

Encountering the Enlightenment: Science, Religion, and Catholic Epistemologies across the Spanish Atlantic, 1687-1813

by

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ABSTRACT

During the eighteenth century, a wave of thought inundated the Spanish empire, introducing new knowledge in the natural sciences, religion, and philosophy, and importantly, questioning the very modes of perceiving and ascertaining this knowledge. This period of epistemic rupture in Spain and her colonies, commonly referred to as the Enlightenment, not only presented new ways of knowing, but inspired impassioned debates among leading intellectuals about the epistemology and philosophy that continued throughout the century. The previous scholarly literature has largely dismissed Spain's intellectual activity in the eighteenth-century, arguing that its predominantly conservative and Catholic culture stifled innovation and relegated it to a peripheral and derivative position in the broader European Enlightenment. Only recently have scholars given serious attention to the conception of a widespread "Catholic Enlightenment." This dissertation places the intellectual and religious activity of the eighteenth-century Spanish empire within this Catholic Enlightenment, specifically examining the ways in which religious intellectuals mediated and contested Enlightenment thought. It particularly highlights the works of Counter-Enlightenment thinkers who engaged eighteenth-century philosophy but ultimately rejected it.

This dissertation examines the leading theological, philosophical, and scientific writings of religious intellectuals, university professors, natural philosophers, and physicians in eighteenth-century Spain, New Spain, and Peru, additionally considering personal letters, Inquisitorial evidence, and writing from the popular press of the period. In so doing, it assesses the way in which such writings contended for an epistemology which would satisfy both the new philosophies and sciences as well as the Catholic faith; showing how eighteenth-century Spaniards defined the relationship between these fields and how they conceived of the disciplines of knowledge.

Ultimately, this dissertation argues that the work of Catholic Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment individuals in Spain was less radical than the philosophies adopted by French or British counterparts. The Spanish Enlightenment experience was the result of a deliberate, thoughtful, and careful negotiation between ancients and moderns and an attempt to conciliate new methods of knowledge into the existing Scholastic framework which had been held in the Spanish empire for centuries, rather than accepting a complete epistemological rupture. It demonstrates the role of conservative intellectuals in contesting epistemological hegemony in the mid-eighteenth century by proposing alternative, and at times, mutually exclusive, systems for understanding and pursuing truth. It similarly shows how these epistemological debates impacted the way that Spaniards conceived of the relationship between science and religion. This, in turn, impacts the way in which historians understand both the way that Spain related to the European community, especially France, during the eighteenth century, as well as the way that various religious groups encountered the Enlightenment movement.

In memory of Gertrude Mary Franke Devanny

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AESIA	Archivo de España de la Compañía de Jesús, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Spain
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Spain
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Spain
CE	<i>Cartas Eruditas y Curiosas</i> , Feijóo (V volumes 1742-1760)
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Spain
CSWR	Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico
DHEE	<i>Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España</i> , Quintín Aldea, Tomás Marín, and José Vives, directors, CSIC (V volumes)
EBE	<i>Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de los Mejores Escritores del Reynado de Carlos III</i> , Sempere y Guarinos (VI volumes, 1785-1789)
HDFE	<i>Hombres y documentos de la filosofía española</i> , Gonzalo Díaz Díaz, CSIC (VII volumes, 1980-2003)
HESB	Rare Books and Special Collections, Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana
HHE	<i>Historia de los heterodoxos españoles</i> , Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (VIII volumes, 1880-1882)
RANM	Real Academia Nacional de Medicina, Madrid, Spain
TCU	<i>Teatro Crítico Universal</i> , Feijóo (VIII volumes, 1726-1739)

INTRODUCTION:

Encountering the Spanish Enlightenments

“For my part, I am persuaded, that the torpid infidelity of ignorance prevails more in Spain than the active infidelity of science in either England or France...such is the general neglect of education that the principal ministers find it difficult to procure proper men to fill the common offices.”

-Joseph Townsend, *A Journey Through Spain in the Years 1786 and 1787* (1791)¹

“...It is enough to note,” commented Benito Jerónimo Feijóo (1676-1764), “that Theology and Philosophy have their limits well distinguished, and that no Spaniard disregards the fact that revealed doctrine has the right of superiority over human discourse, [a right] which all the natural sciences lack.”² In this pronouncement, this priest and amateur natural philosopher of eighteenth-century Spain responded to concerns of his contemporaries that the new discourse of knowledge provided by Enlightenment thinkers posed a direct challenge to the Catholic faith in Spain. Feijóo saw the fields of Theology and Philosophy (meaning natural philosophy, or science) as distinct and hierarchical – yet at other times spoke of science and religion as partners in the quest for knowledge and understanding. How did Spanish intellectuals like Feijóo confront the crisis of knowledge that historians commonly call “the Enlightenment?” What was considered true knowledge in eighteenth-century Spain, and what ways of justifying this knowledge existed?

To answer these questions, this dissertation provides the history of a particular epistemic shift that occurred in Spain at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century

¹ Joseph Townsend, *A journey through Spain in the years 1786 and 1787 with particular attention to the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, population, taxes, and revenue of that country; and remarks in passing through a part of France* (London: C. Dilly, 1797), three volumes, pg. 235, 247.

² Benito Jerónimo Feijóo. *Cartas eruditas, y curiosas en que, por la mayor parte, se continúa el deseignio del Teatro Crítico Universal, impugnando, o reduciendo a dudosas, varias opiniones comunes*, Tomo Segundo (Madrid, 1745), Carta XVI, “Causas del atraso que se padece en España en orden a las Ciencias Naturales.”(Hereafter CE, marked with essay and paragraph numbers, where applicable). “...basta advertir, que la Teología, y la Filosofía tienen bien distinguidos sus límites; y que ningún Español ignora, que la doctrina revelada tiene un derecho de superioridad sobre el discurso humano, de que carecen todas las Ciencias Naturales...” (CE II.16.§24)

– one that had repercussions well throughout the end of the century and into the modern period. The idea of an ‘epistemic shift’ relates directly to both Michel Foucault’s concept of an *episteme* and Thomas Kuhn’s similarly defined *paradigm*: that is, the term given to the collection of *a priori* assumptions about knowledge, collected discursive practices, and the existing metaphysics which govern the way individuals approach knowledge.³ The following research describes the crucible of epistemological debates which exerted the necessary pressure to force an uneasy change in the status quo of the study of knowledge throughout the Spanish empire. By examining key works of philosophy, theology, and science, this study demonstrates how these changes began in the initial works of early Spanish *novatores* (early Enlightenment thinkers) at the end of the seventeenth-century (1687), were in full debate by the mid-eighteenth century (1727-1765), and were still being contested at the time of the restoration of Fernando VII after the French occupation of the Iberian Peninsula (1813). This places Spain squarely and coterminously in the midst of the larger European Enlightenment unfolding during the eighteenth century.

At the start of the eighteenth century, new currents of philosophical and scientific thought began to upset the intellectual climate of Spain and her colonies. New anatomical and biochemical advances influenced medicinal practice, and a call for the practice of medical skepticism and empirical practice destabilized the traditional strains of Galenic and Hippocratic thought. Academic societies and *tertulias* began to appear across the peninsula. In the field of natural philosophy, Spanish intellectuals now commonly read scientific authors, including foreign authors such as Francis Bacon and Isaac Newton. Along with the impressive corpus of new scientific knowledge, however, came those advocating for a new methodological platform –

³ See Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses: une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris : Editions Gallimard, 1966) ; Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1962).

one that would not only govern how one conducted studies of the natural world, but how one valued different types of knowledge and approached learning in general.

Sometimes, such concerns were smuggled in as the philosophical underpinnings of new works, at other times, they were confronted head-on by the leading philosophers of the day. The repercussions of their findings began to sound across all disciplines; in the study of both physics and metaphysics, the implications of scientific advancements provided new perspectives, destabilizing the Scholasticism advocated by the Spanish university system and calling for a rejection of the monopoly which Aristotelianism held in nearly all areas of inquiry. These changes, commonly referred to collectively as the “New Philosophy” or the “New Science,” impacted the sphere of the religious and intellectual thinkers of the Spanish empire throughout the eighteenth century. To some, these changes were welcome and overdue – individuals such as Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, Andrés Piquer (1711-1772), and Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811) often lamented what they viewed as the intellectual backwardness of Spain and criticized the reluctance of the university, church, and state to adopt the import of new philosophies. To many others, such as Salvador José Mañer (1676-1751), Fernando Cevallos (1732-1802), or Fray Diego José de Cádiz (1743-1801), these changes were not only direct challenges to established certainties, but represented calls for radical methodologies that would lead to materialism, atheism, and the ultimate ruin of Catholic society.⁴ These individuals critiqued the New Philosophy as epistemologically insufficient for the sciences and especially for philosophy and theology, and called for a return to the traditionally practiced methods of knowledge. At stake

⁴ Andrés Piquer was a royal physician and prolific author on medical and philosophical topics; Jovellanos is considered the most emblematic writer of eighteenth-century Spanish literature. The first chapter of this dissertation examines both Piquer and Feijóo in detail. Mañer was a public intellectual and critic who worked in Spanish journalism during the first half of the eighteenth century; Fernando de Cevallos y Mier and Cádiz were both religious (OSH and OFM, respectively) who participated vehemently in the Spanish Counter-Enlightenment. The third chapter discusses all three.

was not only the acceptance or rejection of the new knowledge itself, but the prioritization of different modes of justification, the definition of disciplines of knowledge, and the way in which these disciplines interacted with one another (science and religion, for example).

Some Central Questions

The question is not so much what people thought and believed in the Spanish empire of the eighteenth-century, but how they thought and why they believed the way that they did.⁵

What constituted truth to the eighteenth-century mind in the Spanish Atlantic? What was the acceptable standard for logic, reason, proof, or evidence? What were established or putative sources of authoritative knowledge? How were modes of perception ranked, established, criticized, or defended? What was the rule for the application of skepticism or doubt? What intellectual virtues were recognized and exalted at this time? How was the model set forth in eighteenth-century discourse different in these processes from the intellectual traditions before them? Was there something culturally and socially unique to the Spanish intellectual tradition that distinguished it from the rest of Europe, and if so, how are these factors explained?

These questions are largely metaphysical, epistemological, and axiological in scope.⁶ First, they address the metaphysics of the eighteenth-century Spanish empire, concerned with the way in which Spanish intellectuals conceived of reality, and particularly interested in how Spanish thinkers divided the realms of the natural and the supernatural and the visible and the invisible. Secondly, and most important to this research, this dissertation investigates the epistemology of the eighteenth-century Spanish mind, studying how Spaniards thought about the

⁵ See, for comparison, Steven Shapin's distinction between "What Was Known?" and "How Was it Known?" in Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁶ For more thorough definitions of each of these categories, consult David Boersema, *Philosophy of Science: Text with Readings* (New York: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2009), 1-33.

nature of knowledge and truth. These include epistemological questions of metaphysics (i.e. what evidence exists for the justification of the supernatural?), but more broadly is interested in the entire “account of knowledge.”⁷ That Spaniards conceived of two distinct fields of inquiry – science and religion – is clear from the textual record, but *how* these two fields related to each other varied greatly. Science and religion both contain epistemological claims about what constitutes valid and justified sources and forms of knowledge. At times these epistemological claims were relative to a particular standard or field of inquiry, and other times not – at all times, science and Religion were either in a state of antagonism, exclusivity, or compatibility. This dissertation is particularly interested in the third relationship, contextualizing what Alvin Plantinga has called the “deep concord” of Science and Religion in the intellectual history of the eighteenth-century Spanish empire.⁸ Lastly, this dissertation is often concerned with axiological questions, seeking to establish how eighteenth-century Spaniards conceived of value, meaning, and importance, particularly as these relate to questions of reality and truth.

