstripped by the ardor fanning the scholarly pursuit of new knowledge and the lusty satisfactions your searches may deliver.

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### **"THE LITERARY SCHOLAR IN THE HISTORIC ARCHIVE"**

ANA HONTANILLA

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My interest in the Enlightenment's effects on people's lives—and in how people shaped the Enlightenment—has brought me again and again to the archives in Seville, Madrid, Simancas (Spain), and in Havana (Cuba). These sites contain a wealth of historical material documenting the implementation of the Bourbon Reforms. For several reasons, those documents archived under the *Real Audiencia* of Santo Domingo (High Court of Justice), which, held jurisdiction over Cuba, today's Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and after 1795, Louisiana and Florida, soon became the core focus of my investigation. First, this court was instrumental in regulating the treatment of slaves and the legal status of free blacks in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Second, it engaged with the transformative ideas and events brought about by the Haitian Revolution.

Third, it remained in operation in Cuba during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a time of transition toward economic and political liberalism. Despite its historical importance, the *Real Audiencia* remains understudied.

Reading the *legajos* (dockets) that documented this tribunal's activities was fascinating. My imagination transported me from the archive's reading room to the *escribanía de cámara* (High Court chambers). I imagined myself seated next to the scribe, looking over his shoulder, engrossed in his writing. Long-gone court officials with names like Palomino and Ximenez signed these documents with quill pens. African slaves and their descendants made legal claims that leave traces of these voices in the ink at my fingertips. Reading these documents on my own was as exciting as sharing my findings over *tapas* with colleagues who were also digging through the archives. Through these conversations with fellow researchers, I learned that I was something of an anomaly, one of the few scholars in the archive not trained as a historian. Nor did I travel to the archive to investigate the vicissitudes of a specific literary text. So my fellow researchers in Seville and Havana repeatedly asked me: "What are you finding of interest? How do you read and analyze these materials? What do these texts reveal from a literary point of view?" They were not necessarily skeptical, but curious.

As my research progressed I began to send out articles for possible publication, it was then that I realized that my audience had changed. I was no longer writing for a community of literary scholars, but rather for historians interested in the history of empire, slavery, and race. In the feedback I received, some questioned the limited empirical base that supported my argument; others suggested the need to study the archive with attention to local dynamics of power, economic production, and demography; they reminded me that institutional arrangements do not render local social and economic conditions meaningless. While I did not intend to ignore the material conditions of existence, I was not interested in uncovering a forgotten element in the economic and social processes that would throw new light on causes, effects and facts. It became clear that there existed a gap between their reading and my writing.

As I responded to their feedback, one of my challenges was, and continues to be, the need to justify and explain my critical approach to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century colonial archive. The following paper offers some reflections related to my path in search for theoretical frames that help me explain my use of the archive. For this reason, I turned to the work of Hayden White and Dominick La Capra, whose approach to literary analysis has expanded the limits of cultural history and opened the discipline of history to alternative narrative forms. These critics understand the writing of history as a literary task. It is not the mere disinterested recording of facts and events; rather, it is the product of countless literary choices on the part of its creative chroniclers. These views allowed me to see how carrying out imperial policies, such as the royal decree on the treatment of slaves, was a

performance that involved multiple actors: The *regente* (chief justice) at the *Real Audiencia* of Santo Domingo was a creative director displaying, exercising, and negotiating the power relations between the king, masters and their slaves. Court officials and local populations also embraced their corresponding positions of enunciation. Likewise, narrating the activities performed by the *Real Audiencia* was a literary task. The chief justice was a persuasive narrator invested in convincing his readers in Madrid that colonial administrators properly represented the king's authority and diligently defended his interests. Local populations emerged as the happy beneficiaries of such diligence. I quickly realized that I was fascinated analyzing the narratives that narrated the multiple stories unfolding in the territories under the *Real Audiencia* of Santo Domingo.

Continuing with my search for theories that would help me shape my approach, I also turned to the writings of Foucault, Derrida and to the fields of Subaltern and Postcolonial Studies. For Foucault, the archive refers to discourses that construct subjective positions through rules of formation and modes of enunciation. Archive, from his perspective, is not just the whole mass of texts that belong to a single discursive [legal] formation; it also includes the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events (128-130).

Derrida, for his part, points out that the word *archive* refers not only to a site for preservation of historical records but also to the library, the archive, and the museum. His most valuable contribution is to highlight that history and memory are shaped by methods of classification, which organized information in the archive (16-17). Furthermore, Derrida conceives the scholarly quest to discover the "true voice of the people" as a fever that illuminates the constraints of inscription "of the unique *instant* where they [the pressure and the trace] are not yet distinguished the one from the other" (99). Derrida's "fever" helps us understand that the choices the archivist made, constrained by the writer's contemporary societal demands, obscures at the same time that it reveals the voices of the governed.

Subaltern Studies propose that the archive is a site saturated by power, containing a dense but uneven body of knowledge scarred by cultural struggles and violence. For Gayatri Spivak, the archive cannot deliver subaltern (lower-status) voices from the past, as there is no discursive space from which the subaltern could formulate an utterance (24-8). Walter D. Mignolo, a key figure of Postcolonial Latin-American Studies, has explored how colonial power makes itself invisible in official state discourses while organizing colonial difference. He has also analyzed the voice of the subaltern or "the responses from the colonial difference to the programmed coercion that the coloniality of power exercises" (28). Spivak says subalterns are invisible, while Mignolo says, by contrast, that power is invisible. These contradictory but interesting ideas inform my approach by guiding my attention to the rhetorical oscillations of power.

Control mechanisms move away from manifest coercions and violent interventions, opening a space for the subaltern to speak. I responded to, “what are you finding of interest in Seville?” by saying that my interest centered on the struggles surrounding Afro-Latino speech acts in response to colonial power.

Then my interlocutor would invariably ask, “What is the literary nature of such struggle? How is that a literary rather than historical task?” In search for analytic models, I turned to scholars who have explored the archive as a site for story telling. Two models emerged. Twentieth-century Spanish American literary scholars such as Juan Carlos González Espitia and Roberto González Echevarría have explored the archive as a theme embedded in the Latin American narrative. For González Echevarría, narratives of conquest included 16<sup>th</sup>-century legal discourses, while 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century narratives included the scientific and anthropological discourses, respectively. In dialogue with Doris Sommer, González Espitia proposes that narratives that took sexual sterility as their subject must supplement 19<sup>th</sup>-century foundational fictions that incarnated romantic political ideas. These scholars have demonstrated that when the 20<sup>th</sup>-century Latin American novel returns to its origins it does so through the figure of the archive, the legal repository of knowledge and power from which it springs. While this pioneer work, helped me understand the role of history and myth and fiction writing, I decided to do the opposite. I became more interested in the model that examines the narratives in the archive.

