

**INTRODUCTION: HISPANISTS
HERE TO HELP. INCORPORATING
THE SPANISH AND LATIN
AMERICAN ENLIGHTENMENTS
INTO THE GENERAL CURRICULUM**

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The relatively small but robust Ibero-American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies has endeavored for many years to make the Hispanic eighteenth century a more visible part of ASECS (American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies), which has historically been dominated by scholars in French and English. For the 2021 ASECS meeting, held virtually, we proposed a roundtable titled “Hispanists Here to Help! Incorporating Spain and Latin America into Your Courses on the Eighteenth Century.” Our starting point was a shared conviction that traditional pedagogical parameters and entrenched disciplinary silos have marginalized the eighteenth century “en español,” with broad implications that limit our shared understanding of issues such as empire, race, slavery, science, religion, and commerce. Responding to the 2021 conference theme —“Everybody’s ASECS”— we hoped to explore with ASECS colleagues how our teaching might lead to a more expansive appreciation of the role played by Spain and Latin America in a global eighteenth century. In proposing an inclusive conversation among an expanded community of scholars and teachers, writers and readers, we were, in fact, aiming to recover and embrace the spirit of enlightened conversations that took place across linguistic and political boundaries in the eighteenth century—a spirit that was cosmopolitan and curious, and also pragmatic and utilitarian in the best sense of the word.

My own interest in organizing the roundtable had to do with what I’ve long identified as a double blind spot—the tendency to dismiss the eighteenth century (sandwiched between the early modern or colonial and modern periods) in discussions of Spanish and Spanish American literary history as well as the tendency to overlook the eighteenth-century Hispanic world in discussions of the global eighteenth century, even those that claim to focus on peripheral or “other” Enlightenments. Charles Withers reminded us of the importance of geography and context in his classic 2007 study *Placing the Enlightenment*. But it often seems that for many ASECS scholars there is no place for the Hispanic World in the eighteenth century...unless, of course, one happens to be already living or working there. That’s why we Hispanists decided it was time to roll up our sleeves and offer to help.

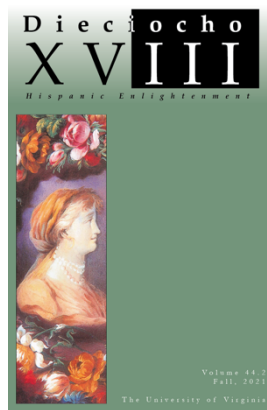
When we submitted the call for proposals, we made clear that our intended audience for the roundtable was non-Hispanists who might want to "globalize" their courses to incorporate Spain and Latin America but were looking for guidance about how to do that. The goal was to share and discuss with ASECS colleagues examples of texts, authors, issues and pedagogical strategies that emerge from our own teaching and research on the eighteenth century "en español," and that are readily accessible in English translation for a broader audience. We invited proposals that offered innovative ideas for including the Hispanic world—perhaps as a separate unit or in a comparative framework—in courses on the eighteenth century and/or the Enlightenment offered by departments of English, French, American Studies, Women and Gender Studies, History, Art History, and Music.

We ended up with a terrific group of presenters and topics: Hazel Gold (Emory University), "Spanish Utopian Literature and the European Enlightenment Framework;" Mariselle Meléndez (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), "Food Studies and the Global in the teaching of Eighteenth-century Latin America;" Catherine M. Jaffe (Texas State University), "Spanish Feminist Texts in Interdisciplinary Courses on the 18th Century;" David Slade (Berry College), "Eighteenth-century knowledge production in the Hispanic world: archives, libraries, botanical gardens, museums ;" and Elena Deanda-Camacho (Washington College), "Spanish Bawdy Literature: Expanding the Art of Teaching Sex and Gender in the Enlightenment." Omar F. Miranda (University of San Francisco) originally planned to present on "Francisco de Miranda and Global Citizenship" but was unable to attend the conference. In what follows we include reflections by all presenters except Elena Deanda; we regret that competing obligations precluded her involvement in this *Dieciocho* dossier.

One thread that runs through these four reflections is an awareness of the consensus among scholars that the Hispanic Enlightenment was lived rather than theorized. In that sense eighteenth-century Hispanic experiences on the ground push back against the facile binaries of Europe and the Americas, Spaniard and Creole, Europeans and indigenous peoples, religion and secular philosophy. Another common thread is a desire to connect eighteenth-century questions and responses—about gender, about utopia and dystopia, about cultural practices surrounding food, and about the establishment of libraries, museums and other storehouses of knowledge—with the world we are living in today. We know that is important for our students, and we firmly believe that it our obligation as scholars, teachers and humanists to help our students make those connections. We also realize that for practical and tactical reasons, we must often incorporate our work on the Hispanic eighteenth century into courses designed for the general curriculum or as a unit within interdisciplinary courses, and that is a great opportunity to introduce our work to new audiences.

These reflections also all map global Hispanic networks of diplomacy, cultural and scientific exchange, and trade, reminding our colleagues and students of the geographically situated ways in which enlightened knowledge was produced and circulated. But there's much more to be said. Among the themes that might be explored in the future are visual culture, religion, the history of science, environmental studies, politics, and empire. It's exciting to contemplate other approaches to teaching the Hispanic eighteenth century, and we are pleased that there will be a follow-up workshop at the 2022 ASECS meeting.

Note: This is a different kind of pedagogical project than the one reflected in essays written for Hispanists and published in a special issue of *Dieciocho*, 30.1(2006) on Teaching the Eighteenth-Century/Enseñar el XVIII. *The Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment*, edited by Elizabeth Franklin Lewis, Mónica Bolufer Peruga, and Catherine M. Jaffe (New York: Routledge, 2020), is a valuable resource for non-specialists and specialists alike.



**SPANISH FEMINIST TEXTS IN
INTERDISCIPLINARY COURSES ON
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:
DECENTERING THE TEACHING OF
GENDER AND THE
ENLIGHTENMENT**

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Eighteenth-century Spanish feminist texts, like other texts from the Enlightenment period in Spain, have often been overlooked in Spanish literature courses, owing to various historiographical tendencies that suppressed interest in the literary production of eighteenth-century Spain.¹ This neglect has led to a skewed periodization of the canon, with the result that scholars teaching Spanish literature are in general much more familiar with texts from earlier periods, such as the so-called “Spanish Golden Age” of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and with modern Spanish literature, generally beginning with the arrival of Romanticism in Spain in the

¹ For an excellent recent analysis of this historiographical blind spot, see Mónica Bolufer Peruga, “The Enlightenment in Spain: Classic and New Historiographical Perspectives.”

early decades of the nineteenth century, than with eighteenth-century writers and texts. If Iberian eighteenth-century literary production is infrequently taught in Spanish programs in the United States and elsewhere, it is, not surprisingly, almost completely unknown to scholars working in northern European languages, such as English, French, German, and to those who study women writers, transnational women's history, philosophy, and feminism. Recently, scholars have begun to reevaluate the legacy of the Enlightenment to the history of modern Spanish feminism. For example, the first section of Silvia Bermúdez and Roberta Johnson's 2018 volume, *A New History of Iberian Feminisms*, was devoted to the eighteenth century.

Several fundamental texts of Spanish Enlightenment feminism that could be integrated into courses on the Enlightenment, transnational women's studies, early modern women writers, and the history of feminism are now conveniently available in a modern, accessible English translation by Joanna M. Barker: Benito Jerónimo Feijoo's "Defensa de las mujeres" (Defense of Women); Josefa Amar y Borbón's "Discurso en defensa del talento de las mujeres y de su aptitud para el gobierno, y otros cargos en que se emplean los hombres" (Discourse in defense of the talent of women and of their aptitude for governing, and for other positions in which men are employed); Amar's prologue to her book on women's education, *Discurso sobre la educación física y moral de las mujeres* (Discourse on the physical and moral education of women), and Inés Joyes y Blake's "Apología de las mujeres" (Apology for Women).² (Figure 1).

² Text and titles have been modernized.

MHRA New Translations
Volume 14

Joanna M. Barker

In Defence of Women



Figure 1. Joanna M. Barker. *In Defence of Women* (2018)

Significant secondary criticism published in English on these texts mentioned in this article can help students lacking background in Spanish literature to easily situate these works within their historical context.

Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (1676-1764) was a Benedictine friar and prolific author of vast erudition. He read widely and maintained a voluminous correspondence with writers and readers both in Spain and abroad. Feijoo's "Defense of Women" was published in 1726 as part of his monumental, multi-volume collection of essays, *Teatro crítico universal* (Universal, Critical Theater, 1726-1740). (Figures 2 and 3).

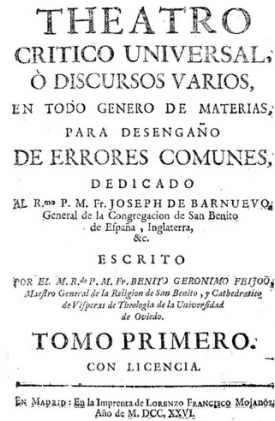


Figure 2.
Benito Jerónimo Feijoo.
Theatro Crítico Universal, Vol 1 (1726).