The central assertion of this dissertation is that the religious and intellectual elite of the eighteenth-century Spanish empire were not only deeply concerned with the accuracy or orthodoxy of their scientific, philosophical, and religious beliefs, but were fundamentally attentive to the epistemology that defined this veracity and mandated the correct modes for perceiving knowledge and justifying truth. More simply, learned clerics, natural philosophers, university professors, inquisitors, *calificadores*, and learned sections of the general populace

⁷ Paul Moser, *The Oxford Handbook of Epistemology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3. See also W. Jay Wood, *Epistemology: Becoming Intellectually Virtuous* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press Academic, 1998), especially chapter one, “The Nature of Epistemology.”

⁸ Alvin Plantinga, *Where the Conflict Really Lies: Science, Religion, and Naturalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), particularly chapter ten, “Deep Concord: Christian Theism and the Deep Roots of Science.”

were not only concerned with what people were thinking, but how one came to such thoughts, articulated a position, and justified beliefs as true.

The works surveyed in this dissertation demonstrate a spectrum of opinions on the proper nature of epistemology. Some intellectuals who advocated the adoption of new scientific knowledge and medical discourse also argued for a complete overhaul of epistemic justification, while others sought to mediate between the existing curricula of academic societies and the new philosophies. Still others rejected entirely the idea of introducing such ideas. All three approaches – reform, reconciliation, and rejection – are explained in detail in the following dissertation. It is first necessary, however, to understand how these particular, and in some ways, peculiarly Spanish responses correspond to the broader analysis of European intellectual history of the eighteenth century, particularly as it relates to the touchstone of studies on the Enlightenment. The following historiographical survey provides a summary of the major positions which this dissertation engages; each chapter elaborates more specifically on particular applications.

A Brief Historiography of the Enlightenment

The available scholarly literature pertaining to Enlightenment Studies is vast, varied, and has asserted itself as a necessary field which must be addressed by any history of the eighteenth century. By arguing that there were a series of epistemological debates in Spain during the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this dissertation directly studies processes that were labeled by contemporaries as enlightening, their practitioners as enlightened (*ilustrados*), and known by modern historiography as part of a proper-noun program called “The Enlightenment.” Roughly

summarized, this was the predominantly intellectual, cultural, and social paradigm which was characteristic of the eighteenth century and often seen as the beginning of the modern era.

Most recent historians have been unanimous in their pronouncements that any singular, capital-E Enlightenment is an invention of historians of the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries and is less useful than it is categorically problematic.⁹ Jonathan Israel has argued that historians ought to break the Enlightenment into “Enlightenments” – several coterminous, overlapping ideological movements, one of which was the Radical Enlightenment, described as “an anti-theological and ultimately democratic emancipatory project...”¹⁰ This was argued by Israel in two of his more famous works, *Radical Enlightenment* and *Enlightenment Contested*, both of which focused on this Radical Enlightenment, which unfortunately continued the misleading association of enlightenment ideas with secularism and liberalism. The equation of secularization and the Enlightenment in past historiography has helped to demonstrate the insufficiency of the term and the subsequent call for multiple enlightenments. The historian J.G.A. Pocock has described the current historiographical definition of Enlightenment as “the growth of a non-theocentric “philosophy” of civil society, with political economy and a history of society and *l’esprit humain* among its outgrowths.”¹¹ This equation of secularism and non-theocentrism with Enlightenment was cemented in the work of Peter Gay, namely his two-

⁹ Pocock, for example, simply states that, “There is no single or unifiable phenomenon describable as “the Enlightenment,” but it is the definite article rather than the noun which is to be avoided.” J.G.A. Pocock, “Historiography and Enlightenment: A View of Their History,” *Modern Intellectual History* 5, no, 01 (April, 2008), 83.

¹⁰ J. Israel, “Enlightenment! Which Enlightenment?,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, No. 3 (July 2006), 524-545; 528-529. Charles Taylor also employs the term “Radical Enlightenment” in his work, *Sources of the Self*. See also J.G.A. Pocock, “Enthusiasm: the Antiself of Enlightenment,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60, no. 1/2, Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850 (1997), 7-28.

¹¹ J.G.A. Pocock, “Historiography and Enlightenment: A View of Their History,” *Modern Intellectual History* 5, Issue 01 (April, 2008), 84.

volume survey revealingly titled *The Enlightenment: The Rise of Modern Paganism* (1966) and *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation: The Science of Freedom* (1969).¹²

Most importantly for this investigation, the mutual exclusivity of enlightenment and of religion posited by earlier historians must be rejected, and the categorical concept of enlightenments broadened to include religious thought and activity by religious individuals. In his essay, “Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay,” Sheehan presents an incisive historiographical study of recent historical revisionism to the field of Enlightenment histories, particularly interested in the problem of secularization as a process and with the “return of religion” to the field of inquiry.¹³ Sheehan rightly demonstrates that many recent works have been written debunking the “secularization thesis,” working to highlight the prominence of religion in the Enlightenment.¹⁴ Scholars have persuasively demonstrated religious Enlightenment movements throughout Europe, including Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic thinkers, relegating the idea of a purely secular experience of the Enlightenment as “threadbare and outmoded.”¹⁵

¹² See Gay’s work under these titles. Also see: Christopher Nadon, ed. *Enlightenment and Secularism: Essays on the Mobilization of Reason* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2013).

¹³ Jonathan Sheehan, “Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay” *American Historical Review* 180, No. 4 (October 2003), 1061-1080. Writing on the problem of secularization, Sheehan interestingly muses that: “As an analytical category, secularization plagues the efforts to connect the Enlightenment and religion, not least because the term is so crucial to the self-imagination of the modern age, which has, from the eighteenth century onward, understood itself as surpassing its religious past.” (1071)

¹⁴ See also, Robert Sullivan, “Rethinking Christianity in Enlightened Europe [Review Essay],” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, No. 2, *Antiquarians, Connoisseurs, and Collectors* (Winter, 2001), 298-309. Jonathan Sheehan has commented on this relationship, noting that “The injection of religion into the Enlightenment, I suggest, is part of a revision of the history of secular society that has sent the very category of the Enlightenment – long defined as a philosophical program whose anti-religious zeal paved the way for our secular present – into great turmoil. Enlightenment and religion, for a variety of reasons, make a difficult marriage. But these difficulties are productive, I argue, for they allow historians to question implicit and explicit understandings of religion and to put pressure on the slippery and often misleading notion of secularization.” Sheehan, “Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay,” 1064.

¹⁵ David Sorkin, “Godless Liberals: The Myth of the Secular Enlightenment,” *Religion Dispatches* (University of Southern California, Annenberg), April 2, 2010, <http://religiondispatches.org/godless-liberals-the-myth-of-the-secular-enlightenment/> (accessed August 11, 2015). For a brief survey on this subject, see George A. Klaeren “Was the Enlightenment Secular? No.” in *The Enlightenment: History Documents, and Key Questions*, William Burns, ed. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2016), 171-176. See also: S.J. Barnett, *The Enlightenment and Religion: The Myths of*

Jonathan Sheehan has posited his own definition of the Enlightenment as “a new constellation of formal and technical practices and institutions,” stating that:

Such practices and institutions might include philosophical argument, but would encompass such diverse elements as salons, reading circles, erudition, scholarship and scholarly techniques, translations, book reviews, academies, new communication tools including journals and newspapers, new or revived techniques of data organization and storage (dictionaries, encyclopedias, taxonomies), and so on.¹⁶

Such a “media reading” of enlightenment texts, according to Sheehan, focuses on structures and institutions – networks of discourse – and highlights not what texts meant but how they meant and functioned.¹⁷

The endless historiographical posturing and arguments over the extent and limits of the Enlightenment or of enlightenments as a category of thought has indicated to some historians an inherent instability in the term. Many scholars have thus abandoned the use of enlightenments altogether, describing it as an ‘unreliable’ term.”¹⁸ The use of the word by historical persons makes engagement with the term unavoidable – the description of *lumières*, *lumi*, *Aufklärer*, *ilustrados*, and *esclarecidos* of the period connote a definite self-awareness to an ‘enlightening process’ in action. Historians must be careful, however, to delineate what this process entailed, as well as defining any terms they use to do so.

Modernity (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); James E. Bradley and Dale K. Van Kley, eds., *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001); Jonathan Hill, *Faith in the Age of Reason* (Oxford: Lion Hudson Plc., 2004); Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy, eds., *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Ulrich L. Lehner, “What is Catholic Enlightenment?,” *History Compass* 8/2 (2010), 166-178; John M. Sandberg, “Religion and the Enlightenment(s),” *History Compass* 8/11 (2010), 1291-1298; and David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

¹⁶ Sheehan, “Enigma of Secularization,” 1075-1076. To see Sheehan’s theory put into practice, see Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

¹⁷ Sheehan, “Enigma of Secularization,” 1077.

¹⁸ See, for example, J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice During the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 9.

The Broader, European Catholic Enlightenment

The fracturing of one, monolithic Enlightenment process has therefore allowed, among other national enlightenments and contextual movements, the development of the notion of a “Catholic Enlightenment” – studies and works specifically devoted to the analysis of the intersection of Catholicism and enlightenment thought. In the major survey of the Catholic Enlightenment, *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment*, Ulrich Lehner and Michael Printy define the Catholic Enlightenment broadly as

...a heuristic concept that describes the diverse phenomenon that mainly took hold of Catholic intellectuals in the 18th century and early 19th century. It combines a multitude of different strands of thought and a variety of projects that attempted to renew and reform Catholicism in the 18th century. The Catholic Enlightenment was an apologetic endeavor defending the essential dogmas of Catholic Christianity against indifferentism, agnosticism, and atheism...The Catholic Enlightenment was, therefore, a reform movement within the Church that was linked, though in discordant harmony, with the Enlightenment reform movement and with interventions by reforming sovereigns...¹⁹

The definition is accurate, but sufficiently broad enough that it offers little specificity or clarity in its applicability. This dissertation focuses on the historiographical discussions about the Catholic Enlightenment in Spain, employing Andrea J. Smidt-Sittema’s definition of the Spanish Catholic Enlightenment as encompassing “all of the distinctly religiously-motivated and uniquely Spanish attempts at bringing science, reason, progress, and greater social utility to Catholicism.”²⁰ Like the Enlightenment, the Catholic Enlightenment can be divided into social,

¹⁹ Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy, eds., *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2-3.

²⁰ Smidt, 411. Smidt-Sittema continues to note that by 1750 in Spain, there existed “multiple strands of the enlightenment,” but that “All strands of Enlightenment in Spain were responses to a general sense of crisis coming out of the late 17th and early 18th centuries and thus centered on the concept of reform.” Andrea J. Smidt, “*Luces por la Fe: The Cause of Catholic Enlightenment in 18th-Century Spain*,” in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment*, Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy, eds., 411, 414. Little work on the Catholic Enlightenment has been done; that which has is almost always non-Iberian in focus. See also David Sorkin, “Reclaiming Theology for the Enlightenment: The Case of Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten (1706-1757),” *Central European History* 36, No. 4 (2003), 503-530; Massimo Mazzotti, “Maria Gaetana Agnesi Mathematics and the Making of the Catholic Enlightenment,” *Isis* 92, No. 4 (Dec., 2001), 657-683; Jeffrey D. Burson, “The Crystallization of Counter-Enlightenment and Philosophe Identities: Theological Controversy and Catholic Enlightenment in Pre-Revolutionary France,” *Church History* 77, No. 4 (Dec., 2008), 955-1002.

intellectual, political, and cultural dimensions, among others. Existing works have brought special attention upon the way that the church related to society, especially politically.