In *Fiction in the Archive*, Natalie Zemon Davis, historian of early modern France, analyzed the role of narrative and storytelling in obtaining royal mercy in the face of a potential death sentence. In 16<sup>th</sup>-century France, hundreds of people told stories of domestic violence to seek royal pardon: they accounted for a motive to kill; they made sense of their experiences of rage and infidelity. Their stories varied according to the teller and the listener, but they connected to wider paradigms of storytelling, description, explanation, and judging. Rolena Adorno has analyzed how 16<sup>th</sup>-century narratives of conquest exemplify the triumph of narrative authority over historical authority. Adorno has observed that the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Quechua nobleman Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala rewrote the history of the Spanish conquest to sustain his own claim to a political position. These modes of inquiry have helped me focus on Afro-Latinos' narratives and their strategies in creating an authorial voice, for the purposes of re-defining their social position, history and identity.

This approach would not render the voice of the subaltern with transparency. In *Proceed With Caution, When Engaged by Minority Writing in the Americas*, Doris Sommer has warned scholars not to assume they can fully account for the Other. Yet caution does not preclude finding the veiled voice of the subaltern: specifically Afro Latinos' reaction to the Bourbon Reforms can indeed be found in the archives. For example, historians of

slavery, such as Alejandro de la Fuente and Bianca Premo, have documented the role of slaves' claims in court in changing the law. Literary scholar Jose Ramon Jouve-Martín has shown that African slaves and their descendants used writing in order to negotiate social position, history and identity in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Peru. Storytelling in the historical archive underscores the inseparability of history and narrative, which opens a space for literary scholars to explore the archive as the site where narratives of power and knowledge are created and possibly contested through narratives of resistance.

Centered on narrative and story telling allow me as a literary scholar to reclaim the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish archive as a legitimate object of literary study. That archive has yielded many texts of interest: the proceedings that led to the writing of the *Código negro carolino* (Black Code) in 1784; the expeditions to remote *palenques* for the resettlement of runaway slaves; the dramatic hunt for a serial killer who terrorized the population of Spanish Santo Domingo between 1790-1795. These highly literary, indeed gripping narratives reveal the struggles and the violence that surrounded Afro-Latino lives. In addition, *legajos* filed under the *Real Audiencia* of Santo Domingo contain judicial resolutions that illustrate how slaves sought legal protection from cruel and abusive masters. Finally, the archive narrates the struggles endured by those of African descent. For instance, a soldier argued for changing the racial military hierarchies of 1770s Cuba; an Afro-descended priest explained his ancestors' contribution to Santo Domingo's economic development in a 1785 book published in Madrid; former slave Georges Biassou, the insurgent who claimed to be the first to raise arms against plantation owners in French *Saint-Domingue*, promised in 1793 to give his last drop of blood to the Spanish monarch, while demanding military distinctions and power over his soldiers.

As a literary scholar, I occupy a privileged position that permits me to approach the archive in search of narratives that may offer a glimpse into Afro-Latinos' strategies in creating an authorial voice, for the purposes of re-defining their social position, history and identity at a time of intense institutional reforms. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, these narratives are in dialogue with the new laws of enunciation: the policing practices and control mechanism of the late Bourbons' State.

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## **"EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WOMEN'S LIVES IN THE ARCHIVES"**

CATHERINE JAFFE  
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Researching the life of the *ilustrada* María Lorenza de los Ríos y Loyo, marquesa de Fuerte-Híjar (1761-1821), in Spanish archives with the historian Elisa Martín-Valdepeñas Yagüe has made me aware of the importance of conducting primary research to verify biographical data about eighteenth-century women. Fitting together different facts about her life has been like working a puzzle, and I have learned that there are certain pieces that may forever remain hidden. Archival research has also shown me that different people read documents—even objective, historical records—in different ways. While historians had already studied records of the lives of María Lorenza de los Ríos's two husbands, they did not focus on her life as a tale worth telling in its own right, and so the same records can yield different stories. "Tirando, tirando del hilo" as Elisa tells me, is how we unravel the mystery of a woman's life.

María Lorenza de los Ríos was born into a prosperous commercial family in Cádiz in 1761 and was orphaned when she was five years old. When she was a wealthy twelve year old heiress, she married a distant cousin twenty-seven years her senior, Luis de los Ríos. Her first husband's extensive unpublished correspondence with his mother, oldest brother and sister-in-law between 1769-1786, which we studied in the well-ordered Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cantabria in Santander, revealed that the young bride suffered two miscarriages before the age of sixteen. Luis de los Ríos died when she was twenty-five and she quickly remarried. She later joined the *Junta de Damas* in Madrid, purchased the title of Marqués de Fuerte-Híjar for her second husband, and joined intellectual and cultural circles in Madrid (Jaffe and Martín-Valdepeñas, "Sociabilidad").

The letters in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cantabria reveal a great deal about the marquesa de Fuerte-Híjar's early marriage and what it meant to the couple, to their families, and to their relationship to society. In his weekly missives to his mother, Luis de los Ríos alternately reveals

and obscures his hopes and anxieties regarding his marriage to his twelve year old cousin, showing his sensitivity to its effect on his professional career, the resentment of his young bride's remaining family, his desire for an heir, and his management of her inheritance.

Archival work has proved that life and literary works are intertwined. For example, we recently discovered a possible motive for the story that forms the background of Fuerte-Híjar's play *El Eugenio*, most likely written around 1800-1803 (Jaffe and Martín-Valdepeñas, "Gender, Translation"). A personal experience may have led Fuerte-Híjar to borrow plot elements from Beaumarchais's play *L'Eugénie* to rework in her own play. In her testament of 1812, found in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, the marquesa names a "niece," whose origins are mysterious, as her sole heir. In *El Eugenio*, the protagonist cannot marry the woman he loves because he does not know who his parents were. Finally, he discovers that his parents were married clandestinely due to family enmities, and that when he was born his maternal grandfather sent him away to be raised secretly by a servant. His mother died soon after and his father, stymied by the anger and intransigence of Eugenio's grandfather, remained ignorant of his son's whereabouts. Although the play has a happy ending, in real life the outcome was not as felicitous. María Lorenza de los Ríos explains in her testament that her "niece" is really an illegitimate orphan who was taken to the *Inclusa* and later adopted by the marquesa and her husband.