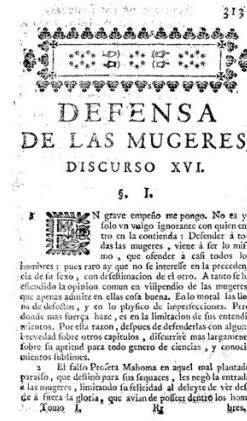


Figure 3.
Benito Jerónimo Feijoo.
"Defense of Women"

Feijoo's essay can be used to consider how the seventeenth-century "querelle des femmes" carried over into eighteenth-century debates about women's rational equality with men, as Mónica Bolufer has shown (Bolufer, "Neither Male, nor Female"). As Bolufer notes, Feijoo considered himself a modern. He had read Bacon, Locke, Boyle, Descartes, Bayle, Fontenelle, Nollet, Pluche, and Malebranche, but he also acknowledged his debt to early modern writers such as Lucrezia Marinella, Madeleine de Scudéry, abbé de Bellegarde, and Anna Maria van Schurmann, among others. Feijoo's "Defense of Women" could be paired with works by any of these other writers in class discussions on how rebuttals of the misogynist tradition drew upon the rationalist tradition to defend women's moral worth and to affirm women's spiritual and intellectual equality with men. Feijoo was widely read in Spain, where his works were reprinted multiple times. His work was translated and published in many languages. He was known, for example, to authors such as Samuel Richardson and the Bluestocking writer Hester Chapone, who in turn influenced later feminist writers such as Mary Wollstonecraft (Eaton 58-62; Jaffe 74). Feijoo could be read in any course dealing with early modern feminism as an example of a transitional figure whose work gained a broad readership in Spain and internationally. His ideas and intellectual context can be compared with and contrasted to those of Poulain de la Barre, with whom he shared a concern for women's rational equality and a rejection of any natural basis for women's inferiority (Bolufer, "Neither Male nor Female" 394-400). Feijoo's text also could be discussed together with Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, Part I and Part II* (1694, 1697), in the context of her reflections on Descartes's and John Locke's epistemologies.

While Feijoo and his work were well known within and outside of Spain, the same cannot be said of the late eighteenth-century intellectual, author, and translator, Josefa Amar y Borbón (1749-1833), who published an essay in 1786 to protest the decision of the Royal Madrid Economic Society to ban women from its ranks. (Figures 4 and 5).

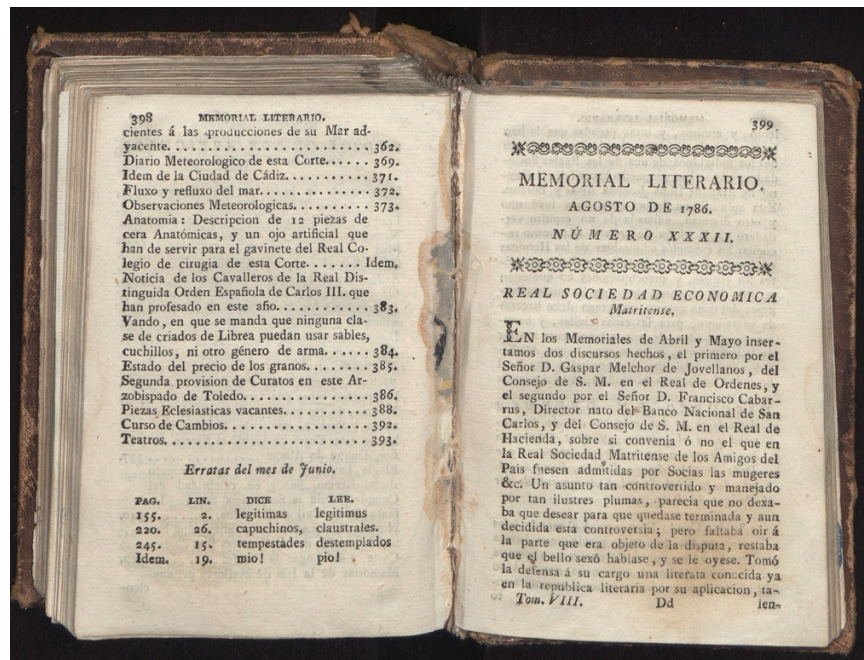


Figure 4. *Memorial literario*, August (1786).
Image courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España

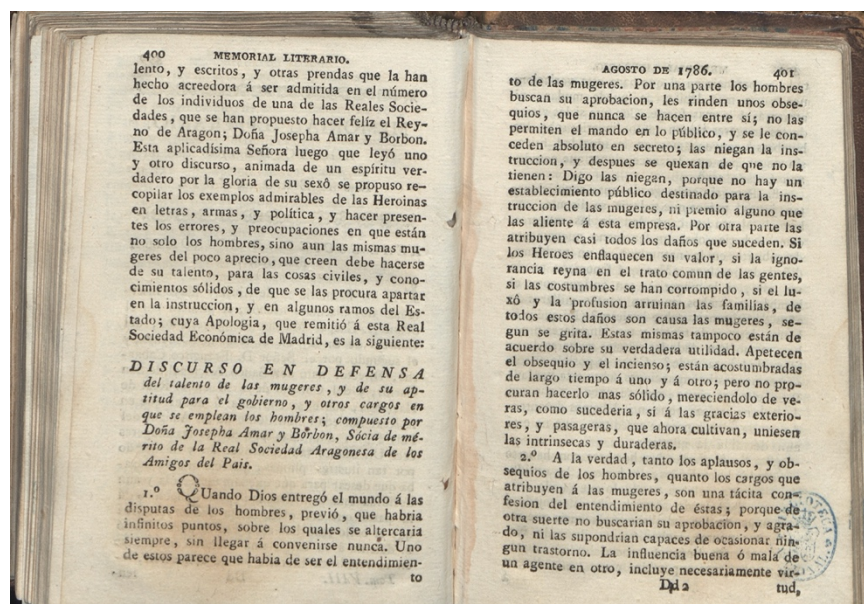


Figure 5. Josefa Amar y Borbón. "Discourse in Defense of the Talent of Women" (1786). Image courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España

Amar was herself a member of the Aragonese Economic Society and saw no reason why qualified women, like qualified men, should not be able to participate in the Madrid Economic Society's reforms. Transcending the particular circumstance she addresses, Amar's erudite essay is the most significant feminist text of the late eighteenth century, and certainly the most important female-authored essay of that period. In it Amar presents the fullest declaration of the rational equality of women of the late Spanish Enlightenment (Bolufer, "Women in Patriotic Societies"; Lewis 24-59; Kitts 155-68). Writing in the wake of Rousseau's influential elaboration of complementary gender roles in his 1762 *Émile, ou De l'éducation* (banned in Spain), Amar acknowledges that most women will have domestic roles but asserts their right to an education and their ability, if they so choose and their circumstances permit, to contribute with their talents to public utility and social welfare. Amar's common-sense explanation of how the differences between men and women are due to upbringing and education and not to differences of nature, her erudition, and her strong assertion of women's right to and ability for an education equal to that of men's, can be read alongside Mary Wollstonecraft's later treatise, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), and to Olympe de Gouges's *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* (1791).

Two years before Wollstonecraft published her *Vindication*, seven years before Erasmus Darwin's *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools* (1797), and eight years before Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education* (1798), Josefa Amar wrote the only female-authored, original work on women's education published in Spain in the eighteenth century, *Discurso sobre la educación física y moral de las mujeres* (Discourse on the physical and moral education of women, 1790). (Figure 6).

DISCURSO
SOBRE LA EDUCACION
 FISICA Y MORAL
 DE LAS MUGERES:
 POR DOÑA JOSEPHA AMAR Y BORBON,
 Socia de Mérito de la Real Sociedad Arago-
 nesa, y de la Junta de Damas unida á la
 Real Sociedad de Madrid.



Figure 6. Josefa Amer y Borbón.
Discourse on the Physical and Moral Education of Women (1790).

In this scholarly treatise, which could be considered when studying the theories of education of Mary Astell, Madame de Lambert, Rousseau, Wollstonecraft, and Edgeworth, Madame de Genlis, and others, Amar discusses many authors, from Latin and Greek to French and other

languages, on women's education (Morand). Amar proposes an ambitious, although practical rather than revolutionary plan for women's education, taking into consideration their chiefly domestic role but also their need for personal intellectual development. She cites a list of treatises on education that provides a fascinating look at the circulation of knowledge and publications about women's education in the eighteenth century.

Finally, another highly significant feminist essay that has remained obscure is Inés Joyes y Blake's (1731-1808) "Apology for Women" (1798), published as a letter to her daughters that was inserted into her translation of Samuel Johnson's *History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia*. (Figure 7).

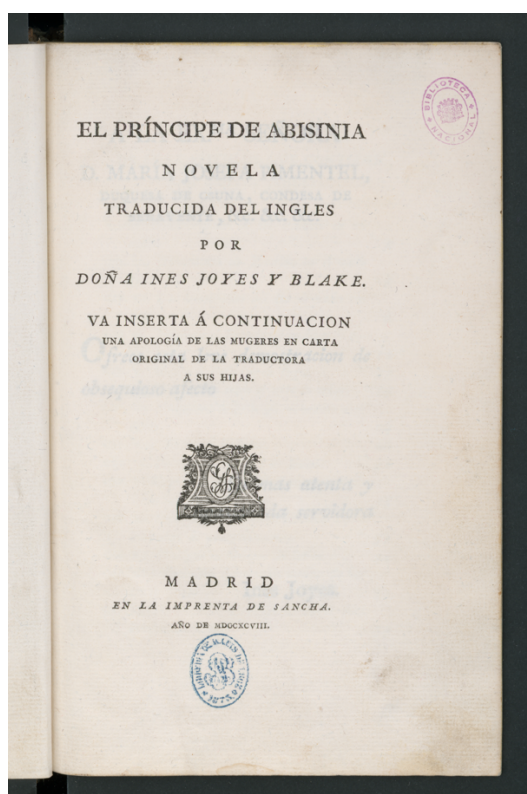


Figure 7. Inés Joyes y Blake. "Apology for Women" (1798).
Image courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España

Unlike the well-published scholar Josefa Amar, this is Joyes's only known work. Her Irish mother gave her the proficiency to translate Johnson's work directly from English into Spanish, rather than from a mediating French text, a translation practice quite common in the eighteenth century. However, at age sixty-seven she was not satisfied with merely producing the translation. She added her own thoughts on the unequal situation of women in her

society, couched in the epistolary form, addressed to her daughters as the intended readers, in effect addressing all Spanish women of her day. Joyes, like Amar, stoutly defends women's right to an education, their intellectual and moral equality with men, and insists on custom and education as the defining aspects of gender construction, rather than natural differences. Joyes was also a realist, like Amar, and acknowledged that most women will carry out domestic roles and should be educated for them. But she tried to convey to her daughters and female readers how male opinion of women had shaped their own tastes, behavior, and sense of self-worth. Joyes's "Apology" can be read in the context of late Enlightenment debates over gender roles, and in conjunction with Wollstonecraft's sharp critique of how women are blinded to mold themselves to conform to acceptable feminine behavior, that is ultimately determined by men. In their own way, without aligning themselves with revolutionary social concepts, Amar and Joyes propose an awareness of the artificial nature of traditional roles imposed on women, the acknowledgement of women's complicity in perpetuating those roles, and urge their readers' resistance to gender norms.