Lehner has elsewhere emphasized that the chief goals of the Catholic Enlightenment, across Europe, were “(a) to use the newest achievements of philosophy and science to defend the essential dogmas of Catholic Christianity by explaining them in new language, and (b) to reconcile Catholicism with modern culture.”²¹ This description is apt for the Spanish Catholic Enlightenment; in the surveyed primary sources of this dissertation, the theme of the defense of the faith is a common thread which unites even the most disparate opinions. Accordingly, this dissertation highlights the epistemological aspects of individual authors and works within the Spanish empire and situates them within the broader intellectual network of a “Catholic Enlightenment” generally considered, which sought to agree upon and promote an epistemological hegemony, to the benefit of the faith.

Was there a Spanish Enlightenment?: Spain’s Intellectual Black Legend

Although Lehner and Printy’s work is a happy exception, many histories of the Catholic Enlightenment or of religious intersections with enlightenment processes have been limited geographically, chronologically, and topically. Recent revisions to Enlightenment historiography have pushed the focus from France to Britain, the Netherlands, and Germany.²² Spain, however, remains woefully understudied, especially in English-speaking scholarship.

²¹ Ulrich L. Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 7. Lehner has most recently detailed his approach by examining in particular the German Catholic Enlightenment to highlight the importance of theological pluralism, ecumenism, and shifting exegetical practices had as defining characteristics of Catholic Enlightenment thought. See Ulrich L. Lehner, *On the Road to Vatican II: German Catholic Enlightenment and Reform of the Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016).

²² Sheehan describes this motion as “...pushing France to the periphery of the discussion. Indeed, for Pocock, Clark, Sorkin, and most other researchers, the French Enlightenment is the great counterexample...more than anywhere else, the Enlightenment in France is still understood as fundamentally anticlerical and, in a connected way, fundamentally philosophical.” Sheehan, “Enigma of Secularization,” 1069.

This historiographical tendency reflect both the deeply rooted assumption of most scholars that enlightenment is synonymous with secularization, as well as the modern-day “Intellectual Black Legend” of Spain: that the Iberian Peninsula was several intellectual steps behind the rest of Europe, particularly hampered by a pugnaciously dogmatic Catholic Church, an incurious populace, an inept government, and a paranoid and policing Inquisition. The stereotype was first promulgated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sometimes by Spaniards but often by foreign critics. The encyclopedist Feijóo, for example, published a lengthy essay in 1745 on the subject of “The Causes of Backwardness that are Suffered in Spain among the Natural Sciences,” in which he largely blamed university professors, but also pointed a finger at such notions as an overzealous nationalism which spurned anything of foreign influence.²³ The idea of Spanish backwardness gained a national audience when Nicolás Masson de Morvilliers authored an article entitled “Espagne” as part of the first volume of Charles Joseph Panckoucke’s *Encyclopédie méthodique* (1782-3), in which he lambasted Spain as an intellectually sterile kingdom and an unproductive member of the European community in the eighteenth century.²⁴ The paper sparked great outrage in Spain and abroad, promoting some to reflect but many more to respond with defenses of Spain’s glory. Still, the damage had largely been done; in academic societies across the continent, people asked Masson de Morvilliers’s question, “What does one

²³ Feijóo, CE.II.XVI, “Causas del atraso que se padece en España en orden a las Ciencias Naturales.”

²⁴ Nicolás Masson de Morvilliers, “Espagne,” *Encyclopédie méthodique ou par ordre des matières. Géographie moderne*. Vol. I. (Paris: Pandoucke, 1782), 554-568. The “Masson affaire” is covered in detail by Herr in Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 220-230. For Juan Pablo Forner’s famous response to the article, see Forner, *Oracion Apologética por la España y su mérito literario: para que sirva de exórnacion al discurso leído por el Abate Denina en la Academia de Ciencias de Berlin, Respondiendo a la question qué se debe á España?* (Madrid: La Imprenta Real, 1786). See also Antonio Borrego’s anonymously published *Cartas de un Español residente en París á su hermano residente en Madrid sobre la Oracion Apologética por la España y su mérito literario, de Don Juan Pablo Forner* (Madrid: La Imprenta Real, 1788).

owe to Spain?”²⁵ The trope of a backwards Spain lingered through the political, economical, and social instability of the nineteenth century, and it is still quite common to encounter Spanish scholars who are occupied with accounting for an imagined gap between Spain and Europe in culture and learning.²⁶

Historians have since worked to correct this part of the Black Legend, addressing each factor in turn. New studies show where the Spanish universities of the eighteenth century were important sites of deliberation and dissemination of enlightenment thought.²⁷ Works on the broader Catholic Enlightenment have shown the efforts of the Church to reconcile the traditional with the modern.²⁸ Several historians have brought to light the efficacy and importance of local economic and academic *tertulias* and Sociedades de los Amigos del País.²⁹ The historiographical record has elevated Caroline Spain, and particularly Carlos III (r.1759-1788), as one of the finest examples of “enlightened despotism.”³⁰ Moreover, scholars have softened

²⁵ The question came from Masson’s work, but became infamous when the Abbe Denina asked it at the Academy of Sciences in Berlin. This event was one of the main targets of Forner’s apologetic work.

²⁶ The topic of the polemic of Spanish science, in particular is the subject of dozens of works. See Pedro Sáinz y Rodríguez, *Las Polémicas sobre la Cultura Española* (Madrid, 1919); Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *La ciencia española*, 3 Volumes, E. Sánchez Reyes, ed. (Santander: CSIC, 1953); Ernesto y Enrique García Camarero, ed. *La Polémica de la Ciencia Española* (Madrid: Editorial Alianza, 1970); See William Eamon, “‘Nuestros males no son constitucionales, sino circunstanciales’: The Black Legend and the History of Early Modern Spanish Science,” *The Colorado Review of Hispanic Studies* Vol. 7 (Fall, 2009), 13-30; Victor Navarro Brotóns and William Eamon, eds., *Más allá de la Leyenda Negra: España y la Revolución Científica* (Valencia: Instituto de Historia de la Ciencia y Documentación López Piñero, 2007); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, “Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored How Much Longer?” *Perspectives on Science* Vol. 12, no. 1 (2004); also Ruth MacKay’s summary of the Spanish history related to this subject: Ruth MacKay, “*Lazy, Improvident People: Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

²⁷ George M. Addy, “The Reforms of 1771: First Steps in the Salamancan Enlightenment,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 41, No. 3 (Aug., 1961), 339-366.

²⁸ John Tate Lanning, “The Enlightenment in Relation to the Church,” *The Americas* 14, No. 4 (Apr., 1958), 489-496.

²⁹ See Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain*; also Ernesto Ruiz y González de Linares, *Las Sociedades Económicas de los Amigos del País* (Burgos: Publicaciones de la Institución Fernán González del CSIC, 1977); Robert J. Shafer, *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World (1763-1821)* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1958).

³⁰ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Carlos III y la España de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2005); Francisco Martí Gilabert, *Carlos III y la política religiosa* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 2004); and chapter four, “Enlightened Despotism and the Origen of Contemporary Spain,” in Richard Herr, *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

the edge of the Inquisition in the eighteenth century, suggesting that it was largely ineffective for the majority of the century. By examining a plethora of original works by the Spanish intellectual elite throughout the eighteenth century, this dissertation likewise suggests that not only was Spain, and particularly the Spanish Catholic Church, more than an impotent and petulant critic of enlightenment processes, but an active participant in the discussions over new epistemologies of the eighteenth century. This dissertation furthermore demonstrates that this was the case from the very beginning, tracing religious and intellectual intersections to the first works of the early *novatores* and their critics at the turn of the century.³¹

Enlightened Spanish America and Political Reductionism

If the Black Legend has unfairly partitioned Spain, separated from Europe only by the Pyrenees, it has all but pushed the Spanish American Enlightenment into complete obscurity. Some historians have noted a late Enlightenment (and therefore Counter-Enlightenment) in Mexico, arguing that, for the most part, eighteenth-century Mexico looked exactly like seventeenth-century Mexico.³² To this interpretation, changes did not occur with the Bourbon succession in 1700 and 1715 proper, but with the Caroline reforms of the second-half of the century, especially under Carlos III. Scholars Fortes and Lomnitz, for example, have divided the

³¹ In addition to being limited geographically, most studies of a Catholic Enlightenment are limited to the late-eighteenth century. Stanley and Barbara Stein, for example, imply in *Apogee of Empire* that the Catholic Enlightenment as a period coterminous with the second half of the eighteenth-century (though to be fair, their interest is limited to the political-economic ramifications of church-state relations under Carlos III). Indeed, almost every work (in both Spanish and English scholarship) that studies the *Ilustración* is limited to the reigns of Carlos III (1759-1788) and Carlos IV (1788-1808). Conversely, this paper examines Catholic aspects of enlightening from a far earlier perspective, demonstrating that such work began at least as early as the 1720s. See: Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759-1789* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 115; Manuel Sellés, José Luis Peset y Antonio Lafuente (compiladores), *Carlos III y la ciencia de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988).

³² See pg. 695 of Jacques Lafaye, "Literature and Intellectual life in Spanish America," in the *Cambridge History of Latin America Volume 2: Colonial Latin America*, Leslie Bethell, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 661-704; or for a fine cautionary example, Susan M. Deeds, "Chapter Eleven: The Enlightened Colony," in *A Companion to Mexican History and Culture*, William H. Beezley, ed., (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 230-250.

Mexican Enlightenment into four phases, the earliest of which begins late in 1735 and extends only to 1767.³³ Alternatively, this dissertation asserts that the Mexican Enlightenment began approximately coterminously with the Spanish Catholic Enlightenment at the end of the seventeenth century. In the study of the eighteenth-century Spanish Enlightenment, a dialogue emerges between the thinkers centered around two metropolises – Madrid, in the heart of the Iberian Peninsula, and across the vast Atlantic, Mexico City.³⁴ Elevated to a proper place at the table of the Enlightenment, the intellectuals of the Mexican Enlightenment offer an unheard perspective on the way Catholics negotiated between modern philosophy and traditional Scholasticism.

While the Black Legend has caused a general neglect of Spanish American intellectual sources, the main challenge facing the history of the Enlightenment in Spanish America, is the elision between the Enlightenment and the widespread revolutions of the first part of the nineteenth century. Serious studies of the intellectual context of Spanish America are hard to find without a teleological focus on the Mexican War of Independence in 1821, the result being that political factors of the Spanish American Enlightenment are overemphasized and questions of metaphysics and epistemology are subordinated or reduced to political and social motivations

³³ Jacqueline Fortes and Larissa Adler Lomnitz, *Becoming A Scientist In Mexico: The Challenge of Creating a Scientific in an Underdeveloped Country* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1994). See also Patrick Romanell, *Making of the Mexican Mind: A Study in Recent Mexican Thought* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1952), 29.