Seeking to corroborate this story and perhaps to discover the identity of the child, in the Archivo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid we recently found the record of when this orphan was taken to the *Inclusa*. A piece of paper had been glued over the entry record for that date in 1797. It said: "De esta niña, su entrada, salida, ni existencia, no se dará razón a persona alguna aunque sean interesados legítimos sin orden expresa de la Junta de Señoras." And under the attached piece of paper could be read a record of her date of birth. The register also records her departure from the *Inclusa* years later, although again with a scrap of paper pasted over the entry that denies information about the child to anyone "sin orden expresa de la Junta de Señoras." These extraordinary efforts to obscure the infant's origin were sobering evidence of the hardships faced by the desperate women who came to the *Inclusa* seeking help. The identity of this child is one of the last mysteries about María Lorenza's life that we suspect the archives might never divulge.

Working in Spanish archives has brought home to me the effacement of women in the history of the eighteenth century. It has made me realize that there is still a great deal to discover in the archives about women's lives, and that we need to uncover these stories in order to understand the role of feminism in the Spanish Enlightenment. I have learned that given the eccentricity of some archives, it helps to have a sense of humor, a great deal of patience, and infinite tact. Collaborating with a historian has been

especially rewarding. And finally, I have learned to accept that some answers may simply and stubbornly remain elusive.

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### "NAVIGATING THE ARCHIVES LIKE AN ACADEMIC— WHEN YOU'RE REALLY IN IT FOR THE GOSSIP!"

FRIEDA KOENINGER  
Sam Houston State University

Blasphemy! Adultery! Envy! Political conspiracies! Personal grudges! Class prejudice! These are a few of the situations I have discovered in documents in archives in Mexico City, Puebla, Mexico, Madrid and Cuenca, Spain, provoking one friend to tell me, "Frieda—seriously—you're ONLY into research for the GOSSIP!" And yes, in part that is correct. Often the interesting human stories are what keep me going, trying to find the connections and motives behind social contexts. These archival journeys have led me down unexpected paths that may—or may not—lead me to a legitimate academic production.

Musing on this topic reminded me of how I became interested in getting into the archives. I think I had been at a conference, and I heard another paper deconstructing one of Sor Juana's sonnets, resulting in serious doubts about my career choice. Soon after that, I gave a little paper on a *comedia de santo* at a conference on Mexican theater hosted at a university in Mexico where I was teaching. It was a large conference, and I was blown away with the work of the other presenters because many were based on primary documents from the *Archivo General de la Nación* in Mexico City. I kept a handout about some Edicts of the Mexican Inquisition, with the intention of consulting the *Archivo* some day.

I had no idea how to approach this archive and I made a crazy mistake, which I will tell about, in hopes that someone will sympathize with me, and perhaps someone can benefit from what I learned. I found the address, and went up to the entrance of the *Archivo* and told them that I wanted to consult the files of the *Santo Oficio*, thinking maybe that term would sound less harsh to their ears than *Inquisición*. The person told me "There are no archives here from any holy office!" I turned around and walked away.

I was eventually able to enter the *Archivo* and see those edicts and many other interesting documents. But this was because a friend of mine put me in touch with a friend of hers, a scholar who had directed and just published a catalogue of 18th and 19th century texts from that Inquisitional archive. She drove me to the *Archivo* and led me by the hand to get me started, put me down as her collaborator. Thus, I was able to see those edicts of the Inquisition prohibiting certain plays, which I was curious about, as well as many long cases against individuals. The files of the Inquisition in Mexico City are very extensive, unlike those in Spain, where they were ransacked twice, first during the French invasion and then during the Spanish Civil War. Also one of the interesting aspects of the Mexican Inquisition is that people were asked about their racial or ethnic heritage, unlike in Spain, where they were asked to show that they had no Jewish ancestors.

Much of what I read had to do with a supposed conspiracy of French sympathizers who were rounded up in Mexico City. I became fascinated with the social fabric of Mexico City that these cases revealed: a Frenchman who had been in love with several Mexican women, who rejected him; once imprisoned, he had a hard time adapting to the prison grub, especially the spicy hot chocolate; a Franciscan friar, too politically liberal to fit in his monastery; a businessman who read French literature and anticlerical books in Spanish, and had a painting of a half-dressed woman in his bedroom; they and others imprisoned were united by their political ideas and —I found— by their disdain for the queen of Spain, María Luisa de Parma. I made a database of witnesses in all those cases and found that many of the testimonies were due to personal grudges or envy. Also, often witnesses came from less educated classes and those of color. The Inquisitors showed disdain for those classes, at the same time that they used their accusations against more educated and wealthy people.

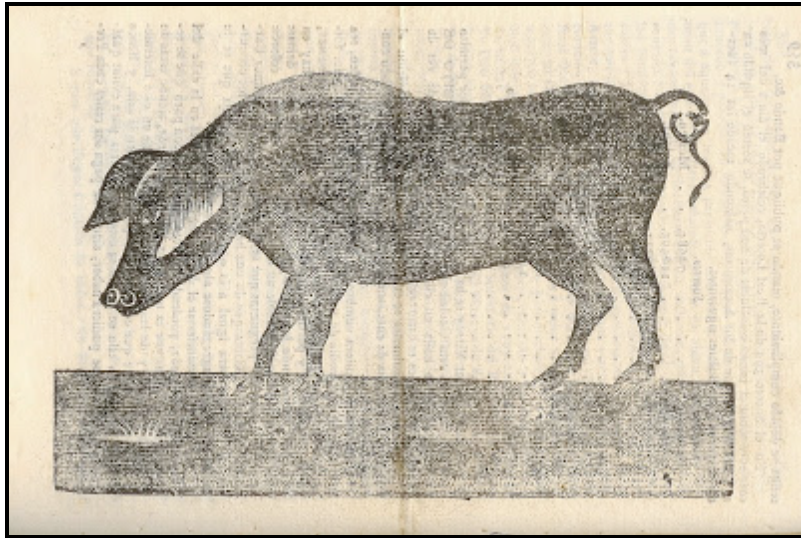
I also found a censoring of a book of Alexander Pope's letters in the Mexican archives. I journeyed to England to the Bodleian Library to look for that book. By then, I knew that I couldn't just walk up to the front door! I took a copy of my passport, my passport, a letter of introduction from my chair verifying my research topic, and my cotton gloves. I now know that, although not all archives require that you use gloves, they are very appreciative when you do pull out your gloves. At the Bodleian, I was

able to find the specific edition that the Mexican priest had used to censor Pope's book.