All of the texts could enrich and diversify courses taught in Spanish on women writers or on gender and feminist thought, as a bridge between the better known early modern and modern cultural production. These texts could also be featured in courses taught in English on Enlightenment feminism, women's history, the history and theory of gender, or the history of education. While Feijoo's prominence was already established during his lifetime, Amar and Joyes are only recently being discovered and assessed by scholars. None of these writers, however, is well known outside of Hispanic studies. As we try to diversify our curriculum, to decenter eighteenth-century studies, and to include non-canonical writers in our teaching, putting these texts by Feijoo, Amar and Joyes on our reading list helps us to broaden our understanding of gender in the transnational Enlightenment, a period when texts, ideas, and practices circulated across national and linguistic borders, both informed by and shaping the embodied experiences of women and men.

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FOOD STUDIES AND THE GLOBAL IN THE TEACHING OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LATIN AMERICA

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For culinary historian Massimo Montanari, “food is culture” (2006). The author argues that “food is culture *when it is eaten* because man, while able to eat anything, or precisely for this reason does not in fact eat everything but rather *chooses* his own food, according to criteria linked either to the economic and nutritional dimensions of the gesture or to the symbolic values with which food itself is invested” (2006). With the arrival of the Spaniards to the Americas, food became an instrument of survival as well as a tool to impose social hierarchies. However, the new environment and their daily contact with indigenous societies transformed the manner in which Spaniards thought about food. For indigenous societies in colonial Latin America, food also had a symbolic meaning representing an integral part of daily interactions and religious beliefs. African societies that arrived in Spanish America in the early 16th century as slaves also contributed to the transformation of food consumption. Their own diets were affected in their interactions with Europeans and indigenous societies and vice versa. Food studies functions as a productive pedagogical tool for understanding the role played by Spain and Latin America in a global eighteenth century, suggesting larger debates about the state of civilization versus that of nature, the relationship between identity and consumption, and the connections between food and local patriotism.

When I teach about food studies and the global in eighteenth-century Latin America, I find it helpful to begin by establishing a theoretical framework for my students. Warren Belasco’s *Food: The Key Concepts* and Massimo Montanari’s *Food is Culture* are two useful points of departure for thinking about food, culture, and identity. E.C. Spary’s *Eating the Enlightenment: Food and the Sciences in Paris* offers a new perspective on the history of food, looking at writings about cuisine, diet, and food chemistry as a key to larger debates over the state of the nation in Old Regime France. Embracing a wide range of authors and scientific or medical practitioners — from physicians and poets to philosophes and playwrights— Spary demonstrates how public discussions of eating and drinking were used to articulate concerns about the state of civilization versus that of nature, about the effects of consumption upon the identities of individuals and nations, and

about the proper form and practice of scholarship. Spary's analysis, while focused on eighteenth-century France, is easily adapted for discussions about the Ibero-American context. The same can be said for Rebecca Earle's book, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race And The Colonial Experience In Spanish America, 1492 1700*, which examines the role played by anxieties about food and identity in colonial encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples.

It's important for students to be aware of the global circulation of commodities related to food; there are extensive resources related to the Columbian exchange (see Figure 1). That awareness provides a foundation for our discussion of the course objectives in the broader context of understanding why we eat what we eat: to examine the relationship between food, culture and society in colonial Latin America and its global impact; to understand how the relationship between food and culture is conceived and transformed through colonial contacts and global exchanges; to read culture through food to better understand its impact on the articulation of social hierarchies, identity constructions, cultural distinctions, and power; and to comprehend how pre-Columbian and early modern views and conceptions of food still impact Latin American society and the rest of the world today (see Figures 1, 2, and 3 below).



Figure 1

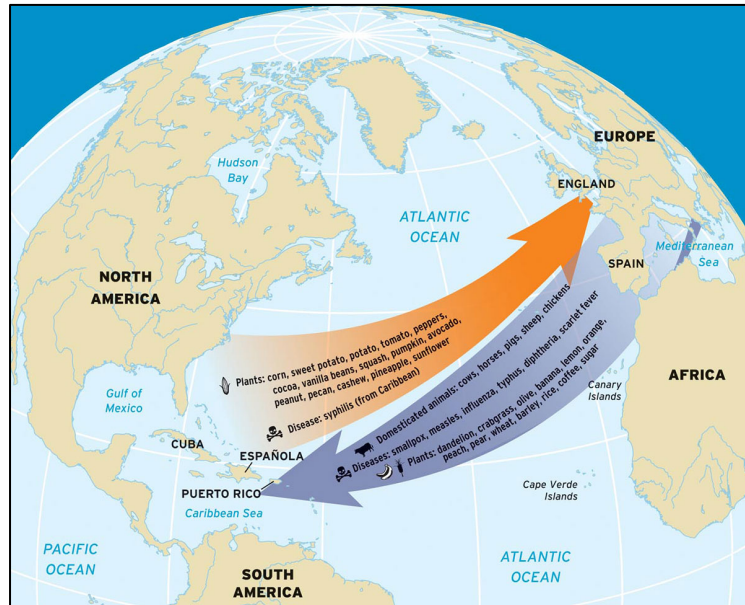


Figure 2

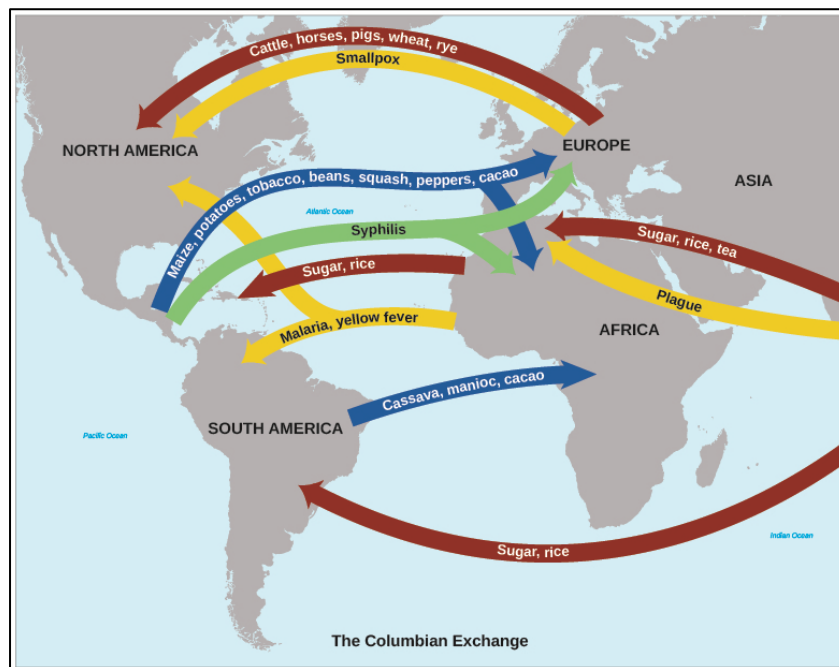


Figure 3

I provide students with an overview of the thematic structure of the course and introduce some of the texts we'll be reading together (see Figure 4).