³⁴ Mexico City was a thriving city and arguably the jewel of the Spanish empire during the eighteenth century. An extensive number of universities were founded or expanded throughout Latin America, including the University of San Jerónimo in Havana in 1728, the Real Universidad de San Felipe in Santiago in 1738), the Universidad Católica de Santa Rosa in Caracas in 1725, among others. Even after an epidemic in 1736, Mexico City was larger in population than Madrid. Numerous religious orders were in the town, most prominently the Franciscans and Jesuits teaching in this university and Cathedral town. The Council of the Indies created in 1646 the Tribunales de Protomedicato for the regulation of the practice of medicine in Mexico City – comparatively, the protomedicato was not established in Havana until 1728. The book trade, while controlled, was at its highest in Lima and in Mexico City – added to by the creation of two presses in the middle of the eighteenth century in Mexico City; one at the College of San Ildefonso, and the other the *Bibliotheca Mexicana* of Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren. See John M. Herrick and Paul H. Stuart, *Encyclopedia of Social Welfare History in North America* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 2005).

and applications. To avoid “treat[ing] the enlightenment as a prelude to Spanish American independence,” Arthur P. Whitaker called for historians to highlight both the ways in which European Enlightenment thought failed to resonate with colonial thinkers, as well as how these intellectuals articulated a unique, creole position within the Spanish empire.³⁵ Although political studies of the Mexican Enlightenment still dominate the historiography, several substantial works have helped to elucidate the important role that Spanish America had, for example, in developing medical and scientific studies and promoting changes to the university curricula.³⁶ This study likewise follows Whitaker’s suggestion, bringing to the forefront of the discussion Spanish American contributions to the broader Catholic Enlightenment, showing how these contributions constituted new and unique intellectual positions, not merely derivations of Spanish and continental thought, and establishing a clear dialogue and exchange of ideas between Spain and her colonies across the Atlantic during the eighteenth century.

Rehabilitating the Counter-Enlightenment

Along with the themes of Enlightenment, and Catholic Enlightenment, this dissertation notably grapples with Spain’s role in the Counter-Enlightenment movement. The notion of Counter-Enlightenment entered the historiographical scene with the publication of the essay “The Counter-Enlightenment,” by Isaiah Berlin in 1973.³⁷ His notion – that there was a

³⁵ Arthur P. Whitaker, “Changing and Unchanging Interpretations of the Enlightenment in Spanish America,” in *The Ibero-American Enlightenment*, A. Owen Aldridge, ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 29.

³⁶ See especially John Tate Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940); Lanning, *The Royal Protomedicato: The Regulation of the Medical Professions in the Spanish Empire*, John Jay TePaske, ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985); and Lanning, *The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956). See also Arthur P. Whitaker, ed., *Latin America and the Enlightenment* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942).

³⁷ See Ruth Hill, *Sceptres and Sciences in the Spains: Four Humanists and the New Philosophy (ca. 1680-1740)*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000; Domínguez, Alberto Medina. “Torres vs. Feijoo: “ensayos” y usos del escepticismo en el XVIII español,” *Hispania* 83, No. 4 (Dec., 2000), 745-756; Isaiah Berlin, “The Counter-Enlightenment;” Robert Wokler, “Isaiah Berlin’s Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment;” J.G.A. Pocock,

reactionary movement to Enlightenment thought – was hardly novel, but his own interpretation of the shape and scope of such a cohesive body of counter-enlightenment thought, as well as the term given to it (*gegen-aufklärung*) were. Berlin’s central characterization of the Counter-Enlightenment was that it was a response to the Enlightenment idea of the underlying existence of universal laws which predictably governed both humanity and nature, what Berlin called the “central dogma of the entire Enlightenment.”³⁸ Berlin situated the Counter-Enlightenment in the works of German Romantics who threw off such Enlightenment progressivism, espousing instead an intensely personal relativism and prioritization of emotional, interior knowledge. He particularly noted, for example, the work of Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Georg Hamann, although he also pointed to precursors such as Giambattista Vico and Joseph de Maistre.³⁹

Berlin’s Counter-Enlightenment fails to adequately cover the notion. Geographically, it was not limited to Germany; chronologically, it existed well-before the nineteenth century; and thematically, the Counter-Enlightenment was concerned with far more than universal laws and developed more than vague romanticism as a response to the Enlightenment. Simply put, Berlin’s Counter-Enlightenment was not the Counter-Enlightenment experienced in the eighteenth-century Spanish empire. Much of the scholarly literature written after Berlin’s initial work on the Enlightenment has devolved into ahistorical and contemporary debates about the intellectual and cultural legacy of the Enlightenment, a series of debates which the historian

“Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment, Revolution and Counter-Revolution; A Eurosceptical Enquiry;” Iris H.W. Engstrand, “The Enlightenment in Spain: Influences upon New World Policy,” *The Americas* 41, No. 4 (Apr., 1985), 436-444.; and Richard G. Anderson, “Benito Feijoo, Medical Disenchanter of Spain,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 55, No. 1 (January, 2000), 67-79.

³⁸ Isaiah Berlin, “The Counter-Enlightenment,” *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Idea*, second edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 4.

³⁹ Isaiah Berlin, and Henry Hardy, ed. *Three Critics of the Enlightenment: Vico, Hamann, Herder* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Darrin McMahon aptly describes as “something of an intellectual blood-sport.”⁴⁰ Studies such as Robert E. Norton’s “The Myth of the Counter-Enlightenment” seem perennially concerned with the connection between counter-enlightenment thought and modernity.⁴¹ The connection is troubling for historical studies of the period, as the majority of such works result in a teleological imposition of the primary sources. The heuristic concept of an Enlightenment is extremely mutable; change the definition of the Enlightenment, and the definition of Counter-Enlightenment is accordingly modified.

McMahon has classified the Counter-Enlightenment as the responsory literature of French anti-*philosophes* of the eighteenth century, including clergy, university professors, conservative members of the aristocracy and *parlementaires*, but he also argues for the existence of a ‘low-culture’ Counter-Enlightenment impulse in eighteenth-century France.⁴² Importantly, he emphasizes that these anti-*philosophes* were well in place at least forty years prior to the French Revolution’s outbreak in 1789. The Revolution did not dictate the need for countering literature, but only served as the *locus classicus* for future writers. McMahon writes that opposition to the Enlightenment was “first and foremost French and first foremost religious.”⁴³ The voice of the anti-*ilustrados* of Spain, like the anti-*philosophes* needs to be revitalized. Both

⁴⁰ Darrin M. McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 12.

⁴¹ Robert E. Norton, “The Myth of the Counter-Enlightenment,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68, No. 4 (Oct., 2007), 635-658. See also: Carlos Rodríguez López-Brea, “Don Pedro Iguanzo y Rivero, un Canónigo Anti-Ilustrado,” *Historia Constitucional* 14 (2013), 77-91; Reyes Mate and Friedrich Niewöhner, eds., *La Ilustración en España y Alemania* (Barcelona: Editorial Anthropos, 1989); Graeme Garrard, “Tilting at Counter-Enlightenment Windmills,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 49, No. 1 (Fall, 2015), 77-81; Jeremy L. Caradonna, “There Was No Counter-Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 49, No. 1 (Fall 2015), 51-69; James Schmidt, “The Counter-Enlightenment: Historical Notes on a Concept Historians Should Avoid,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 49, No. 1 (Fall 2015), 83-86, and Eva Piirimäe, “Berlin, Herder, and the Counter-Enlightenment,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 49, No. 1 (Fall 2015), 71-76.

⁴² Like McMahon, Graeme Garrard has pushed the counter-enlightenment to mid-century France in his study, Graeme Garrard, *Rousseau’s Counter Enlightenment: A Republican Critique of the Philosophes* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).

⁴³ McMahon, *Enemies*, 9.

have been curiously absent from the historiographical record, particularly in Anglophonic literature. Part of this may be the result of a penchant among modern scholars for the great minds and clean progression of the Enlightenment narrative. Yet even here it is surprising that this topic has not been appropriately researched, given that *philosophes* and *ilustrados* such as Voltaire, Feijóo, Diderot, and Martín Martínez (1684-1734) were constantly referencing, engaging, and refuting these Counter-Enlightenment individuals.

There are, however, some fundamental differences that set Spain's Counter-Enlightenment apart from other movements. First, while McMahon has argued against the origin of the Counter-Enlightenment in German thought, he argues instead for a French nascence.⁴⁴ This chapter asserts, however that the Spanish Counter-Enlightenment preceded French, anti-*philosophe* publications by at least two decades. Anti-*ilustrados* in Spain have widely disseminated publications by 1727, with references in those works to even earlier, lost pamphlets and essays. While the sequence is not overly important to this history, the early and rapid response to the "New Philosophy" in Spain suggests that Spain, in particular, had the institutional and intellectual networks in place needed to organize a coherent response to the challenges of the enlightenment.

Another difference between the French and Spanish Counter-enlightenments, albeit related to the temporal sequence, is the degree of popularity with which the intellectual circles in each country accepted new philosophical ideas and Enlightenment thought. In France, *philosophes* dominated the public sphere, the presses, the coffeehouses, *salons* – even the universities and the *Academie Française*. In Bourbon Spain, however, popularity was hard fought and slowly won for *ilustrados* – as will be shown in chapter one, early *novatores* were the

⁴⁴ McMahon clearly argues that France was "...the first country to generate a self-conscious Counter-Enlightenment response....," *Enemies*, 10.

minority, and had to combat the major medical institutions and universities of their day by forming independent academic societies. Feijóo, as seen in chapter two, frequently lamented what he saw as Spain's unwillingness to adapt to new information. Individuals such as Diego Mateo Zapata (1664-1745) were investigated and imprisoned by the Inquisition, and even the eighth volume of Feijóo's *Theatro Crítico* was censored.⁴⁵ Indeed, the consensus of the majority of historians is that until the reign of Carlos III, *ilustración* failed to secure a prominent place in the intellectual sphere and public culture.

This suggests that the counter-enlightenment response in Spain was more secure, faster, better supported by academic, religious, and monarchical institutions, and more systematic and coherent, creating a richer and deeper dialogue between enlightenment and counter-enlightenment thought than existed in many other areas and that has been thought to have existed in Spain. Thus, while past histories have spoken of Iberia as “not directly involved (except through the papacy) in the great debate between reason and faith,” this chapter argues that Spain was a center of this debate – indeed, that perhaps no other nation had such a coherent and rich response to the introduction of enlightenment thought.⁴⁶ In short, the work of anti-*ilustrados*, so often labeled unreceptive, intolerant, and intransigent, is instead one part of an ongoing dialogue about faith and reason, between religion and science in Spain. In the works of these traditionalists, one finds concerned Catholics who wished to seriously engage, analytically understand, and responsibly critique the introduction of the New Philosophy and the New

⁴⁵ See “Nos los Inquisidores Apostolicos, Contra La Heretica Pravedad, Y Apostasia, &c...”, Hesburgh.Inq.333. Fernando VI intervened on Feijóo's behalf, banning any criticisms of his work in 1750. This is stated in McClelland, *Ideological Hesitancy*, 64, also that “Feijoo was honoured by Fernando VI in 1748 with the title of Councillor for his ‘profound, specialist learning and most useful words’, as the reporting *Gaceta* put it.” Feijóo was, more specifically, added to the *Real y Supremo Consejo de Castilla* in 1748.

⁴⁶ Will and Ariel Durant, *The Age of Voltaire* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), vii.

Sciences which entered Spain during the time of the *novatores* (1687-1725) and was proliferated through the work of Feijóo and others (1720s-1760s).