I went to Madrid, to the Historical Archive, and to the town of Cuenca, to an Inquisitional Archive, because I was trying to track down a specific Franciscan friar who had worked in Mexico and Spain—the one who was found to be a French sympathizer and imprisoned in Mexico City. I could find no trace of him in Spain, but I found some interesting cases in Cuenca. The ones that caught my attention were on blasphemy, and I thought they were so curious because all the curses that were documented there in the 18th century are still being used by Spaniards today. Obviously, the threat of the punishment of the Inquisition did nothing to intimidate Spaniards over several centuries. I think it would be great to compare those blasphemy cases with some in Mexico, but I haven't found any in the Mexican archives.

Back in the Mexican *Archivo*, I read through a number of editions of a couple of journals published in the late 18th and early 19th century. I was looking for anything published about slavery. While I was reading I began to notice that frequently there were announcements about events, obviously offered by some charlatan, maybe a magic glass box, for example, that promised to be quite worth the entrance fee to see this spectacle. One that I remember well was about the presentation of the "erudite pig of London" ("*el cerdo erudito de Londres*"). Why it had to be from London—not Madrid, Paris, Rome, New York or Austin— I don't know. But it caught my attention. The pig was capable of choosing letters or numbers to write out the answers to questions. I didn't keep the information about this extraordinary pig in my data base, but often I would think about it and wish I had a copy of the drawing depicting it in the journal. In preparation for this little talk, I decided to Google "*cerdo erudito de Londres*" and BINGO! it came up with several references, and the picture as well!

The moral of my tale is this: ask for help and give help; always carry your gloves; keep your mind open for the unexpected; make a data base (a series of spreadsheets) to keep track of documents, because you can never tell how you might use something some day; but first, check what is on line, because so many archives now have digitized documents including even my erudite friend from London!



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**"DOWN AND DIRTY: FITZCARALDO STORIES FROM  
THE ARCHIVES (ON THE CAFÉ DEL PRÍNCIPE)"**

MICHAEL SCHINASI  
East Carolina University

A note on my title: it refers to the almost surreal stories reminiscent of Werner Herzog's classic film, *Fitzcarlaldo*; accounts one finds in archival documents of individual passions facing nearly insurmountable odds. Prohibited from lifting the documents off your desk in Madrid's Archivo Histórico Nacional we work with them head down for hours on end. Then, as a result of their poor state of preservation, upon turning their pages they can become dust in your hands; it is easy to get dirty in the archive. The experience is touching because as the papers crumble you feel like the last surviving link to the individual lives they deal with.

Originally, I thought of discussing some stories about those lives, but beg your patience and instead will speak of something different, Madrid's iconic Café del Príncipe. This was the café next to the Príncipe Theater, today's Teatro Español; home of the Parnasillo, the *tertulia* of Spain's young romanticists of the generation of 1830. Mesonero Romanos remembered the Café as "destartalado, sombrío y solitario" (53). Though it

is a cultural landmark aside from this, we know nothing about the place.<sup>5</sup> The original plans for the Café, however, do exist and they help us fill this void in our knowledge.

Spain's important neoclassic architect, Juan de Villanueva, built the Café. Because I did not think I would have a projector available, I have turned Villanueva's drawings of it into a poster. This is the Café; next to it you see the Coliseo:

[Poster display. See Plates I and II, which the original poster presents side by side.]<sup>6</sup>

The drawings are not well known, and have never been considered in the context of literary history. For us it is important to note that the publisher of the drawings, Villanueva's biographer, attributed the wrong date —1805— to the building (95; 236-37). Phillip B. Thomason's otherwise excellent work on Madrid's Teatro de la Cruz gives 1806-07 as the date, which also is incorrect (31-2).<sup>7</sup>

According to archival documents the Café del Príncipe had its origins in 1790. In that year, Augustín Martínez de Castro, who owned the two houses that would become the Café, adjacent to the theater, was cited for a building code infraction (see Plate 3). Since he would have to work on his property anyway, he requested a license for further construction. As Madrid's chief architect, Villanueva went to inspect Martínez de Castro's property and it was then that he thought of the project that resulted in the Café. On February 21, 1790 Villanueva wrote to city officials:

Con motivo de haver practicado ... la diligencia de alineación de las fachadas ... de las casas viejas que se quieren refabricar sitas en la calle del Príncipe, contiguas y medianeras a el Coliseo de Comedias ... se advirtió [y] reflexionó que tal vez estas mismas casas ... sería

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<sup>5</sup> We do, however, have studies about the Parnasillo in which writers in passing briefly refer to the Café; but the information is scant. See, for example, Escobar's article.

<sup>6</sup> Madrid's Archivo de Villa has granted permission for publication of these drawings. I am grateful to Laurie Godwin, Tech Support Specialist in the Department of Academic Technologies at East Carolina University for her assistance in producing this poster.

<sup>7</sup> The Teatro del Príncipe burned down in 1802. Both Moleón Gavilanes and Thomason believe the Café was built during the reconstruction of the theater. It is likely, however, that what they thought was a transaction to take over the land next to the Príncipe for the Café was really for space behind the Café to further expand the stage area out toward Calle de la Visitación, to the north of the theater, in the direction of the Carrera de San Jerónimo in today's Madrid.



conveniente se comprasen ... agregándolas al mismo Coliseo, y dándolas comunicación más particularmente con el Escenario ... (3-101-1, expediente 2).