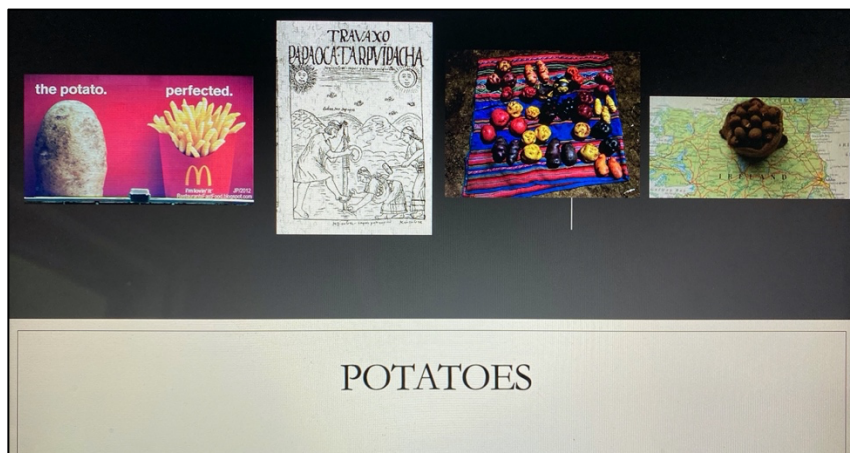
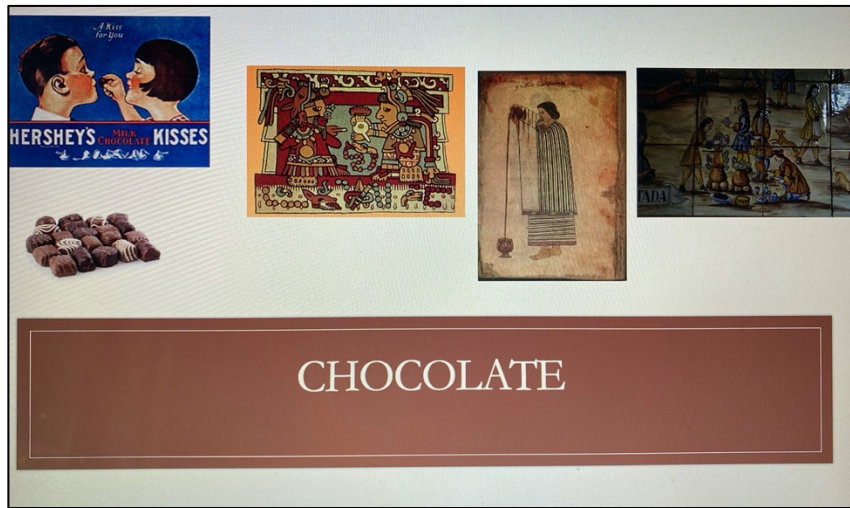


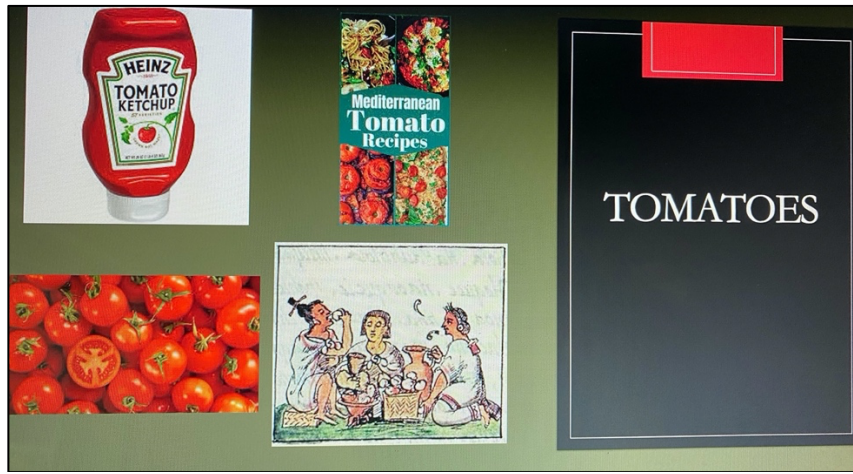
Figure 4

Thematic structure

- Food and culture: Key concepts
- Searching for the land of spices: How Columbus voyages transformed East and West
- The symbolic meaning of food in indigenous societies
- Food, hunger and the environment
- Food and slavery
- The exotic Caribbean: Rum, piracy, and captain Morgan
- Food and globalization: Why we eat what we eat

Finally, I encourage students to visualize the multi-cultural history of familiar foods and products such as chocolate, potatoes, tomatoes, corn, chiles, and tobacco (see Figures below). In what follows I will explain how some of our class discussions play out and give a few examples.





Chili Peppers

The collage features several historical and commercial elements: a modern bottle of Tabasco sauce; a 1905 advertisement for 'McILHENNY'S THE ORIGINAL Tabasco Sauce' describing it as 'The Perfect Seasoning for Soups, Salads, Oysters, Clams, Fish, Sauce, Steaks, Gravies, etc.'; a Christmas-themed advertisement for 'Tabasco Sauce YOUR XMAS DINNER' from the early 20th century; a photograph of a mortar and pestle containing red chili peppers; and a page from an ancient manuscript depicting people and chili peppers, likely from the Aztec or Mayan regions.

Tobacco

This collage illustrates the history and production of tobacco. It includes: a historical illustration of a person using a tool to work with a tobacco plant; a diagram showing various types of tobacco products and their uses; a historical scene of people gathered around a table, possibly smoking; a diagram titled 'Cigar Sizes' showing different lengths and widths of cigars; and a historical illustration of a tobacco plantation or processing area with several buildings and people.

Casta paintings (pinturas de castas) are a valuable resource for exploring connections between food, race and identity. As many readers of *Dieciocho* will already know, these paintings illustrate a family composed of a mother, a father and a child, positioned against an interior or exterior background and surrounded by material objects—native fruits and vegetables, domesticated or wild animals, and cooking utensils—that serve to define their social status. Since individual paintings were included in multi-panel constructions of sixteen to twenty portraits, each with a written explanation of the racialized identity of the individuals portrayed, students can engage in comparative study of the highly symbolic and hierarchical representation of family and food. Secondary readings in English by Ilona Katzew and Magali Carrera can provide helpful context.

In response to European critiques of New World degeneracy, food plays a role in the articulation of a discourse of Creole patriotism in the eighteenth century, as evidenced by Manuel de Zequeira y Arango, a Cuban Neoclassical poet whose idyllic portrait of Cuba, “A la piña” (“To the Pineapple”) was written sometime before 1821 and published posthumously. Exiled Jesuit Rafael Landívar wrote *Rusticatio mexicana* (1782; available in a bilingual Latin-English edition), a Latin bucolic poem that describes the animals, plants, and minerals native to New Spain and details the agricultural, textile, and mining practices of the region. The poem includes a section on how sugar cane was cultivated and processed to produce sugar. Andrés Bello’s Neoclassical poem *Silva a la agricultura de la zona tórrida* (1826; “Ode to Agriculture in the Torrid Zone”) also participates in the discourse of patriotism and pride related to agricultural production and food. Two histories, one of the Andean region and another of what is now Mexico, offer accounts of agricultural practices and food culture that reflect an appreciation of indigenous culture as well as pride in Creole mastery of the historical and geographical environment: Juan de Velasco’s *Historia del reino de Quito en la América meridional* (“History of the Kingdom of Quito in South America”), a comprehensive account of pre-Columbian and colonial Quito, not published until well into the 19th century, and Francisco Javier Clavijero’s *Storia antica del Messico* (1780–81; “Ancient History of Mexico,” Eng. trans. *The History of Mexico*).

Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa wrote a detailed account of their travels in South America that was translated into English in the early nineteenth century: *Relación histórica del viaje á la América Meridional* (1748): *A Voyage to South America [electronic resource]: describing at large the Spanish cities, towns, provinces, &c. on that extensive continent: undertaken, by command of the king of Spain, by George Juan and Antonio de Ulloa; translated from the original Spanish* (1806). Their sharp observations provide a wealth of information about food culture in viceregal cities.

Countless natural histories penned during the eighteenth century (as well as in previous centuries) devote considerable attention to the culinary possibilities of America’s flora and fauna, with a particular interest in

indigenous culinary practices. For example, José Gumilla was a Jesuit priest who spent thirty-five years in Venezuela and wrote about his experiences in *El Orinoco ilustrado* (1741–45; “The River Orinoco Illustrated”). José Eusebio de Llano Zapata corresponded with humanists throughout Europe after he left Peru at midcentury. He authored a natural history, *Memorias histórico-físicas-apologéticas de la América Meridional* (1761; “Apologetic Historico-Physical Memoirs of South America”) of which only one volume has been published.

Eighteenth-century newspapers such *Gazeta de México*, *Mercurio peruano*, *Papel periódico de Santa Fe de Bogotá* and *Gazeta de Guatemala* often included articles on customs related to food and letters from readers interested in debating the merits of drinking hot chocolate or ingesting lizard meat. These publications are unfortunately not widely available in English translation, but they offer research opportunities for students with some level of Spanish proficiency. However, Alonso Carrió de la Vandra’s *El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* (1775?; Eng. trans. *El Lazarillo: A Guide for Inexperienced Travelers Between Buenos Aires and Lima*) is a text that touches upon similar topics and its connections to food, race and identity. It includes one of the earliest mentions of mixed-race gauchos and the central role that beef played in their diet, including the excessive consumption of it.

Piracy accounts offer a treasure trove of resources for teaching about food in the eighteenth century, and they also bring together the English- and Spanish-speaking worlds in ways that students find fascinating. The two-volume work, *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the most notorious Pyrates*, presumably written by Daniel Defoe in 1724 under the pseudonym Captain Charles Johnson, is the most well-known source from the early eighteenth century concerning the pirates of the period from 1690 to 1726. *Pirates in their Own Words*, edited by E. T. Fox, includes a selection of sources from 1690 to 1728 and presents many intriguing details and insights into the lives and actions of pirates. I use these piracy accounts to explore connections between the history of rum and the invention of the Caribbean as the land of life, love and loot; a perception that still exists today and that is clearly conveyed in the television ads of Captain Morgan rum. These texts might also be used to provide historical background for an eighteenth-century unit in a course on the Caribbean or on tourism.

The course has been well received by students, who are expected to maintain a journal in which they reflect on the readings and discussions, to conduct field work on local communities or restaurants, to do an oral presentation and a final written project (see Figure 11).