This chapter uses all three terms above – Enlightenment, Catholic Enlightenment, and Counter-Enlightenments, to refer to the collective intellectual movements present within Spain during the late-seventeenth and eighteenth- centuries. The reluctant employment of these terms recalls J.G.A. Pocock’s pronouncement that historians use “...the word “Enlightenment” in a family of ways and talking about a family of phenomena, resembling and related to one another in a variety of ways that permit of various generalizations about them...the keyword “Enlightenment” is ours to use and should not master us.”⁴⁷ Once disabused (though remaining sentient) of the omnipotent importance and practicality of categories like Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment, actual textual analysis – the real work of the historian – is free to occur.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ J.G.A. Pocock, “Historiography and Enlightenment: A View of Their History.” *Modern Intellectual History* 5, Issue 01 (April, 2008), 83.

⁴⁸ Martínez lamented that he had to devote hundreds of pages to answering the gauntlet of the Dogmatists before moving on to his “real work;” similarly, if this dissertation must engage in the concept of the enlightenment, then the reactionary positions to the views and opinions espoused by the *novatores* will necessarily interact with the concept of the “counter-enlightenment,” notably studied by Isaiah Berlin. See Isaiah Berlin, “The Counter-Enlightenment,” in *The Proper Study of Mankind: An Anthology of Essays*, Henry Hardy and Roger Hausheer, eds. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1949). See also Isaiah Berlin, *Three Critics of the Enlightenment: Vico, Hamann, Herder*, Henry Hardy, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Paul Ilie, *The Age of Minerva (Vol 1): Counter-Rational Reason in the Eighteenth Century: Goya and the Paradigm of Unreason in Western Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Joseph Mali, Robert Wokler, Mark Lilla, Roger Hausheer, John Robertson, Darrin M. McMahon, Frederick Beiser, Graeme Garrard, Lionel Gossman, John E. Toews and Michael Confino, “Isaiah Berlin's Counter-Enlightenment,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 93, No. 5 (2003), i-xi, 1-11, 13-31, 33-71, 73-131, 133-196; Graeme Garrard, *Counter-Enlightenments: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Routledge Studies in Social and Political Thought) (London: Routledge, 2006); and B.W. Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England: Theological Debate from Locke to Burke* (Gloucestershire: Clarendon Press, 1998). In his review essay, Sheehan also comments on the use of the term “counter-enlightenment,” writing: “The category of enlightenment itself seems shaky, as if incapable of surviving the introduction of religion without some reduction in power. The recent revival of Isaiah Berlin’s “Counter-Enlightenment is, I believe, a symptom of these uncertainties. If the Enlightenment held dear the familiar principles of “universality, objectivity, rationality,” Berlin’s largely German Counter-Enlightenment insisted on the particularity of truth and the “impotence of reason to demonstrate the existence of anything. ... Newer research has reached beyond Germany and made the Counter-Enlightenment a general feature of eighteenth-century Europe.” (Sheehan, “Enigma of Secularization,” 1067)

Categorizing the Spanish Experience: Radical, Catholic, and Counter- Enlightenment

This dissertation therefore generalizes three diverging ideological camps within the eighteenth-century Spanish empire, labeling them “Radical Enlightenment,” “Catholic Enlightenment,” and “Counter-Enlightenment” experiences and maintains these terms throughout the work. The first are described as “Radical” for two main reasons: first, because the term “radical enlightenment” already has a well-established place in the historiographical canon of Enlightenment studies, defined most notably by Jonathan Israel as being “...egalitarian, secularist, Spinozist, and anti-colonial...”⁴⁹ Secondly, this dissertation labels these individuals as “radical” because their stance (often stridently held) placed them at the fringe of mainstream intellectual society in Spain. There is no textual evidence that any substantial “radical enlightenment” movement ever occurred in eighteenth-century Spain. The occasional cryptic reference in a personal letter or treatise exists that can be read alternatively as institutional disenchantment or genuine doubt. Outliers exist in Inquisition cases, certainly, but as these outliers are preserved for historians in a position where they had been revealed, arrested, investigated, and often castigated, their position reinforces their abnormality to Spain. The radical position was often influenced directly by French writings, deist, agnostic, or atheist in character, antimonarchical, egalitarian, anticlerical and antagonistic to religion (especially institutionally), and holding a secularizing view that reason and religion were antithetical to each other. None of the texts examined in this dissertation espouse such a position. Richard Herr notes that “...enlightened Spaniards...were partisans of new ideas concerning scientific progress, educational reforms, economic prosperity, and social justice – all of which could be described as

⁴⁹ Jonathan Israel, “Enlightenment! Which Enlightenment?,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, No. 3 (July 2006), 523. Ulrich L. Lehner also uses Spinozism as a central component of Enlightenment thought.

lucres – but one would have had to search hard among their growing numbers to uncover the inevitable few who questioned their Catholic faith.”⁵⁰ Years of research for this dissertation has yet to “uncover the inevitable few” who belong to this position.

There is little doubt that some of the authors to whom the term “Catholic Enlightenment” is ascribed considered themselves to be simply theists or deists, and that some held positions of agnosticism or atheism. Those that did so, however, did so clandestinely – understandably so, since holding any religious position other than Catholicism was a punishable crime, and throughout the eighteenth-century, the Holy Office of the Inquisition continued to monitor the orthodoxy of Spaniards. What this means however, is that the radical position can only be seen by teasing out implications and assumptions in the works of major intellectual figures. Although speculating the ‘Catholicity’ of these *ilustrados* might offer new perspectives on their works, it is a question that no historian can answer, and it is therefore idle conjecture to speculate in this manner in an academic work. This research judges only the textual record that these individuals have left behind and takes these texts largely at their face value. I follow as my methodology the theories of the historian of ideas Quentin Skinner, who argued that religious and intellectual historians must adopt the linguistic sensitivity and epistemological method of approaching “the past with a willingness to listen.”⁵¹ This is “more or less synonymous with understanding religious people on their own terms, or with reconstructing the ways in which they viewed themselves and their world, or with depicting them in a manner in which they would have

⁵⁰ Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, 84.

⁵¹ Brad S. Gregory, “Can We ‘See Things Their Way’? Should We Try?,” in Alistar Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, eds., *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 25.

recognized themselves.”⁵²In doing so, the evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of labeling these works and their authors as Catholics of varying degrees of orthodoxy.

Thus, the experience of the enlightenment across the Spanish empire was largely that of a question of compatibility between religion and the new philosophies, in varying gradations; it is these varying gradations which are the principal focus of this dissertation. These gradations take the form of the remaining two concepts. First, I examine a “Catholic Enlightenment,” whose constituents argued for the harmony between Catholic thought and ideas such as scientific empiricism, the partitioning of the church-state relationship (“Spanish Regalism”), a renewed emphasis on reason and natural theology in religion, the promotion of vernacular publications, various reform movements, both within the Church and in Spanish society, among other ideas. Secondly, I assess a “Counter-Enlightenment,” whose proponents argued against the introduction and adoption of such ideas, reasserting the traditional religio-intellectual diet of neo-Scholasticism or “second Scholasticism” in its place. The historian Mauricio Beuchot has viewed the overall enlightenment experience of Mexico as a spectrum of Catholic responses. In his *Filosofía y Ciencia en el México Dieciochesco*, Beuchot argued that “...We find Scholastics that did not enter the debate with modernity... Scholastics who rejected modernity... Scholastics that attempted to integrate modernity... Eclectics who preferred the modern but did not attack tradition... and Moderns who fought against Scholasticism...”⁵³ In all of these debates, as Beuchot rightly notes, the central question was “the assimilation of the modern against the traditional current which was Scholasticism.”⁵⁴ This summation agrees with

⁵² Gregory, “Can We ‘See Things Their’ Way?,” 25. See also the work of Alan Charles Kors, who unites anti-religion (atheism) and intellectual history convincingly during his study of French philosophes of the eighteenth century. Alan Charles Kors, *D’Holbach’s Coterie: An Enlightenment in Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

⁵³ Mauricio Beuchot, *Filosofía y Ciencia en el México Dieciochesco* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996), 7.

⁵⁴ Mauricio Beuchot, *Filosofía y Ciencia en el México Dieciochesco*, 7.

Lehner's assertion that all Catholic Enlighteners wished "to reconcile Catholicism with modern culture."⁵⁵

Lehner, who argues that "all [Catholic Enlighteners] agreed that Aristotelian scholasticism could no longer serve as the universal foundation for theology," likewise affirms Beuchot's particular emphasis on Scholasticism as the shibboleth of Counter-Enlightenment thinkers.⁵⁶ Recognizing that Spanish Catholic intellectuals responded differently to the Enlightenment, this dissertation employs the three central categories of Radical, Catholic, and Counter-Enlightenments to broadly describe the main intellectual camps of the eighteenth-century Spanish empire, breaking each into more specific descriptions within each chapter. The tripartite categorization followed by this dissertation encompasses this spectrum that Beuchot noticed in eighteenth-century Mexican thought, as well as those noted by other scholars of Catholic and Counter-Enlightenment cultures (see Figure 1). It is particularly resonant with the "radical, moderate, and counter-enlightenment" framework which Jonathan Israel has used and which has been described by Jeffrey D. Burson.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment*, 7.

⁵⁶ The truth of this claim is reviewed in the third chapter of this dissertation. Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment*, 7.

⁵⁷ Jeffrey D. Burson, "The Crystallization of Counter-Enlightenment and Philosophe Identities: Theological Controversy and Catholic Enlightenment in Pre-Revolutionary France," *Church History* 77, No. 4 (Dec., 2008), 956.

Figure 1. “Three Enlightenment Frameworks: Catholic, Counter, and Radical”

Klaeren Terminology	Other Historiographical Terms ⁵⁸	Examples
Radical Enlightenment: antagonistic to theism, influenced by French <i>philosophes</i> , argued for the incompatibility of faith and the new philosophies	“Radical Enlightenment” (Israel), “the inevitable few who questioned their Catholic faith...” (Herr)	No known significant examples.
Catholic Enlightenment: a wide spectrum of thinkers who viewed the New Philosophy as compatible with the existing religious traditions; thinkers who sought to incorporate isolated elements of enlightenment thought without disrupting the epistemological status quo	“Moderns who fought against Scholasticism” (Beuchot), “Sensualists” (Bejarano) Those Catholics who interacted “in at least a somewhat positive way with the overall European Enlightenment Process.” (Lehner)	Andrés Piquer, <i>Discurso sobre la aplicación de la filosofía a los asuntos de religión</i> (1778, second edition); Diego Mateo Zapata, <i>Ocaso de las Formas Aristotélicas</i> (1745)
	“Eclectics who preferred the modern but did not attack tradition” (Beuchot), “Eclectics” (Bejarano), “The Critical School” (Bejarano), “Practical Philosophers” (Bejarano),	Martin Martínez, <i>Filosofía escéptica...</i> (1730); Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, <i>Teatro Crítico Universal</i> (1726-1740) and <i>Cartas eruditas y curiosas</i> (1742-1760)
	“Scholastics that attempted to integrate modernity” (Beuchot), “Moderate Scholastics” (Bejarano)	Salvador Josef Mañer, <i>Crisol Crítico...</i> (1734); Ignacio de Armesto y Ossorio, <i>Theatro Anti-Crítico Universal...</i> (1737)
Counter-Enlightenment: thinkers who argued against the introduction of enlightenment thought, arguing that its philosophical foundations were contrary to the Christian, Catholic worldview and incorrect, maintaining that such ideas had problematic applications	“Scholastics who rejected modernity” (Beuchot), “Rigid Scholastics” (Bejarano), “Counter-Enlightenment” and “Enemies of the Enlightenment” (McMahon), “The Conservative Opposition,” (Herr), “Reactionary Mythology” (Herrero)	Francisco Ignacio Cigala, <i>Cartas al Ilmo. y Rmo. Mro. F. Benito Gerónimo Feijóo Montenegro</i> (c. 1760); Francisco Soto y Marne, <i>Reflexiones Crítico-Apológicas</i> (1749?); Bernardo López de Araujo y Ascárraga, <i>Centinela médico-aristotélica contra scépticos</i> (1725)
	“Scholastics that did not enter the debate with modernity” (Beuchot), “Rigid Scholastics” (Bejarano), “Counter-Enlightenment” and “Enemies of the Enlightenment” (McMahon), “The Conservative Opposition,” (Herr), “Reactionary Mythology” (Herrero)	Eguiara y Eguren, <i>Biblioteca Mexicana</i> (1755)