The landholder's opposition to the city takeover of his property then delayed the project. Villanueva may not have had the idea for the Café from the very beginning but as the work progressed he must have realized that after adding the space next to the theater's stage near the rear of the property, an area remained in front, facing Príncipe Street. This became the Café.<sup>8</sup>

At the latest the idea for the Café was added by 1793. In a letter to the city dated on February 25 of that year the architect states,

Habiéndome hecho cargo de la disposición y estado de la obra principiada en la casa contigua y medianera a el coliseo del Príncipe ... he formado el correspondiente proyecto de lo que en aquella extensión debe hacerse, y fabricarse a el consabido fin ... proporcionando a la parte de la Calle, la servidumbre pública de un Café y Botillería ... (3-101-1 expediente 4)

1793 is the latest date therefore we should attribute to Villanueva's plans for the Café, though he might have already begun work on it prior to sending the drawings to Madrid officials, and perhaps even before he produced them.

In addition to the Parnasillo, because of its date the Café is also suggestive of one of our most canonical 18th century plays, Leandro Fernández de Moratín's *La comedia nueva o el café*. It premiered in the Príncipe in February 1792. Traditionally we take the Fonda de San Sebastián, near the Príncipe, as the inspiration for Moratín's set, but his play takes place in a café "al inmediato de un teatro," which could mean either near or contiguous to a theater.<sup>9</sup> I am not here suggesting the Café

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<sup>8</sup> Preliminary calculations as of this writing suggest the original Café consisted of approximately 1000 square feet of space (measuring 1 imperial foot as .914 of a Castilian foot). This could have changed over time, as a result of alterations to the building, especially with the reconstruction after the fire of 1802 in the theater.

<sup>9</sup> The Fonda de San Sebastian was at the Plazuela del Ángel. On period maps it appears to be nearly equidistant between the Teatro de la Cruz and the Teatro del Príncipe. This especially appears to be the case when we note that the front entry to the Cruz was at the furthest point facing away from the Fonda. In the same general period of the Café del Príncipe's construction, the Conde de Tepa replaced the Fonda with his mansion. His building, now renovated, remains as a hotel and is a protected, historic property. We have little scholarly information about the Palacio de Tepa, but some web sites that speak of it state that the Count took control of the property that housed the Fonda in 1792, coincidentally in the same year Moratín premiered his play. His redevelopment of the site, however,

del Príncipe as a new model for Moratín's set, though that seems possible.<sup>10</sup> What might be more fascinating to consider though, is that Moratín influenced Villanueva's Café project; that his play had a civic or urban impact we previously have not recognized. However, we should not rule out the possibility as well, that both Moratín and Villanueva independently gave us a generic theater café. If this were the case we should be no less interested in the drawings and related documents; they can help bring to life for students the stage set of Moratín's famous comedy. For this I propose —and have begun work on— a digital 3D

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did not begin until around 1797 and it was not completed until the first decade of the 19th century. The architect for the project was Jorge Durán, but it is likely that Villanueva became involved at some point. Even if he did not participate in the construction, as the court's chief architect he probably assessed and approved Durán's plans. (*Madrid Histórico*; *El País*) The overlap of the two projects in the same period—the demise of the Fonda de San Sebastián and the building of the Café del Príncipe—leaves room for speculation that perhaps there was a relationship between them. This could have just been coincidence. The work on both took place at a time of important building ventures in Madrid. As we know from Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, cafés were an increasingly popular novelty and new ones opened all around the city (see both publications by Álvarez Barrientos in the list of Works Cited; see also Baker).

<sup>10</sup> Aside from its location, next to a theater, there are several features of Villanueva's drawings that are reminiscent of Moratín's set, as we may assume it to have been, based on the play's action and stage notes: "La escena es en un café de Madrid, inmediato a un teatro. El teatro representa una sala con mesas, sillas y aparador de café; en el foro, una puerta con escalera a la habitación principal, y otra puerta a un lado, que da paso a la calle." For example, in the drawing there is the stairway in the rear of the entry-level floor that leads to a room on the main floor. Villanueva's "mostrador," a 12-foot-long counter built into or along a wall that divided the original two houses that became the Café, could have been where Moratín located the "aparador de café," the coffee service mentioned in the stage notes. There are also easy explanations for some of the differences we see between the set and the drawings. The clearest one is the door to the Café in the play, which is to the side of the entry-level floor. In reality it could not have been there. On its south side the Café was adjacent to the theater and, on its north, structures existed between it and the Calle de la Visitación. If one assumes the play is based on the drawings, Moratín could not have placed the entry to the Café at the front of the room, as Villanueva had it. The façade of the building had to be cut away and he had to place it elsewhere so the theatergoing public in the audience could peer into the set and view its action. Further comparison of the stage set and the drawings is reserved for a future, lengthier discussion of Moratín's play.



Plate 2: Structural drawing of the Café del Príncipe. (0,59-31-52)