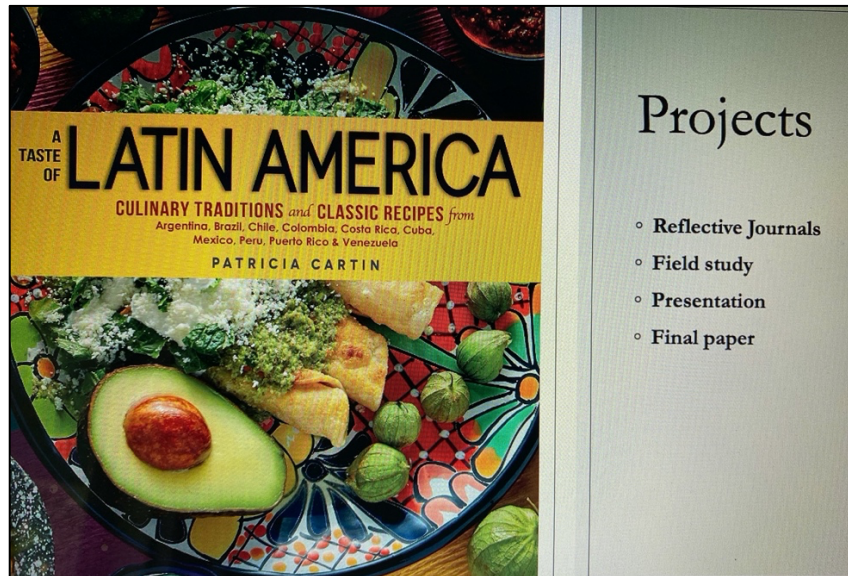


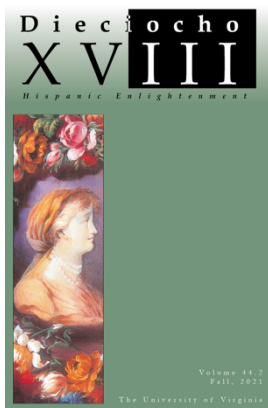
Figure 11

And I have found that the course offers me an opportunity to bring together food studies, my research interests in the late colonial period and transatlantic eighteenth-century studies, and compelling and timely questions related to racial and social justice. As Montanari reminds us, “food is culture.”

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**EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN
THE HISPANIC WORLD: ARCHIVES,
LIBRARIES, BOTANICAL GARDENS,
AND MUSEUMS**

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Mindful of our session's subtitle, "Incorporating Spain and Latin America into Your Courses on the Eighteenth Century," I begin not with archives, libraries, gardens or museums in mind but rather the classroom itself. Those resources are a valuable opportunity to expand the scope of courses on the eighteenth century beyond some of the inherent limitations often fossilized in the context of our disciplinary traditions. What are the core questions that we ask in our courses, and how might material from Spain and Latin America play a role in answering those questions? How do our pedagogical materials and learning outcomes open doors toward studying the global eighteenth century in which Ibero-American texts and artifacts not only *can* expand the scope of our courses but are fundamentally necessary for understanding the global eighteenth century? Thinking of your own courses—at the graduate or undergraduate level, within or beyond Hispanism—how was knowledge constructed and contested? What questions did eighteenth-century writers ask and seek to answer? What did they ignore, and how might material from the Ibero-American world help to fill in some of those gaps? Starting with these questions from the beginning is a good idea for even the most seasoned scholars and teachers.

For example, courses that engage with an eighteenth-century understanding of empire often study Raynal's 1770 *Histoire des deux Indes* or perhaps William Robertson's 1777 *History of America*. Students would be well served to read alongside these texts Juan Bautista Muñoz's *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1797 translation available as *The History of the New World*) or Francisco Javier Clavigero's 1780 *Storia antica del Messico* (1807 translation as *The History of Mexico*). A rich study of these four texts—perhaps with others, such as Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*—engages discourses that were in dialogue with one another in their historical moment. There is something out of order in *not* reading them together. The Ibero-American texts do not simply offer a bonus perspective; rather, the study of Raynal, Robertson and Jefferson is incomplete or anemic without Muñoz and Clavigero.

It is in that spirit that I offer these reflections on archives, libraries, botanical gardens, and museums as sites of knowledge production—in the

eighteenth-century or as collections founded later— that contain texts and artifacts that enable us to achieve a more robust study of the eighteenth century. Most of the institutions I discuss below offer online sources —some in English, some in Spanish, some in both or in other languages. Following this narrative review, the reader can find a listing of Internet resources current at the time of publication.

Archives

Founded in 1785, the Archivo General de Indias (Archive of the Indies) in Seville, Spain, is a quintessential eighteenth-century institution, having been founded as an Enlightenment project, what I have called elsewhere “an imperial knowledge space for Bourbon Spain” (see Slade). The AGI was meant to organize and store all official documents related to Spain’s territories in the Americas, and it holds great significance as both a bricks and mortar construction and a historiographical archive. The official website of the archives offers online exhibits as well as scanned “documents of the month,” which cover a wide range of subjects. Access to a vast resource of scanned documents from the AGI, as well as other Spanish archives, is accessible on the PARES website (Portal de Archivos Españoles). The PARES website includes robust search functions that offer access to students for class projects, primary document readings, analysis of maps, and many other texts. A knowledge of Spanish is required to use this resource to its full potential. Listed below you will find links to other national archives that offer excellent resources related to the eighteenth century: the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico (which had its beginnings as an eighteenth-century archive modeled on the AGI), the Archivo General de la Nación in Peru, the Archivo General de la Nación in Colombia, the Archivo General de la Nación in Argentina, Archivo General de la Nación in the Dominican Republic, and the Archivo Nacional de Chile.

Libraries

National libraries offer a wealth of materials related to the eighteenth century for use in the classroom. The Biblioteca Nacional de España offers a digital library on its website with designated topic areas related to the eighteenth century, such as gastronomy, travel writing, and the poet Julián Martín Abad, for example. The Biblioteca Nacional del Perú also has an excellent website and offers a series of video lectures and discussions posted on its Facebook page. The Biblioteca Nacional de México is another excellent resource. There are other libraries that scholars of the eighteenth century know very well from our own research and from the invaluable contributions these institutions make in our field, such as the Newberry Library, the library (and museum) of the Hispanic Society of America, and the John Carter Brown Library, just to name a few. If you are in proximity to these —or many others with excellent Ibero-American XVIII

collections— taking students to work hands-on is a wonderful experience, but these libraries also offer excellent resources for Hispanic texts online. Also see several resources from Thomas Jefferson's library, which included eighteenth-century Spanish-language texts.

Botanical Gardens

There are fewer online resources for eighteenth-century botanical gardens, but the Real Jardín Botánico is an extraordinary source, itself with roots in the eighteenth-century. The garden's website includes drawings from the royal botanical expedition to New Granada led by José Celestino Mutis (1783-1816) and includes English-language translations. In the study of knowledge production in the eighteenth-century, botanical gardens play an important role alongside archives, libraries, and museums, as living collections of knowledge, as Daniela Bleichmar as demonstrated so beautifully in *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment*. Bleichmar's book is an invaluable resource for non-Spanish speaking students wishing to learn more about the Ibero-American eighteenth century, in particular the intersection of natural history, visual culture, and empire.

Other eighteenth-century gardens from the Ibero-American world include two Portuguese gardens: the Jardim Botânico da Ajuda, founded in 1768, and the Jardim Botânico da Universidade de Coimbra, founded in 1772.

Museums

Finally, museums offer students many resources to learn about the Ibero-American eighteenth century. For New Spain, see the Museo del Virreinato (Museum of the Viceroyalty), the Museo Nacional de la Historia in Chapultepec Castle, and the Museo del Virreinato de San Luis de Potosí. The Museo Colonial in Colombia also offers some excellent resources. The Museo del Prado in Madrid is itself an institution founded in the long eighteenth century and includes both an eighteenth-century exhibit and a page dedicated to Francisco de Goya y Lucientes on its website. The Museo de América in Spain makes available an online catalog to its collection, which includes works of art and other artifacts from the Ibero-American eighteenth century. Finally, the Spanish Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte offers a listing of all its national museums, which include many artifacts and themes related to the eighteenth-century.

This listing of archives, libraries, botanical gardens, and museums is in no way exhaustive. My hope is that it will offer the reader some concrete resources from the Ibero-American eighteenth century that can expand students' understanding, as well as our own, of the extraordinary scope and depth of knowledge production from the Ibero-American world. Imagination and curiosity might lead the reader to discover many other

examples from which to draw. As a final note, in addition to including in your classes the texts, images, art, maps, and other artifacts held by these institutions, also consider studying along with your students how some of these eighteenth-century places and projects themselves (not just the texts and artifacts they contain) tell an important story about participation of the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking world in the intellectual and cultural production of the eighteenth century.