⁵⁸ Beuchot, *Filosofía y Ciencia en el México Dieciochesco* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996); Bejarano, *Historia de la filosofía en España, hasta el siglo XX* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1929); Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); Darrin M. McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Javier Herrero, *Los Orígenes del Pensamiento Reaccionario Español* (Madrid: Editorial Cuadernos para el Dialogo Edicusa, 1971); Jonathan Israel, “Enlightenment! Which Enlightenment?,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, No. 3 (July 2006); Ulrich L. Lehner, “What is ‘Catholic Enlightenment?’,” *History Compass* 8/2 (2010), pg. 166

Description of Sources

This dissertation utilizes a variety of written sources from the long eighteenth-century across the Spanish Atlantic, primarily printed books and treatises, but occasionally including personal letters and manuscripts, Inquisition case summaries and related documents, and periodicals. These represent several different genres and range in subject matter, primarily focusing on theology, philosophy, science. The research for this work was conducted at numerous archives and research libraries in the United States, Spain, and Mexico.

Periodicals of the Eighteenth-Century Spanish Empire

Richard Herr outlines three principal “channels of the Enlightenment” in Spain: the Spanish university system, societies and organizations, and the periodical press.⁵⁹ The eighteenth century in Spain, as in other countries, witnessed the flourishing of the popular press. In this, Madrid far outstripped all of the other cities as the central source of activity in the periodical press. Perhaps as a result of the centralizing and stimulating reforms of the Bourbon monarchs, nearly all of the most significant periodicals were published from the capital and disseminated outwards to the rest of the nation, although some notable exceptions existed, including the *Diario curioso, histórico, erudito, comercial, civil y económico*, which ran for at least 233 issues in Barcelona between 1772 and 1773, and the first daily paper of Sevilla, the *Diario Histórico y Político de Sevilla*, which was first published on September 1, 1792. To gauge the spread of these periodicals, Herr has analyzed the partial subscription lists of several key papers – the *Espíritu de los mejores diarios*, for example, listed 630 subscribers in 1789, 36% of which were in Madrid, 53% in other Spanish provinces, and the remaining 11% in the Americas.

⁵⁹ Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, 183.

In the colonies, the press similarly grew during the eighteenth century. In Mexico, one could find the *Gazeta de México* as early as 1728-1739 (145 issues, totaling over 1,153 pages of writing), which first appeared as the *Gaceta de México* in 1722, reappeared as the *Mercurio de México* (1740-1744), and again as the *Gazeta de México* (1,085 issues between 1784-1809). In addition to this principal publication, there also existed the *Diario de México* and the early *Astrolabio Americano*.⁶⁰ The press arrived in the second half of the eighteenth century to Havana, a burgeoning city of approximately 171,620 inhabitants in 1774, which ran the *Gazeta de la Havana* (1764-1766, 1782-1783), the *Papel periódico de La Havana* for at least 34 issues between 1790-1804, *El Aviso* for 149 between 1805-1810. *La Gaceta de Lima*, founded in 1715 and restricted in 1756, was enormously influential in the viceroyalty of Peru, and in Venezuela, the *Gaceta de Caracas* was in circulation by 1808, publishing some 355 issues over the next decade.⁶¹

These periodicals covered a wide range of topics, reporting on recent activities within their cities, forecasting meteorological trends, and announcing slave auctions (in Havana), but also printing editorial passages, social commentaries, reprinting passages from works, and significantly for the dissemination of enlightenment thought, printing bibliographical lists, including specific sections devoted to foreign works.⁶² The *Semanario Económico*, for example, specifically billed itself as: “Composed of practical, curious, and erudite notices; of all the Sciences, Arts, and Offices: translated and extracted from the *Records of the Sciences of Paris*,

⁶⁰ The statistics and information in this section comes from the unattributed descriptions authored by the Hemeroteca Digital’s “Descriptions” section of the catalog, part of the Biblioteca Nacional de España. For further information on the Mexican periodical press as well as catalogs of Mexican authors, see the extensive work of María del Carmen Ruiz Castañeda.

⁶¹ See Tamar Herzog, “La *Gaceta de Lima* (1756-1761): la reestructuración de la realidad y sus funciones,” *HISTORICA* Vol XVI, No. 1 (Junio, 1992), 33-61.

⁶² See Paul-J. Guinard, *La presse espagnole de 1737 à 1791: Formation et signification d’un genre* (Paris : Centre de Recherches hispaniques, 1973).

of those of *Trevoux*; and of many other famous French, English, Italian, and German books.”⁶³

The titles are often vaguely all-encompassing and frequently imprecise – for example, the Sunday, July 2, 1786 edition of the *Diario Curioso, Erudito, Económico y Comercial*, which begins with a cover story on medicine, and is followed by a report on ecclesiastical vacancies and changes in positions in the Madrid community.⁶⁴ Herr has claimed that journals and periodicals offered recourse to the Spanish book market which was predominantly concerned with religious topics.⁶⁵ Many of the periodicals, however, likewise published essays and editorials that discussed religious and philosophical subjects.

Treatises, Books, and Published Works

A small portion of the primary sources are personal letters, unpublished manuscripts, or other documents – occasional broadsheets, but most often *cedulas*, royal, papal, conciliar, or Inquisitorial pronouncements.⁶⁶ Of this category, the personal letters are worth particular notice, as they offer an occasional, unguarded perspective of the authors of the great intellectual works of the Spanish Enlightenment.⁶⁷ The majority of the primary sources, however, that this dissertation utilizes were printed books and treatises published between 1687 and 1813. The book trade in Spain was a teeming market of works in all areas of inquiry. This was amplified

⁶³ *Semanario Económico*, Jueves 11 de Abril de 1765. Hemeroteca Digital de la Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁶⁴ *Diario Curioso, Erudito, Económico y Comercial*, Domingo 2 de Julio de 1786. Hemeroteca Digital de la Biblioteca Nacional.

⁶⁵ Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, 194.

⁶⁶ For example, Fray Francisco Soto y Marne, “Advertencia contra las publicaciones de Feijoo,” (1750/1), AHN.Clero.387.Num.32.65.

⁶⁷ Antonio Mestre argues that for this reason, the letter has become of prime importance to the historian of the enlightenment. Antonio Mestre Sanchis, “La Carta, Fuente de Conocimiento Histórico,” *Revista de Historia Moderna* 18 (2000), 13-26. See, for example, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, “Carta del Rmo. P.M. Fr. Benito Geronimo Feijoo, Maestro General de la Religion de San Benito, Abad del Colegio de San Vicente de Oviedo, &c. escrita á Don Gregorio Mayáns i Ciscár, del Gremio, i Claustro de la Universidad de Valencia, i su Cathedratico del Codigo de Justiniano: cuya Respuesta va adjunta,” (Valencia, 1731), BNE 2/50700(5); also “Cartas interceptads por el gobierno a sacerdotes navarros, que se escribian con un exjesuita,” (Esteban de Mendiburu, 1770), AESIA, Estante 1, Caja 6, No. 7.1, Leg 8.1.

especially in the second half of the eighteenth-century, when, under the supervision of Carlos III and the bequest of the Conde de Campomanes, the *Real Compañía de Impresores y Libreros* (Royal Company of Printers and Booksellers) was established, July 24, 1763. The company formed a cooperative association of printers which shared mutual responsibilities and resources; the result was a doubling in the number of presses in Madrid.⁶⁸ Many of the works printed during this time – hundreds of works – were devoted explicitly to the themes addressed by this dissertation: epistemology, theories of knowledge, and philosophies of science and religion.

To place these publications in a broader context, Herr has analyzed the *Biblioteca periódica anual para utilidad de los libreros y literatos*, a near-exhaustive list of the publications made each year by the Imprenta Real from 1784-1791. For the year 1784-1785, in which approximately 460 publications were listed, he found that approximately one-third of the publications were religious in subject, nine percent on medicine, seven percent on the sciences, and two percent on philosophical subjects. Tomás Mantecón likewise has suggested that, while the overall percentage of printed books covering religious subjects decreased and those focused on “philosophy, history, grammar, and science” grew during the period during 1741-1800 from the previous 150 years, the balance was still overwhelmingly religious (49%) over philosophy (13%).⁶⁹ These numbers are fungible, however, as genres which Herr classifies outside these areas, such as funeral orations or popular histories, were often used to address religious, philosophical, or political topics – for example Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos’s (1744-1811) *Elogio de Carlos III, leído en la Real Sociedad Económica de Madrid el día 8 de Noviembre de*

⁶⁸ See chapter one, “The Madrid Book Trade Mid-Eighteenth Century” in Diana M. Thomas, *Royal Company of Printers & Booksellers of Spain: 1763-1794* (Troy, NY: Whitson Publishing Company, 1984). See also: John Dowling’s review of this work, *South Atlantic Review* Vol. 50, No. 2 (May, 1985), 118-120.

⁶⁹ See references made by Adrien Maggiolo in Tomás A. Mantecón, *España en Tiempos de Ilustración: Los Desafíos del Siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, S.A., 2013), 236. Mantecón, citing Ofelia Rey Castelao, estimates 69% religious and 9% philosophical from 1601-1740.

1788 – in name an eulogy of the monarch, but in practice both a praise of his policies and a platform for further policy reforms.⁷⁰ In addition, many of the existing bibliographic essays and publication records of the eighteenth-century fail to account for reissuing publications, multiple editions, and series or multi-volume works, and entirely fail to report some works. In short, the Spanish Atlantic did not lack for reading material in the eighteenth century; this dissertation analyzes only a handful of some of the more prominent works as an attempt to offer a more generalized view of the intellectual history for the period.

The Index of Prohibited Books, Foreign Works, and the Porous Spanish Atlantic

In the past, historians have cited the dreaded *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* – the index of prohibited books issued by the Holy See, and doubled in the Spanish empire by a separate, additional index specifically for the Spanish kingdom (“pro universis Hispaniarum”).⁷¹ As part of the Spanish intellectual Black Legend, many were quick to denounce the policing and regulating work of the Inquisition, particularly in the form of the indices. Critics asserted that the index was responsible for occluding the light of foreign *philosophes* and thinkers, preventing the publication of forward-thinking Spaniards, and keeping the Spanish public in a state of retarded, impeded, and antiquated thinking. Henry Charles Lea, for example, argued that “censorship of the press was not the least effective function of arresting the development of the

⁷⁰ Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, “Elogio de Carlos III, leído en la Real Sociedad Económica de Madrid el día 8 de noviembre de 1788,” a point which is made by Herr himself (57). Similarly, it is quite common to see in the literature of this period hybridized titles: “philosophical-theological,” or “moral-medical,” as in Salvador Josef Mañer, *Crisol Critico, Theologico, Historico, Politico, Physico, y Mathematico, en que se quilatan las Materias del Teatro Critico, que ha Pretendido Defender la Demonstracion Critica del M.R.P.Fr. Martin Sarmiento, Benedictino*, Parte Segunda (Madrid: En la Imprenta de Bernardo Peralta, Calle de la Paz, 1734).