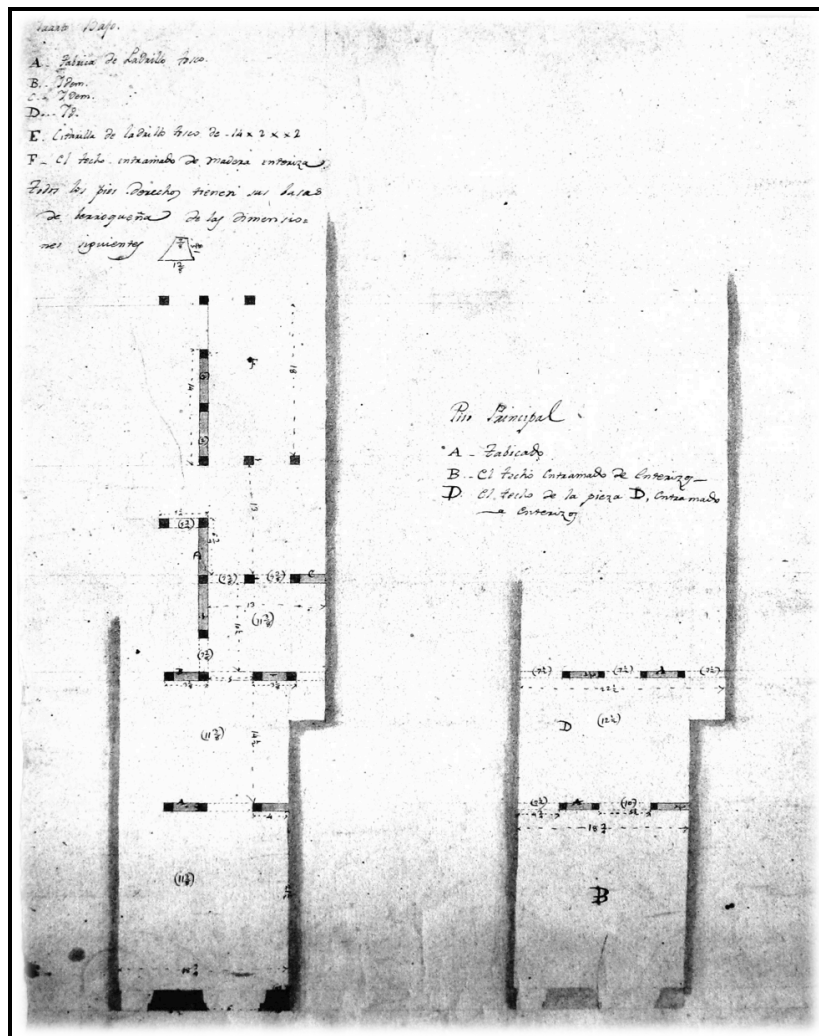
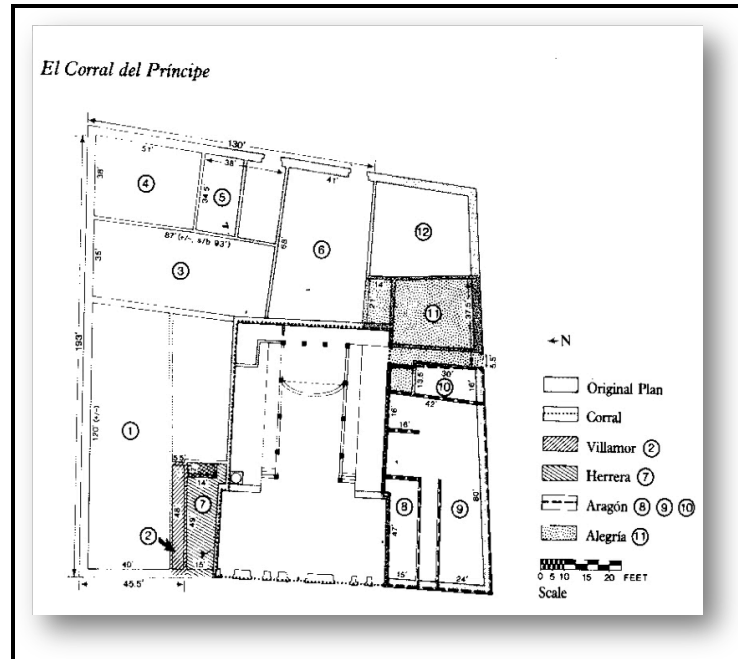


Plate 3: The two houses —numbers 2 and 7— that became the Café, adjacent to the Golden Age Corral del Príncipe. The circled numbers indicate the properties surrounding the Corral corresponding to the names of their 17th century owners in the right hand margin, according to John Jay Allen's *The Reconstruction ...*



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### **“LOS ARCHIVOS DE LAS INDIAS: SEVILLE AND MEXICO CITY”**

DAVID F. SLADE  
Berry College

My archival story is not one of finding that singular document that solves the conundrum but rather of multiple discoveries that unfold slowly. Much of my research has been on the archive itself: the founding of the Archive of the Indies in Seville, Spain, and the Archive of New Spain in Mexico City.<sup>11</sup> Rather than delving into those histories, I would like to quickly sketch out two narrative threads about my work in these archives as they pertain to research and to teaching.

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<sup>11</sup> Slade, David F. "An imperial knowledge space for Bourbon Spain: Juan Bautista Muñoz and the founding of the Archivo General de Indias." *Colonial Latin American Review* 20.2 (August 2011): 195-212.

First, let's turn to research and writing. I have an ongoing project on Enlightened archives in the Ibero-American eighteenth century, with a focus on the founding of the Archivo General de Indias (AGI), and the Archivo General de Nueva España in Mexico City. I completed research at the AGI in 2002 and 2004 for the dissertation I wrote with Karen Stolley at Emory University. I knew that histories had already been written of the archive, so, why go? While histories had indeed been written, I was attempting to 'read' the archive as a kind of text itself in a different kind of way. So, what made the difference in actually going there?

It felt lacking to write about the founding of the AGI without actually being there. It was important to read in context—not only to read the *Ordenanzas*, for example, which are published and easily accessible without going to the AGI, but to read the letters written about them, the rationale for the organizational method of the *Ordenanzas*, draft versions, deadline pressures, etc. There was also great value in seeing the quantity of texts in the *legajos* of the *Indiferente General* section, even the repetitive ones. One can read a history of the archive easily enough, but there is no substitute for reading the mundane in context: monthly reports from archival officials between 1802 and 1805, as the work of the “founding” continued, including their request to have uniforms; to read about how maps, books and papers were sent from various colonial offices to the AGI, maintaining the original structure of their provenance. Even more than expanding my understanding, reading the minutia of archival practice expanded my imagination of the AGI.

In the archive, one learns about details such as the shelves crafted especially for the AGI, made of mahogany from Central America, or the controversy that surrounded the renovation of the sixteenth-century Casa Lonja into the home of the new Archivo General de Indias, for example. In the archive, one reads of Juan Bautista Muñoz's deep engagement with histories written by William Robertson, Juan Nuix, and others. I knew of these themes in the histories of the archive before traveling to Seville, but part of the 'aha' moment for me was reading them in context, seeing what kind of documentary group in which they were filed, understanding the structure and space of the archive.

I learned similar lessons during my research in 2003 in Mexico's national archive, the Archivo General de la Nación. My objectives were to read the process of that archive's founding and structure as being based on the AGI and to see in the documentary record how closely the viceroy Count Revillagigedo II was relating the archival project to other public works such as building a botanical garden and other updates to the urban infrastructure in Mexico City. My slowly advancing moments of discovery were dots connected across these institutions, which leads me to what I would like to share about archival research and my teaching.

I teach undergraduate students at Berry College, a comprehensive liberal arts college in Georgia. On one occasion, in 2007, I taught a

graduate seminar on the Spanish American eighteenth century at the University of Kentucky. Almost always, when I do archival research, I take some time to ‘play’ a bit in the archive. At the Archivo General de Indias, I looked up some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts, just to see what they were like in their materiality and in their context, to wrestle with the paleography of reading those old texts. But with regard to the impact on my teaching, I will focus on my attention in Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City.