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ARCHIVES

Archivo General de Indias (Archive of the Indies), Spain
<http://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/cultura/areas/archivos/mc/archivos/agi/portada.html>

PARES (Portal de Archivos Españoles / Portal of Spanish Archives)
<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/search>

Archivo General de la Nación, México
<https://archivos.gob.mx/guiageneral/>

Archivo General de la Nación, Perú
<https://agn.gob.pe/portal/>

Archivo General de la Nación, Colombia
<https://www.archivogeneral.gov.co/>

Archivo General de la Nación, Argentina
<https://www.argentina.gob.ar/interior/archivo-general/fondos-consulta>

Archivo General de la Nación, Dominican Republic
<http://coleccion.es.agn.gob.do/opac/index.php?codopac=OPPUB>

Archivo Nacional de Chile
 Historia de Chile a través de documentos del Archivo Nacional

<https://www.archivonacional.gob.cl/sitio/Contenido/Colecciones-digitales/8031:Historia-de-Chile-a-traves-de-documentos-del-Archivo-Nacional>

LIBRARIES

Biblioteca Nacional de España / National Library of Spain
Digital Library

<http://www.bne.es/es/Catalogos/BibliotecaDigitalHispanica/Colecciones/>

Gastronomy, XVIII century

http://www.bne.es/es/Micrositios/Guias/gastronomia/Seleccion_de_Obras/Siglo_XVIII/

Travel writing, XVIII century

<http://www.bne.es/es/Micrositios/Guias/Viajes/Seleccion/XVIII/>

Julián Martín Abad XVIII Collection

<http://www.bne.es/es/Micrositios/Guias/JMABad/Comentarios/>

Biblioteca Nacional del Perú / National Library of Peru
Digital Collection

<https://bibliotecadigital.bnp.gob.pe/portal-bnp-web/#/>

Biblioteca Nacional del Perú on Facebook

<https://www.facebook.com/BibliotecaNacionalPeru/>

Biblioteca Nacional de México / National Library of Mexico
Digital Library

https://catalogo.iib.unam.mx/F/-/?func=login&local_base=BNDM

Thomas Jefferson's Library: A Catalog With the Entries in His Own Order

<http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/toc/becites/main/jefferson/88607928.html>

Selected Special Collections Thomas Jefferson's Library

<https://www.loc.gov/rr/rarebook/coll/130.html>

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<https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/thomas-jeffersons-library/overview.html>

Newberry Library

<https://www.newberry.org/catalogs-and-guides>

Hispanic Society of America (library and museum)
<https://hispanicsociety.org/collection/>

John Carter Brown Library, Digital Collections
<https://jcblibrary.org/collection/digital-images>

John Carter Brown Library, Languages
<https://jcblibrary.org/collection/languages>

BOTANICAL GARDENS

Real Jardín Botánico (Madrid, Spain)
<http://www.rjb.csic.es/jardinbotanico/jardin/index.php?Cab=10&len=en&Pag=732>

Drawings from the royal botanical expedition to New Granada, José Celestino Mutis (1783-1816). Includes English-language translations.
<http://www.rjb.csic.es/icones/mutis/paginas/>

Jardim Botânico da Ajuda (Portugal)
<http://www.isa.ulisboa.pt/jba/apresentacao>

O Jardim Botânico da Universidade de Coimbra (Portugal)
[http://www.uc.pt/jardimbotanico/O Jardim Botanico da UC](http://www.uc.pt/jardimbotanico/O_Jardim_Botanico_da_UC)

MUSEUMS

Museo del Virreinato, Mexico (Museum of the Viceroyalty)
<https://virreinato.inah.gob.mx/the-museum>
<https://www.facebook.com/virreinato>

National Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle
<https://mnh.inah.gob.mx/curadurias>
<https://mnh.inah.gob.mx/gigapixel>

Museo del Virreinato de San Luis de Potosí
<https://www.museodelvirreinato.org/>
<https://www.facebook.com/museodelvirreinato/>

Colonial Museum, Colombia
<http://www.museocolonial.gov.co/Paginas/Inicio.aspx>

Museo del Prado, Madrid

XVIII Collection

<https://www.museodelprado.es/en/itinerary/siglo-xviii/f364ca59-b080-4514-b8cf-a7199795a91a>

Francisco de Goya y Lucientes

<https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/artist/goya-y-lucientes-francisco-de/39568a17-81b5-4d6f-84fa-12db60780812>

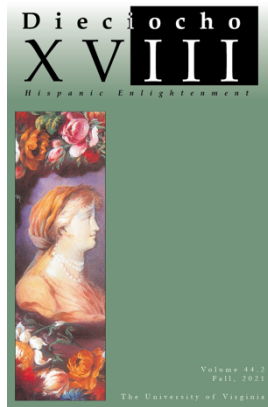
Museo de América, Spain

Online catalog

<https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/museodeamerica/coleccion/acceso-a-catalogo.html>

National Museums in Spain

<http://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/cultura/museos/presentacion/nuestros-museos.html>



**SPANISH UTOPIAN LITERATURE
AND THE EUROPEAN
ENLIGHTENMENT FRAMEWORK:
TEACHING *SINAPLA***

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Emory University

Some of the most pressing philosophical and political debates kindled by the Enlightenment, centering on reformist agendas and the potential progress of humankind, found an outlet in the proliferation of utopian writings during the long eighteenth century. Historians and literary scholars have principally trained their analytical gaze on English, French, and German utopian texts; little notice has been paid in comparative contexts to utopias that emerged in Spain. Two factors appear to have contributed to this lacuna in scholarship and teaching: a traditional insistence on viewing the Enlightenment as a unified phenomenon based on a single, core European model and the assertion, repeated over time by Hispanists, that Spain failed to develop an autochthonous tradition of utopian thought.



In recent decades, thinking has changed on both these counts. Scholars now recognize that study of the Enlightenment must perforce account for its impact and transmission in so-called peripheral and semi-peripheral regions (colonial societies as well as the southern

Mediterranean and central-eastern nations of Europe) in an increasingly globalized eighteenth-century world (Outram 4, 8; Wynter). Meanwhile, the discovery of previously unknown writings by Enlightenment-era Spaniards has focused renewed attention on the evolution of utopianism on Iberian soil. This reappraisal has been fueled in part by extensive critical discussion of utopian elements in Cervantes's *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, including Quijote's discourse on the Golden Age of antiquity, his devotion to the ideals of chivalric romances and expressed nostalgia for the idylls of the pastoral, and, most pertinently, Sancho Panza's tenure as governor of the invented island of Barataria, understood as a reference to both Thomas More's foundational text (which situates Utopia in South America) and Spain's New World conquests (see Maravall, de Armas Wilson, Mazzotti, and *Utopías americanas del Quijote*). With further light cast by additional texts from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, newly-found or recently rediscovered, the supposed absence of utopian discourse in Spain turns out to be, at best, a "half truth" (Orejudo Utrilla 11).

A text that especially lends itself to teaching the Enlightenment — how it manifested in Spain and how this compares to, and contrasts with, the intellectual projects of other European nations— is *Descripción de la Sinapia, península en la tierra austral* (Description of Sinapia, Peninsula of the Southern Land). The existence of this unsigned and undated manuscript was first recognized when Jorge Cejudo López catalogued the papers of Count Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, acquired in 1972 by the archives of the Fundación Universitaria Española. A prominent intellectual, economist, and statesman, Campomanes was appointed to a number of high-ranking posts under the Bourbon reign of Charles III, including Minister of Finance (1760), President of Spain's Royal Academy of History (1764-1791), Director of the Economic Society of Madrid (1775), founder of the first of the Economic Societies of Friends of the Country (1775), and President of the Council of Castile (1783-1791). Handwriting analysis and other contextual factors have established with reasonable certainty that he was not the manuscript's

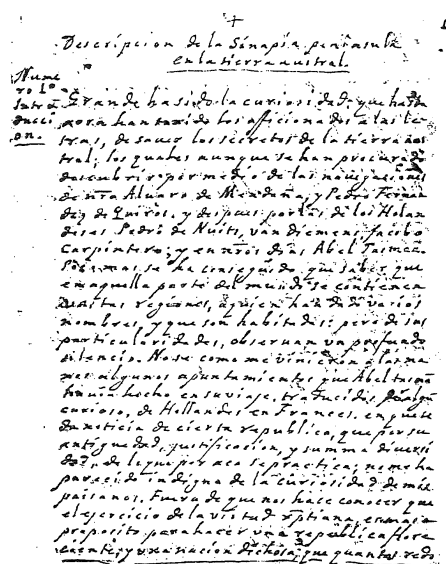


author, who remains unknown, nor do we know if the manuscript is in fact an autograph copy. While we may never learn the circumstances surrounding Campomanes's acquisition of the *Sinapia* manuscript, its presence in his library is not unduly surprising, given the relative degree of openness with which social critiques and satires circulated in Spain during the eighteenth century, not just in closed-door gatherings in aristocratic salons but also in a sort of proto-Habermasian public sphere (Sánchez Blanco 11). As well, Campomanes's wide-ranging interests in economic policy and agricultural and administrative reorganization are echoed in some of the principles, and much of the reformist spirit, on which Sinapian society is founded.

Shortly after the discovery of *Sinapia* two editions of the text were published on opposite sides of the Atlantic by Stelio Cro (Ottawa, 1975) and Miguel Avilés Fernández (Salamanca, 1976), who differed fundamentally in their attempts to date the manuscript. Cro inclined toward placing the composition around 1682, situating the author among the *novatores* (innovators) who broke with scholasticism and Aristotelianism and began introducing the experimental sciences and natural philosophy, leading the way for a renewal of culture and the successive flowering of Enlightenment thought in Spain; Avilés conjectured that it was likely written as much as a century later (ca. 1770-1800). Although the debate remains unresolved, current opinion favors Cro's earlier attribution, a possibility that Avilés himself conceded in a subsequent publication (Avilés "Las utopías"). In postulating a late seventeenth-century origin of the manuscript, Cro's hypothesis highlights *Sinapia*'s significance as an early incubator of imagined alternatives to a contemporary reality whose critiques became inscribed in key social, political, and literary currents of the Spanish Enlightenment.