⁷¹ See, for example, the 1747 Spanish Index: Consilio Supremi Senatus Inquisitionis Generalis, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum, ac expurgandorum novissimus. Pro universis hispaniarum regnis serenissimi Ferdinandi Vi. Regis Catholici, hac ultima editione* (Madrid: Ex Calcographia Emmanuelis Fernandez, 1747), two volumes.

Spanish intellect.”⁷² Even Spanish contemporaries levied similar blame; Feijóo, for example, complained about the “tepid zeal of the Ministers of the Holy Tribunal,” and the partisan histories of Antonio Puigblanch and Juan Antonio Llorente are replete with condemnations for what they considered was the ignorance which the index and the Holy Office caused.⁷³

Emphasizing the role of the book trade also leaves historians with a lopsided interpretation that all Enlightenment thought in Spanish America during the Eighteenth-Century was foreign-fueled. Although this dissertation is primarily concerned with the organic, Hispanic literature rather than the importation of foreign ideas into the Spanish world, it is worth pointing out that the index is an insufficient means of exploring both the success of Spanish authors and the penetration of foreign thought into the Spanish intellectual world of the eighteenth century for several reasons. First, academics could apply for and receive licenses granted by the Holy Office for the purpose of acquiring and reading otherwise prohibited works, provided that they were deemed responsible enough to read such works and had a clear reason for doing so.⁷⁴ Feijóo, for example, was a recipient of such a license. Gerard Delpy has documented hundreds of foreign (mostly French) sources cited by Feijóo, including Bayle, Malebranche, Spinoza, Descartes, Musschenbroeck, Bacon, and Locke, among others.⁷⁵ Generally, for those who could

⁷² Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain* (London, 1907), 480.

⁷³ CE II.16§37; Don Antonio Puigblanch, *The Inquisition Unmasked : Being an Historical and Philosophical Account of that Tremendous Tribunal founded on Authentic Documents ; and Exhibiting the Necessity of Its Suppression, as a Means of Reform and Regeneration*, William Walton, translator (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816); Juan Antonio Llorente, *Histoire critique de l’Inquisition espagnole*, four volumes (1817-1818). These histories must be taken with a decently-sized grain of salt; unfortunately, some historians, including Herr, have used Llorente authoritatively.

⁷⁴ Patricia Manning, *Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain: Inquisition, Social Criticism and Theology in the Case of El Criticón* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 83.

⁷⁵ Gaspard Delpy, *Bibliographie des sources françaises de Feijoo* (New York : Hachette, 1936). See also: Luis Miguel Enciso Recio and Vicente Palacio Atard, *Barroco e ilustración en las bibliotecas privadas españolas del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2002), 130. Malebranche was particularly important to the Spanish debates; see the work as well as accompanying notes of translation into Spanish from RANM. Malebranche, Nicolas. *Vusca de la Verdad, donde se trata de la Naturaleza del Espíritu del hombre y del uso que se debe hazer para evitar el error en las Ciencias* [manuscritos]/traducción de la obra del padre Malebranch [1675].

afford to purchase such books – especially the aristocracy - they were clearly accessible.⁷⁶ Once purchased by a licensed buyer, these works did not always stay in one place, as Patricia Manning has demonstrated, books acquired in this manner often strayed from their original readers into other personal libraries, “undermining” the work of the indices.⁷⁷

Secondly, it is clear simply by reading the works of Spanish intellectuals that they had a clear understanding of foreign works and were regularly reading them. Herr notes that “there were ways to circumvent the censors. An obvious one was to go across the Pyrenees.”⁷⁸ Indeed, some Spaniards had notable instances of personal contact with philosophes – the Conde de Aranda (1719-1798), president of the Consejo de Castilla and secretary of state for Carlos IV (r. 1788-1808) met Voltaire, Diderot, and d’Alembert during his travels, and the Duque de Alba (1733-1770) was so taken with Rousseau during his tenure as the royal ambassador to France (1746-1749) that he requested that his complete works be sent to him in Spain.⁷⁹ In addition to Feijóo, the personal libraries of such influential individuals as Teodoro Ardemans (1661-1726), Padre Enrique Flórez de Setién y Huidobro (OSA) (1702-1773), Padre José Francisco de Isla de la Torre y Rojo (SJ) (1703-1781), the Marqués de Dos Aguas, Padre Martín Sarmiento (OSB) (1695-1772), the Conde del Águila (Miguel de Espinosa y Maldonado de Saavedra), Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes (1723-1802), Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811), Pablo Antonio José de Olavide y Jáuregui (1725-1803), and Juan Sempere y Guarinos (1754-1830), as well as communal libraries of *sociedades* have been cataloged and studied, all evincing a wide

⁷⁶ Jonathan Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights 1750-1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 400.

⁷⁷ Manning, *Voicing Dissent*, 73.

⁷⁸ Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, 73.

⁷⁹ Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, 75. Herr mostly relies upon Menéndez y Pelayo, HHE, VI.iii “El enciclopedismo en España durante el siglo XVIII,” here especially VI.iii.1 “Relaciones de Aranda con Voltaire y los enciclopedistas.” The Duque de Alba later became the director of the Real Academia Española.

selection of Spanish and foreign works of the eighteenth-century.⁸⁰ Historical studies of individual authors have been conducted and have demonstrated that many foreign writers found a welcome audience in Spain.⁸¹

The officials of the Spanish Inquisition struggled, increasingly ineffectively, against the black market of forbidden works, often vainly admonishing warnings: "...It is understood that many books have entered into these kingdoms clandestinely that have and preach bad doctrines..." stated one announcement published in Sevilla.⁸² The Holy Office threatened "under the pain of Excommunication and a fine of fifty ducats for the expenses of the Holy Office, that similar sheets, packages, and boxes should not be allowed to arrive from outside of these kingdoms unless they should be first searched and examined by the ministers named for this purpose."⁸³ But such works continued to arrive, and neither the threat of damning anathema, nor the hefty fine of fifty ducats was enough to effectively stopper the influx.

This was especially true in the frontier or areas further away from metropolises. Richard Greenleaf notes, for example, that "Because of the shortage of commissaries in New Mexico and Texas, and the long distances between their headquarters, curtailing smuggling was an almost impossible task. Many frontier libraries in New Mexico and Louisiana had books and pamphlets prohibited by the Inquisition, works of philosophy, theology, history, and politics."⁸⁴ Thus it is

⁸⁰ Luis Miguel Enciso Recio and Vicente Palacio Atard, *Barroco e ilustración en las bibliotecas privadas españolas del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2002); see also Antonio Rodríguez Moñino, *Historia de los catálogos de librería españoles (1661-1840). Estudio bibliográfico* (Madrid, 1966).

⁸¹ The most famous study, perhaps, is Jefferson Rea Spell's *Rousseau in the Spanish World Before 1833: A Study in Franco-Spanish Literary Relations* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1938); preceded by "Rousseau in Spanish America," *Hispanic American Historical Review* XV (May, 1935), 260-267.

⁸² Don Antonio Zapata, Inquisitor General, "General Rules and Orders Taken from the New Index of Prohibited and Purged Books for the Spanish Catholic Kingdoms of King Philip IV," in John F. Chuchiak, IV, *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536-1820: A Documentary History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 103. My thanks to Professor Chuchiak for additionally pointing me in the direction of an extensive digitalized collection of indices after meeting in the Archivo General de las Indias, Mexico.

⁸³ Chuchiak, *The Inquisition in New Spain*, 104.

⁸⁴ Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Inquisition in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 60, no. 1 (Jan, 1985), 56.

not easy to assume a direct correlation between ownership and dissemination of these books and the spread of Enlightenment ideas; or inversely, the control of such works and the effectiveness of the counter-Enlightenment.⁸⁵ Eleanor B. Adams and Keith W. Algier echo this conclusion, stating that “Scholarly research and publication of the twentieth century have refuted beyond doubt the traditional misconception that censorship insulate residents of Spain’s overseas empire from new trends in European thought. The literate element of the population was comparatively small, to be sure, but this was equally true in the Old World. Those who could – and wished – to read were able to carry their books and ideas to the farthest frontiers.”⁸⁶ Among the Consejo de Castilla in the heart of Madrid, or amid the far-flung missions of Durango, Mexico, Spanish readers participated in the broader “European spirit” of the Enlightenment by reading the most recent publications.⁸⁷

Thirdly, and moreover, the prohibition of one work of an author did not necessarily entail the banning of all of the writer’s other publications. While all of the works of Rousseau were prohibited by the Spanish Index in 1764, for example, Condillac’s works were judged piecemeal – his *La logique ou les premiers developments de l’art de penser* (1781) was freely translated and imported, while his the latter volumes of his *Cours d’etudes pour l’instruction du Prince de Parme* (1767-1773, 13 volumes) were banned – although not until after the first volumes had

⁸⁵ Greenleaf, “The Inquisition in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico,” 56-57. For further information on the illicit book trade in New Spain and surrounding territories, see Richard E. Greenleaf, “The Mexican Inquisition and the Enlightenment 1763-1805,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 41, No. 3 (1966), 181-196; Richard E. Greenleaf, “The Mexican Inquisition and the Masonic Movement: 1751-1820,” *The New Mexico Historical Review* 44, No. 2 (1969), 93-117; Lewis A. Tambs, “The Inquisition in Eighteenth-Century Mexico,” *The Americas* 22, No. 2 (Oct., 1965), 167-181; and Eleanor B. Adams and Keith W. Algier, “A Frontier Book List – 1800,” *The New Mexico Historical Review* 43, No. 1 (1968), 49-59.

⁸⁶ Adams and Algier, “A Frontier Book List – 1800,” 53. See also Irving A. Leonar, “A Frontier Library, 1799,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 23 (1943), 21-51; Eleanor B. Adams and France V. Scholes, “Books in New Mexico, 1598-1680,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 17 (1942), 1-45; Eleanor B. Adams, “Two Colonial New Mexico Libraries: 1704, 1776,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 19, No. 2 (April, 1944), 135-167.

⁸⁷ G. Delpy, *L’Espagne et l’esprit européen: l’oeuvre de Feijóo (1725-1760)* (Spain : Librairie Hachette, 1936).

already been admitted and distributed throughout the peninsula.⁸⁸ Even Voltaire, one of the most disagreeably impious *philosophes* to the censors of Spain, had publications reach the Spanish public. The proliferation of bibliographic essays further spread awareness of new works – both Spanish and foreign – many of the most cutting-edge Enlightenment publications are described by the jurist and political theorist Juan Sempere y Guarinos (1754-1830), who published his *Ensayo de una biblioteca Española de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III* (“Essay of a Spanish Library of the Best Writers of the Kingdom of Carlos III”), in six volumes in Madrid from 1785-1789.⁸⁹ Additionally, new periodicals such as *El Semanario Político* and Cristóbal Cladera’s *Espíritu de los mejores diarios literarios que se publican en Europa* regularly published news and advertisements for the latest works of the time.