The archive is housed in what used to be the Lecumberri prison, a place which has its own stories to tell. Much of what I was looking for in the Mexico City archive was in a collection of documents marked in pencil with the words “*nada de interés*.” While this might have been true for the one who illegally inscribed this commentary, I found in that collection exactly what I needed to read, and it certainly helped shape my story from this Ibero-American archive. Having finished up most of the work I needed about the viceregal archive’s founding, I spent a day reading through Inquisition files. There is no telling what I skipped over in that short amount of time, but I came across two sets of documents that I still use in my teaching.

Pedro José Velarde was arrested in 1768 and served several years in jail after writing a poem that lamented the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, calling for the people of Mexico City to stand up against such tyranny: “A la arma, a la arma, guerra guerra.” The documents described Velarde as “*de oficio poeta y coplero*.” He hired out his services for clients in the city who wanted verses written for special occasions. He was a known figure who read his own poems publicly in the streets. On this occasion he penned a poem that publicly mourned the exit of the *Compañía*, an expulsion of what he considered to be the city’s very best. Here is an excerpt from his poem:

Llora, Ciudad americana.  
 La violencia, y el rigor  
 Con que te metió en temor  
 La intolerable cuartana  
 De aquella gente inhumana  
 Que con tanta tiranía  
 Ultrajó la Compañía  
 Y aquellos benditos Padres,  
 Que eran de Gracia raudal es  
 Por su Ciencia, y Energía. [...]

I learned not long after returning from the Archivo that an excellent Mexican scholar had already published the poem in an article that studies Velarde’s case. So, it was not so much of a discovery for our field, but it was very much of a personal discovery, and it has significantly shaped how I teach the expulsion of the Jesuits in the context of New Spain. We know from the expulsion documents how the priests were able to take very little



with them, except for perhaps their chocolate, tobacco and various other items, but to read of the impact it made on the people of Mexico City was a learning moment for me, and I try to share that sense of discovery and identification with my students.

I will not spend so much time on the other example, the *Segunda Pragmática de Matrimonios*, which was a document written to give priests direction about who can marry whom among different *castas* in eighteenth-century Mexico City. Again, I did not discover the *Segunda Pragmática* for eighteenth-century studies—not even close. However, it has expanded my grasp of the subject and shapes to how I teach *casta* in my classes even now. *Casta* can be a difficult concept for students to grasp, but when they start reading about how young adults their own age had to navigate cultural and ecclesiastical rules about whom they can consider for marriage, they are hooked. Having those documents as photocopies from the archive changes the act of reading for them and gives them a kind of context that is often lost in a textbook.

I will close my reflection with four ideas, four “take-aways” from my time researching in these two archives, although these ideas also apply to work that I have done in the Archivo General de la Nación in Lima, and other archives and libraries. First, the structure of the archive matters. It is not just the discovery of the singular gem of a document, but it is the way the document fits into the larger collection that can also tell a story. Second, archival discoveries sometimes advance like a glacier. Little by little pieces fit together. And sometimes they simply do not fit together well at all. Third, some archival ‘discoveries’ make themselves more clear as projects progress. Take good notes and make copies of what you can, because you might not know what you will need or what it will mean down the road for your project or future projects. Finally, there is a valuable pedagogical element to archival research for scholars and students of the eighteenth century that can find expression in our classes and even in chats with students over coffee.

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### “CHILDREN’S HISTORY IN THE ARCHIVES”

VALENTINA TIKOFF

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When Yvonne Fuentes graciously invited me to participate in this roundtable, I gave her a list of possible topics, from which she chose children in the archives. It is a topic that I am happy to discuss, as one of the hats I wear is that of a historian of children and youth. I realize that many of you do not, though, so my contribution today begins with a pitch for why we should want to find children in archives, before continuing to

a discussion of what the archives can tell us about them. A main idea that I hope to convey is that if we want to know about children and their experiences, archival sources are absolutely critical. At the same time, the "intertextuality" across published and archival sources makes the two indispensable complements to one another.

Why look for children? It is now customary for scholars to consider various vectors of identity and their intersectionality: race, class, gender, and ethnicity chief among them. I contend that we should add age—or life stage—to this list, for it, too, is a defining feature of identity. While I will focus specifically on children today, multiple stages of the life cycle merit consideration.

Age or life stage is particularly important and instructive because it is by definition temporary. No one expected themselves or anyone else to remain the same age, or within the same life stage, across their entire life span. Yet scholars have pointed out that transitions between childhood and adulthood are far from uniform or simple. Some individuals and groups have remained culturally and legally infantilized in important respects well beyond the ages when others were accorded adult roles, responsibilities, and privileges. Yet even individuals labeled or rendered "dependent," "passive," or "childlike" in some respects nonetheless exercised adult roles and identities in others. Thus, life stage offers a particularly important way to examine the complexities of identity as well as transitions and intersections across different identities and identity categories. The long eighteenth century is a rich field to explore in this regard, as demonstrated by various scholars, including Bianca Premo in her wonderful book on colonial Peru.

Children and childhood also merit particular attention because experiencing childhood (though not any specific experience of childhood) is universal in a way that few other things are. Whatever else we may be or become, every human being has been a child. Of course, childhoods and the experiences of it vary widely within and across time and space, which is another reason to examine both the cultural constructions of childhood and its lived experience in different historical contexts.

It is curious that while research on the history of children and childhood has grown tremendously in the past fifty years, and scholars in this area have charted important developments in the eighteenth century specifically, children and childhood are still fairly marginalized in broader eighteenth-century scholarship. This situation merits reconsideration and redress for several reasons. First, children were everywhere in societies of the past, including the eighteenth century. As Peter Laslett noted, preindustrial societies swarmed with children; it is their demographic profile (104). Moreover, in addition to being ubiquitous in eighteenth-century societies, children also are everywhere in eighteenth-century studies today, though often not labeled or acknowledged as subjects of inquiry. This conference [the 47<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the American Society

for Eighteenth-Century Studies] is a good example. There is not a single “children’s” panel on the program labeled as such, but children and childhood are nonetheless everywhere. The lack of recognition may be due in part to the fact that many of the children that appear in eighteenth-century scholarship, and at this conference, are imagined figures: Rousseau’s Emile and Sophie, the intended readers of Wollstonecraft’s juvenile works, the foundling Tom Jones as Fielding’s literary creation.