Cro's subsequent two-volume re-edition and accompanying study of *Sinapia* (1994), currently out of print but available through libraries, is especially adaptable for classroom use. Presenting the transcription of the original text and an English-language translation on facing pages, Cro's edition can be used to incorporate *Sinapia* into courses on the eighteenth century, at both the undergraduate and graduate level, that are organized around a variety of disciplinary perspectives drawn from the fields of history, literature, philosophy, religion, and political economy, among others. *Sinapia* can fruitfully be integrated into reading lists on the syllabi of panoramic surveys of Enlightenment thought and culture, courses dedicated to the comparative study of European national literary traditions, and eighteenth-century special

topics seminars (e.g., the development of utopian thought; gender; the role of arts, industry, and/or science in society; religion and Enlightenment; education; empire, colonialism, and race). The author divided his manuscript into 33 numbered sections, each subheaded according to subject matter ("General description of the peninsula," "Inhabitants," "Of the home or family," "Of the religion," "Of the economic system," "On justice," "Of work and commerce," "Of the sciences," "Of the slaves," etc.), such that instructors, if they prefer, can assign selected fragments that align topically with their courses. Obviously, *Sinapia* is also an optimal choice for inclusion in courses that focus exclusively on the history and culture of Spain and the Hispanic Atlantic, with the added advantage that the bilingual presentation of the text in this edition can accommodate students with varying levels of foreign language proficiency.



First page of *Descripción de la Sinapia* (Numero 1º. Introduccion), reproduced in Stelio Cro, *The American Foundations of the Hispanic Utopia (1492-1793)*, vol. I, De Soto Press, 1994

At the time of its discovery and initial publication *Sinapia* was hailed as the first known Spanish utopia, that is, not merely a fragment intercalated within a longer work but rather a complete text that posits a fictional social organization different from, and intended as an

improvement on, actual Spanish society.³ The author was clearly familiar with Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), first published in a Castilian translation of the Latin original by Gerónimo Antonio de Medinilla y Porres in 1637. Thereafter, the term *utopía* began circulating among Spain's lettered elites; in studying historical usage patterns, Juan Pro found that "Throughout the *ancien régime*, whenever the word *utopía* appears, it is in connection with Thomas More's work or his imaginary island" (Pro 16). In More's text, the Portuguese Raphael Hythloday sailed with Amerigo Vespucci to the New World but, rather than return with him to Europe, instead continued his explorational voyage and so encountered the isle of Utopia. Following More's model, *Sinapia* makes use of a parallel framing device. The introduction explains how the Dutch seaman Abel Tasman, while circumnavigating New Holland, Concordia Land, New Zealand, Carpinteria and New Guinea, came upon "a peninsula situated at 40 degrees latitude south and 190 degrees longitude . . . and only to the south, united with the great continent which extends to the Straits of Magellan" (*Cro American Foundations*, I: 89).⁴ It was on this peninsula that Tasman happened upon the remarkable republic of Sinapia and committed its description to a manuscript in Dutch, which was then translated into French "by some curious person." The chain of transmission continues as the manuscript subsequently fell into the hands of the narrator who, observing that "Great is the desire of the lovers of knowledge to learn the secrets of the austral lands" (Cro 87), has tasked himself with rendering the text into Spanish.

Alluding to the manuscript's contents, in its initial pages the implied author states his purpose in presenting this work and the manner of reception he hopes it will find among readers:

I do not know how I came to possess some notes made by Abel Tasman

³ This panorama was altered with the publication of Ignacio J. García Pinillo, ed., *Omnibona: utopía del siglo XVI*, Publicaciones de la Sociedad de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, 2017. The existence of the anonymously authored *Omnibona* (ca. 1540), preserved in Spain's Royal Academy of History, had been previously known to scholars since the nineteenth century but attracted scant attention until García Pinillo made the text available in a contemporary edition.

⁴ Quotations from *Sinapia* are taken from the English translation included in Vol. 1 of Stelio Cro's *The American Foundations of the Hispanic Utopia (1492-1793)* (1994). In all other instances, translations from original Spanish-language secondary sources are my own.

during his trip. . . in which a certain republic is described that, because of its antiquity and the just and perfect diversity of that which is practiced there, has seemed to me worthy of the attention of my countrymen. Furthermore, these notes help us to understand that the exercise of Christian virtue is more suited to make a republic flourish and a nation happy than all the artful politics which Tacitus or Machiavelli teach or are practiced by the Europeans. I determined therefore to translate it, at the risk that it pass for a novel, so that those of us who have been raised with the difficulty of mine and yours can persuade ourselves that we can live in perfect equality . . . for those of us who are corrupted by a wasteful society, it becomes very difficult to conceive happiness in moderation. But all doubt ceases when we consider the purpose of the constitution of that republic, which is to live moderately, devoutly and justly in this world . . . for which no methods are more appropriate than life in common, equality, moderation, and work. Whereas for the most part the goal of our governments has been to satisfy our material desires or relieve our exploitation, similar goals have never before been conceived. (Cro 87; 89)

This introito to the text is striking for numerous reasons. For one, it reveals *Sinapia's* filiation with More's work in its adaptation of the convention of the voyage to a remote "no place" (*utopia*)—an island or, in this instance, a peninsula—that is also a "good place" (*eutopia*), geographically located south of the equator. It is also noteworthy that from the outset the narrator-translator stakes a claim to the veracity of his text, pointedly disavowing its status as a novel. For readers to fully appreciate the superior merits of Sinapian society in comparison to their own, a text that is presented as a quasi-historical document rather than a fictional entertainment will be judged as more persuasive; the insertion of the historical figure of the navigator Abel Tasman (1603-1659) reinforces this reality effect. The narrative debt to Cervantes's opening gambit in the *Quijote* of the found manuscript is unmistakable, though used here to quite a different purpose. To communicate its didactic message, the text of *Sinapia* necessarily must accomplish a shift between registers of the fictional universe and the real world, culminating in the reader's willing suspension of disbelief: "the utopist addresses the reader to tell him about a society that does not exist, and the reader acts as if he believes the author, even if he is aware of the non-existence of such a society" (Vieira 8).

Cervantine intertextuality in *Sinapia* underscores the text's linkage to a prior tradition of Spanish utopian thought and contemporary social satire. However, unlike Cervantes's master work, *Sinapia* adheres faithfully to its title: it is a description, not a novel. *Sinapia's* legislative and economic systems, social and familial organization, and Christian

values and ecclesiastical bureaucratic apparatus are recounted in expository prose by an omniscient narrator who breaks with impersonality only in the prologue and the closing “Reflections” that bracket the text. Absent from *Sinapia* is the voice of the traveler who, having journeyed from afar, observes and interacts with the inhabitants of the more perfect world he has encountered. Just as there is no perceiving consciousness, there is also no plot to speak of. Nothing happens in *Sinapia*, for in an ideal and unchanging world where all live in harmony and prosperity there is no story to tell. The principal components of *Sinapia* are description and commentary; these are the antithesis of narrative, which consists of the recounting of real or fictional events in either a causal or temporal sequence. *Sinapia* exemplifies how in Spain, with relatively few exceptions, utopian writings and accounts of imaginary voyages prior to the nineteenth century did not generally adopt the novel form, although they made occasional use of novelistic devices or were sometimes inserted into longer fictional narratives (“micro-utopias,” Pohl 688).⁵ In these late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish texts, “when the description of the utopian world begins, what is properly novelistic disappears”; “Fantasy and imagination in utopias are not at the service of the objectives of narrative or fiction but rather of concrete ideological utility” (Álvarez Barrientos 132). This represents a marked departure from the abundant tradition of utopian novels published elsewhere in Enlightenment-era Europe. Structurally, *Sinapia* in many respects more closely approximates the essay, a widely-cultivated and “polymorphous” genre (Sánchez Blanco 11) in Spain’s long eighteenth century that assumed diverse forms: discourses and orations, letters, reports, diaries, dialogues, and travel narratives.

The introduction to *Sinapia*, as we have seen, clearly frames the narrator’s intentions. This republic,” he writes, “seemed to me worthy of the attention of my countrymen” (Cro 87). He has made Tasman’s notes accessible in a Spanish-language translation in hopes that he may

⁵ The most notable exception is Gutierre Joaquín Vaca de Guzmán, *Viajes de Enrique Wanton a las tierras incógnitas australes y al país de las monas* (The Voyages of Henry Wanton to the Unknown Southern Lands and to the Country of the Monkeys), a four-volume work. The first two volumes were written by Zaccaria Seriman in 1749, which Vaca de Guzmán translated from the original Italian (1769). Volumes 3 and 4, the *Suplemento de los viajes* (1771), are his original contribution, in which he continued the story. The satire that characterizes Vaca de Guzmán’s text has elicited comparisons to *Gulliver’s Travels* (see Almanza-Gálvez 88-89).

convince readers of the advantages of a Catholic Christian commonwealth founded upon reason, moderation, and equality, that has abolished private property and hereditary nobility, esteems the dignity of work, and cultivates an authentic spiritual life under the auspices of a Church that functions in complementarity to the State. The manuscript's concluding "Reflections" reiterate this optimistic appeal to a better life in this world "in order to live happily in the next," contrasting Sinapia's virtues with societies that are troubled by "the maxims of self-serving politics, the pride that creates hereditary nobility, the inequality of rich and poor and the artificial variety of luxuries and comforts, invented by laziness" (Cro 171), denunciations that are typical of the repeated complaints lodged by Spanish *ilustrados* (enlightened intellectuals and reformers). Hence, Sinapia ([H]ispania), situated on the peninsula of Bireia (Iberia), stands in diametrical opposition to a politically debilitated and morally corrupt Spain, as the final sentence of the manuscript avers: "Finally one observes that in geography, as in all the rest, this peninsula is the perfect antipode of our Spain" (Cro 171). Viewed from the author's position in *Sinapia*, utopia is best defined—as Vieira has suggested we do in her overview of the concept—not as a genre but instead as an attitude, "caused by a feeling of discontentment toward the society one lives in" and fueled by hope, "a reaction to an undesirable present and an aspiration to overcome all difficulties by the imagination of alternatives" (Vieira 6-7). As a work that was never published and that described what at the time would have been viewed as an impracticable reorganization of the nation, *Sinapia* surely did not promote material change; for those few who may have read it, and presumably for the author, its effect would have been cathartic, not catalytic.

Notably, Enlightenment secularism could not compete in Spain with the nation's undiminished Catholic faith tradition, which in turn may help explain the author's portrayal in *Sinapia* of a "utopian civic Christendom" based on an "allegedly rational Christianity" (Almanza-Gálvez 73); its Church, while adhering to a Christianity "without hypocrisy, superstition nor vanity," following the ritual that was "observed in the third and fourth centuries" (Cro 115), is defined by its rigid clerical hierarchy, religious festivals and ceremonies that dominate civic life, and intolerance of dissent. The heterogeneous democratic-aristocratic structure of Sinapian government, meanwhile, tilts absolutist. Thus, while progressive in some aspects of its organization (the abolition of money and private property, universal education, agricultural reform, emphasis on ethical codes of conduct),

Sinapia is constituted as a conservative society in which the individual is entirely subordinate to the collective good of the community and the rule of the prince. Not only religious orthodoxy is enforced; uniformity is imposed everywhere: in styles of dress, personal hygiene, the exact temporal division of the activities of each citizen's day, and architecture ("All the houses on the peninsula are exactly alike in every detail"; "He who has seen one town has seen them all, because all are equal and exactly alike"; "Having seen one temple, you have seen them all"; Cro 101, 107, 115). Punishment of legal transgressions is swift and draconian (exile, slavery, death; prison is never mentioned). The introduction of all manner of innovations—inventions, books, ideas—is carefully regulated, as are the entry of foreigners and the travel of Sinapians outside their commonwealth's borders, resulting in a true insularity; ironically, the same travel that brought Abel Tasman to Sinapia is as a rule discouraged or denied to Sinapia's citizens. Utopian frameworks like as not contain within them the seeds of potential dystopia, a fact that surely will not be lost on readers of *Sinapia* in our current twenty-first century moment in which contemporary crises, like those of the eighteenth century, are ventilated in the press and expressed through utopian and/or dystopian scenarios in novels, television, and film. In the course I teach, "Hispanic Utopias/Dystopias," which considers narrative fiction and cinema of Spain, Latin America, and the U.S.-Mexico border as well as experimental communities and protest movements such as the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico and the 15-M social protest movement in Spain, students invariably question to what extent Sinapia can in fact be considered a utopia. "A utopian world for whom?" they ask, bringing up as examples Sinapia's enslaved population and would-be religious freethinkers. Even taking into account the Cartesian rationality that undergirds their society, they wonder: can Sinapians citizens, given their geometrically organized and regimented existence, truly achieve the happiness that the author attributes to them?

Given its unique place within Spanish letters and the conceptual richness of the text, *Sinapia* lends itself to helping broaden the scope of courses that seek to promote the study of the global Enlightenment, the term that Felicity Nussbaum uses to designate the extension, interconnectedness, and interdependence of the eighteenth-century world; one way of achieving this broader vision is by more fully representing Spain and Spanish America in the eighteenth-century studies curriculum we teach. Below I offer some concrete suggestions

for incorporating *Sinapia* in four sample courses with a range of reading options, indicating, where appropriate, thematically relevant sections of the text, following the author's numbering of them in his manuscript. These courses are intentionally comparative in nature; in departments of Spanish, instructors may prefer to weight their syllabi with texts drawn from eighteenth-century Spain and Spanish America that can be read in untranslated versions.

Utopian literature (philosophical treatises, essays, novels, narratives of real and/or imaginary voyages)

Sinapia can be read in counterpoint to works drawn from a range of national Enlightenment traditions and disciplinary lenses. Although the concept of utopia predates the invention of the word (Biblical Eden, Plato's *Republic*, the myths of Cockaigne and the Golden Age, St. Augustine's *City of God*), this course, after reviewing foundational utopian works of the Renaissance (More, Campanella, Bacon), then advances to the eighteenth century. **Sample syllabus texts:** *Sinapia* (1682?); Fénelon, *The Adventures of Telemachus* (1699); Manley, *New Atalantis* (1709); Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719); Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* (1726); Di Lucca, *The Adventures of Signor Gaudenzio Di Lucca* (1737); Hume, "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth" (1752); Johnson, *Rasselas* (1759); Rousseau, *Julie, or the New Heloise* (1761) and/or *The Social Contract* (1762); Mercier, *Memoirs of the Year Two Thousand Five Hundred* (1771).

Utopia and colonization / Colonialism and race

Sinapia, a speculative utopia and literary construct, can be read in the context of New World colonization by Europeans. This includes exploitative colonies based on the extraction of resources and labor as well as intentional communities based on utopian ideals. Cro, for instance, juxtaposes *Sinapia* to "empirical" or "experimental" utopias embarked upon during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as part of the Spanish program of evangelization in the New World (Cro 28): the work of Bartolomé de las Casas among the indigenous, the *Pueblos-Hospitales* (village-hospitals) founded in Mexico City and Michoacán by Bishop Vasco de Quiroga, and the Jesuit *reducciones* (mission settlements) in Paraguay, ideal communities intended to construct a Christian-social utopia in the Americas. In Spain, Campomanes charged Pablo de Olavide with overseeing the creation, beginning in 1767, of the *Nuevas Poblaciones* (New Towns) in Andalucía and Sierra Morena, colonizing these sparsely inhabited regions with Swiss,

German, and Flemish Catholic families. Similar efforts occurred elsewhere on the North American continent. And, just as in fictional works the discovery of a utopian society facilitates contact between civilizations and peoples, Europeans encountered the Other through exploration, conquest, and colonization. *Sinapia* dwells at length on the fusion of races at the time of its founding—Malaysians, Chinese, Peruvians, and Persians, who introduced Christianity—suggesting “the birth of a superior civilization consisting of the amalgamation of social groups with colonizing purposes” (Almanza-Gálvez 66), an unusual argument in favor of a multicultural, racially diverse utopia that, however, coexists with the Sinapian institution of slavery and a cautious attitude toward interaction with other nations. **Sample syllabus texts:** *Sinapia* (especially sections 3, 7, 20, 23-26, 29, 32); historical and critical readings on utopian practices and colonialism in eighteenth-century Spanish America and North America that invoke the interaction among settlers, indigenous, and enslaved people; Behn, *Oroonoko* (1688); Graffigny, *Letters from a Peruvian Woman* (1747); Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws* (1748); Saint-Lambert, *Ziméo* (1769); Diderot, *Supplement to Bougainville’s Voyage* (1772); Sancho, *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho* (1782); Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (1789); eighteenth-century Spanish American *casta* paintings.



Map of the Jesuit mission of Candelaria

Gender in the eighteenth century

The nature, roles, and rights of women figure prominently in

social, scientific, and political debates during the Enlightenment in Spain, Europe, and the Americas, which can be explored through treatises and fictional works that defend or critique existing systems of gender division. *Sinapia*, for instance, mandates universal education for both sexes. All citizens work, with women engaged in agricultural work (breeding of domestic animals) as well as tasks in the domestic sphere (child rearing, making clothes, preparing meals, etc.). Though women are expected to wed and bear children, marriages are entered into freely, albeit subject to parental consent, and dowries have been abolished. However, Sinapian society is organized around a strictly patriarchal model; in descending order from the prince, the heads of the senate, provinces, cities, towns, boroughs, and families are all called "father" and exercise absolute control over their respective domains. A similar structure obtains in Sinapia's Church: "All the priests are called fathers; the bishops, grandfathers; and the Patriarch, Great Father" (Cro 119). **Sample syllabus texts:** *Sinapia* (especially sections 22, 24, 27, 29); Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, Parts I and II* (1694, 1697); Feijoo, "Defense of Women" (1728); Lennox, *The Female Quixote* (1752); Riccoboni, *Letters from Mistress Fanny Butlerd* (1757); Scott, *A Description of Millenium Hall and the Country Adjacent* (1762); Rousseau, *Emile* (1762); Amar y Borbón, *Discourse in Defense of the Talent of Women* (1786); Reeve, *Plans of Education* (1792); Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).

Utopia and the environment

The Columbian expeditions to the Indies initiated a discourse of the marvels of nature and edenic primitivism that quickly became incorporated into visual and written texts about the interrelationships between the natural and built environments. *Sinapia* offers a panegyric to the diversity and fertility of the Sinapian peninsula at the same time that it lays out an extraordinarily detailed plan for the design and construction of the entire community, from the macro level down to the individual family home. **Sample syllabus texts:** *Sinapia* (especially sections 4-12, 31); Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (1689); Rousseau, *Reveries of the Solitary Walker* (1776); landscape paintings of Constable, Goya, Paret, Watteau, Fragonard; nature poetry by Goldsmith, Cowper, Wordsworth, Meléndez Valdés; gardens; treatises and examples of eighteenth-century city planning.

Conclusion

In the 1930s, Karl Mannheim made the salient observation that "It

is always the dominant group which is in full accord with the existing order that determines what is to be regarded as utopian, while the ascendant group which is in conflict with things as they are is the one that determines what is regarded as ideological” (Mannheim 202). *Sinapia* testifies to the efforts of what was admittedly a minority of elite intellectuals to bring about the renovation of institutions and policies in Spain’s long eighteenth century. As a teaching resource, it can contribute to a fuller understanding of the Enlightenment in Spain as well as in a larger European framework.

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