Archival sources complement such constructions by providing glimpses into the lives and experiences of actual children, not apart from but embedded in and shaped by cultural constructions of childhood in their historical contexts. Most scholarship about children and childhood in the eighteenth century has long been either about or based principally on the writings and other creations of adults. Appropriately, there has been considerable reaction against this, which has sparked efforts to find the voices of children in the historical record. This has resulted in much excellent scholarship, but the zeal to find children’s voices also can be a bit dangerous when it valorizes a small subset of materials as the best sources for children’s history. To be clear, I do look for and love finding the voices of children and youth in the historical record, and I listen attentively to them when I do. But to fetishize them as unique and authentic expressions of children’s reality risks ignoring other critical dimensions of children’s lives in the past and archives’ potential for helping us recover them.

Thus it is children’s experiences, rather than just their voices, that I try to find. Archives are indispensable in this quest. And where exactly do we find the experiences of eighteenth-century children? In all those places that we already have heard about in others’ stories from the Ibero-American archives: parish records, municipal archives, inquisition cases, military records, royal archives, notarial registers, convent correspondence; the list could go on. Children are scattered throughout myriad archives, sometimes identified explicitly and specifically; other times in adults’ recollections; many times in ideas, policies, and decisions concerning children that directly and indirectly shaped their lives, whether individually or as part of a group. Children are often present even where they are not listed in any archival catalogue, and where well-meaning archivists report that there is nothing to be found about them. (These kinds of stories from the archives recall Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s insightful book *Silencing the Past*, which I recommend highly.)

In my remaining time today, I will discuss what I have seen as the greatest benefits of working with institutional and government records, specifically those concerning orphans and orphanages. While I do not consider myself primarily a scholar of institutional or political history, and though my research has taken me to different kinds of archives (each with its own treasures and challenges), governmental and institutional records concerning charity children have turned out to be particularly revealing in ways that I had not fully anticipated.

First, they allow us to see connections across children's lives that are usually considered in artificial isolation from one another: education (including religious instruction) and employment, play and punishment, sickness and health. Orphanage records have allowed me to see how these and other aspects of children's lives intersect with one another, and also with family relationships. When I set out to study orphans, I had initially expected to find family roles mostly indirectly, in how institutions were designed to serve *in loco parentis*. I found, however, that orphanage archives repeatedly reveal that despite rules that officially restricted admission to parentless children, parents very often used these institutions. Where there were no parents, other relatives and neighbors regularly did so. While I was finding this for Spain, other scholars researching orphanages in different contexts were reaching similar conclusions, suggesting one more way in which eighteenth-century Spain was not as different from other parts of the Western world as many persistent images would have us believe (Tikoff, "Not All").

Related to the first point is a second: that archives show how ideals and prescriptive policies for children were applied, enforced, ignored, and negotiated. We know that laws and rules are often most valuable for telling us not what was done in accordance with them, but for revealing the kinds of actions that rule-makers sought to curtail. Archival sources thus reveal breaches as well as connections across ideal, prescription, and practice.

Third, archives enrich our understanding of printed texts by showing the sausage being made: the drafts and the commentary, the back and forth among the multiple "sausage-makers" hidden by documents that in their final form are generally signed only by one person, frequently "*Yo El Rey*." An example: Buried deep in the minutiae of printed maritime orphanage rules of 1788 signed by the king is a requirement that junior seamen be made to practice clambering up the tall masts of eighteenth-century ships so that they would not be "terrified" ("*para que el peligro . . . no les ocasiona terror*") when ordered to do so as storms roiled the high seas (131-132). It is just a snippet, but evocative. Poring over the drafts, comments, and early versions of these by-laws and similar documents sparks more questions: What experience or knowledge lay beneath such a provision? Might it have been the memory of witnessing a youth's fear when asked to climb a mast and strike a sail during a storm, or even a grown man's personal recollection of that fear experienced years earlier?

Fourth, archives show power structures, and how they were negotiated. They reveal how cultural tropes, official policies, and chains of command played out on the ground. In the interest of time, I am omitting shout-outs to the many scholars whose work has so inspired and instructed me in this regard. I will just note that when I found teenage boys' voices in their complaints about Seville's maritime orphanage, I was surprised not only by what and how they wrote, and their brazenness, but also by how much attention their grievances received far up the maritime

and royal chain of command, how savvy they had been in framing their complaints, and the different responses they prompted (Tikoff, “Adolescence”). In such cases, archival materials reveal a microcosm of the workings of an imperial bureaucracy set in both a broader cultural context and in the arc of particular young lives. They show how considerations of age and life stage shaped the discourse, decisions, and experiences of multiple individuals (in extremely different positions) as they interacted with one another.

Fifth, archival sources help us chart how individuals moved spatially, juridically, and chronologically across different physical, legal, and social spaces, and how age shaped the timing and experience of those movements. Most of us who have worked in archives already know that it is both painstaking and exhilarating to trace a person, family, or issue across multiple files and archives. Finding both sides of correspondence, plus the background that informs each, or the subsequent chapter of an individual’s (or family’s) history can be a thrill, especially after a long and circuitous search, as Yvonne Fuentes eloquently showed in her presentation.

Many of these archival opportunities are not unique to the study of children, of course. But if we want to understand the eighteenth century, we cannot exclude and should not marginalize its children and youth. We see more deeply into a culture when we consider age and life stage as important aspects of identity, albeit complex and transitory ones. Seeking this understanding through a combination of archival sources, published texts, and anything else left to us lends greater depth and detail to our view of the past. The result is a complicated picture that fascinates, puzzles, sometimes disturbs, and nearly always prods us to search and learn more.

My final thought is more personal. I have found that working in archives promotes humility and empathy, towards both one’s subjects and one’s colleagues. Recognizing someone’s handwriting in the documentation is not quite like—but neither is it entirely unlike—seeing an old friend, or at least a familiar person whom we recognize as real and human. As others suggested during the first roundtable session this morning, there is also something special about being in the physical presence of both materials created in the lifetimes of “our” historical subjects—those people whom we spend so much time trying to understand—and also those other living, breathing humans who, like us, are trying to connect with people in the past. It is the living, breathing folks with whom we swap stories and frustrations over coffee at 11 and *cañas* at 3. There is connection and empathy there, too. It is humane. So while I am grateful for technological advances and digital preservation, I also hope that archival research and the personal connections that it fosters remain part of the humanities.

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