Ultimately, however, the Index is insufficient and offers an imbalanced perspective of Enlightenment and counter-Enlightenment activity in Spain because of the emphasis it places on the foreign importation of thought into the Spanish world. This reinforces the erroneous view that has long dominated Enlightenment studies of Spain: that the Spanish empire, closed off to the liberalizing work of France and Britain, was late to come to the intellectual supper table, gleaning only the scraps of what it could receive from the *philosophes* across the border. As will be shown in this dissertation, Spain had herself a vibrant and engaged intellectual community

⁸⁸ Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, 69, 83.

⁸⁹ Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Ensayo de una biblioteca Española de los Mejores Escritores del Reynado de Carlos III*, Tomo Primero (A-B) (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1785). The bibliographic essay – part reference list and part comparative study – was a well-established genre by Sempere y Guarinos’s publication. Earlier examples included Nicolás Antonio’s (1617-1684) *Bibliotheca hispana nova, sive hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno md ad mdclxxiv floruerunt notitia* (Vol. 1, Madrid: Joachim de Ibarra, 1783), as well as dozens of other bibliographic compilations published during the eighteenth century, including explicitly thematic collections such as the hebraist D. José Rodríguez de Castro’s (1739-1789) Spanish rabbinical codex (*Biblioteca Española que contiene la noticia de los escritores rabinos españoles desde la época conocida de su literatura hasta el presente*, Vol. 1, Madrid: en la Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1781), the arabist Miguel Casiri de Gartia’s (Mija’il al-Gaziri) (1710-1791) study of Arabic writings conducted at the library of El Escorial (*Vestibulum sive Aditus Bibliothecae Arabico-Hispanae escurialensis*, 1760), or the compilations and studies made by the classicist Juan de Iriarte (1702-1771) (*Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis codices graeci manuscripti*, Vol. I, Madrid, 1769).

which participated concomitantly in the broader European Enlightenment project, and which in many ways contained unique elements – particularly in an articulated counter-Enlightenment stream of thought.

Inquisition Cases

The final category of primary sources, found primarily in the second chapter of this dissertation, includes Inquisition cases – both more replete trial transcripts (*procesos*) and the partial testimony in the *relaciones de causas*, or summarized notes of a trial which supply an overview of the accused (*reo*), the charges, and the proceedings of the investigation, including evidence, witnesses, and the pronounced sentence.⁹⁰ Much has been written on the genre of Inquisition cases and the need for careful historiographical tact when interpreting trials.⁹¹

My own approach to these cases has been to view them as supplemental to the conversations of what Euan Cameron calls the “theological academy” or the intellectual elite of eighteenth-century Spain.⁹² In this regard, my aim has been to show the grounded reality of an otherwise abstract, epistemological concept by examining cases which involve claims of the

⁹⁰ For guides to the genre of the Inquisition, see Robin Vose, “Introduction to inquisition trial transcripts and records.” Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. University of Notre Dame, 2010. http://www.library.nd.edu/rarebooks/digital_projects/inquisition/collections/RBSC-INQ:COLLECTION/essays/RBSC-INQ:ESSAY_TrialsAndSentencing>

⁹¹ See Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478-1834*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches’ Sabbath*, Raymond Rosenthal, trans. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991); Carlo Ginzburg, *Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (New York: Penguin Books, 1985) Carlo Ginzburg, “The Inquisitor as Anthropologist” in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), trans. by John and Anne C. Tedeschi, Lu Ann Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition 1478-1614: an Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2006); Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); and Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, *Montaillou, the Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), among others.

⁹² Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), vii.

supernatural (miracles, exorcisms, visions, witchcraft, etc.). These cases, which forcibly bring into contact the metaphysical and physical, are particularly helpful for glimpsing the unwitting, epistemic mentality of the inquisitors and the accused. My methodological approach to such cases has been largely informed by Carlo Ginzburg's work, especially his article, "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist." In his article, Ginzburg highlights the historian's need to be aware of a *dialogue* occurring in case files between the Inquisitor and the accused, a dialogue that reveals simultaneously the anthropological categories being espoused and imposed by the authorities and the quotidian beliefs and practices of those being investigated.

In Inquisition cases, as in all of the genres of literature that this dissertation examines, there are clear limitations in evidence. The evidence that does exist was almost exclusively written by theologians, jurists, scientists, and the intellectual elite. These works, however, offer only a 'top-down' perspective of classifying ideas and interpreting them through the lens of a mostly-orthodox religious ideology. Epistemological beliefs were held without being explicitly expressed even by the most academic individuals; the occurrence of such a self-referential conception among the lay, popular, and folk presented in Inquisition cases is non-existent.⁹³ Ginzburg notes that even in Inquisitorial literature, where there is at least some record of a popular voice (via the defendant), this voice is distorted – influenced by the pressure of power in the trial setting, by the notarial choices of the secretary, and by the "contamination of interpretation."⁹⁴ In a particularly condemning sentence on the difficulty of understanding these popular beliefs, Ginzburg writes, "What is revealed here is a more embarrassing fact: the

⁹³ Cameron describes the weakness in ascribing to such hard-and-fast lines between classes, rural/urban, learned/unlearned, bourgeoisie/elite, or even lay/cleric. He does, however, support an overall distinction between an educated, often-scholastic "theological academy" and a generally uneducated populace.

⁹⁴ Ginzburg, "Inquisitor," 162. Ginzburg is concerned with reconstructing popular beliefs in superstition, but I find his approach equally applicable to reconstructing general popular mentalities.

existence of a close continuity between our own comparative mythology and the interpretations of inquisitors. They were translating – or, rather, transposing – beliefs fundamentally foreign to them into another, more unambiguous code.”⁹⁵ There exists, therefore, a constant tension between the study of the academic construction of an episteme, of the methods of definition and dissemination, and of the discussion of such epistemologies, as opposed to the actual held beliefs of the time (the “reality”).

Yet the existence of such a reality is a necessary given, and the cases of the Inquisition, added to extensive readings of the published works of the Spanish ‘republic of letters’ is the most legitimate means of uncovering and understanding these beliefs. Total skepticism and inaccessibility, according to these historians, is mostly the result of an ‘intellectual disenchantment’ of the late-twentieth century. Moreover, Ginzburg states that the historian can escape the “web of categories used by those remote anthropologists” by analyzing the dialogic structure of inquisition cases.⁹⁶ In such records, he argues, there exist rare opportunities where contradictions, misunderstandings, or conflicts of meaning occur. These clashes of definition expose gaps between two different ways of understanding the supernatural cosmos of early modern Europe – one belonging to the Inquisitor, the other to the defendant. By highlighting this “real dialogue,” Ginzburg asserts that historians can successfully tease out of the inquisitorial record an idea, belief, or practice held by the popular culture.⁹⁷

This dissertation also reevaluates, indirectly, the role of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment across the Spanish Atlantic. It is important to note that these abstract and intellectual debates had a very realized dimension to them. The

⁹⁵ Ginzburg, “Inquisitor,” 162.

⁹⁶ Ginzburg, “Inquisitor,” 164, 159.

⁹⁷ Ginzburg, “Inquisitor,” 164.

polemical arguments dominated the printed sector of society, to be sure. Indeed, the fears of many *anti-ilustrados* about the reception and misuses of information reaffirms the fact that these Catholic Enlightenment vs. Counter-Enlightenment debates were filtered throughout all levels of society. This is especially the case with Inquisition investigations that necessarily brought into question the boundaries of supernatural and natural. Cast in the light of the context of a trial, the questions about epistemic justification and modes of perception become not only immediately clear in sharp relief, but also understandable via concrete examples. The oft-overlooked third side of the epistemic triangle – magic – is here considered as an alternative way of knowing (one that both religion and science, each in its way, clamored to denounce). Michael Bailey, a historian of late-medieval and early modern witchcraft and magic, has noted that “magic has often been linked to other expansive systems for understanding, interacting with, and influencing the whole of creation, namely, religion and science.”⁹⁸

In 1966, the historian Richard Greenleaf noted the political role of the Inquisition in enforcing regalist policies directed from the Bourbon crown, a task which was noticeably more difficult given the porosity of the Spanish colonies and borderlands than in peninsular regulation. Greenleaf’s studies of the Inquisition, particularly in the eighteenth-century emphasized the role that regalist policies played in dictating Inquisitorial activities. He described in detail the conflict for jurisdictional authority between the tribunals of the Holy Office and civil authorities – particularly regional governors and the viceroy that manifested itself in criminal and inquisition investigations of persons of office (often without any substantial evidence).⁹⁹ Greenleaf went so far, in fact, as to call the Mexican Inquisition a “political instrument” during the second half of the eighteenth century. Nor, as Greenleaf noted, was this new. He argued that

⁹⁸ Michael D. Bailey, “The Meanings of Magic,” *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft* 1, No. 1 (Summer 2006), 2.

⁹⁹ See Greenleaf, “The Inquisition in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico,” 43.

this was the *modus operandi* of the crown and the inquisition for centuries in Mexico, writing that “The use of the Inquisition by the later eighteenth-century Bourbon kings in Spain as an instrument of regalism was not a departure from tradition.”¹⁰⁰

There is no denying that there is a strong and evident connection between Enlightenment thought, Bourbon reforms and policies, and the political sphere that developed the “creole patriotism” that would erupt in the nationalist movements of the nineteenth-century. Admirable research in this area includes, for example, David Brading’s work on “creole patriotism,” Jacques Lafaye’s notion of “creole triumphalism,” or Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra’s ideas of a “creole epistemology” in the histories of the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹ However, the testimony of the Inquisition has led to the problem that the vast historiography of Enlightenment thought has too often become nothing more than political reductionism. The political considerations of the eighteenth century are an essential component for understanding the enlightened Spanish empire, but by no means sufficient for doing so. There is need to move beyond this one-dimensional interpretation of the Inquisition - and indeed, often extended to movements such as freemasonry, or even to the broader institution of the church. It is too simple a story to sublimate all religio-intellectual activity under the motives of politics or the economy, and one that is so incomplete that it misleads students of the period.

For these reasons, the documentary record of the Inquisition in eighteenth-century New Spain may *not* be the most useful source for reconstructing an accurate account of the enlightenment nor of the counter-enlightenment in Spanish America. Still, these cases can

¹⁰⁰ Greenleaf, “The Mexican Inquisition and the Enlightenment,” 181.

¹⁰¹ David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl et Guadalupe: La formation de la conscience nationale au Mexique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

escape their relegation to the regalist realm and add to our understanding of the deeper intellectual and religious debates of the century. To do so, this dissertation moves beyond a statistical or quantified treatment of the records of the Inquisition and an increased emphasis on deep, textual analysis. Particular attention is paid to the language used to discuss heresy, heterodoxy, and the supernatural. The employment of *protomédicos* and other medical professionals in the tribunals could yield, for example, immense historical evidence to help us to understand the way that medicine and science worked with theology to produce a system of discernment and to create an evaluatory standard or hierarchy of evidence.

Thus, a new understanding of evidence and standards of justification in early modern New Spain can be gained by assessing the examples of Inquisition trials for superstition, alleged witchcraft, and false possessions, as well as independent clerical and scientific investigations into cases of reported miracles or possessions. As intersections of the supernatural and natural, they acted as sites of metaphysical contestation for the explanatory powers of both science and religion in the eighteenth-century.

Some Limits of the Dissertation

It should be clearly expressed that the scope of this dissertation is limited to the philosophical debates over knowledge held between science and religion in the Spanish Catholic- and Counter-Enlightenment, and does not include an analysis of objections made to Enlightenment thought on political, economic, or social grounds. These are, it is understood, all fundamentally connected to each other, and at times, the language of each seeps into the other, but the expressly political objections made to the enlightenment have been avoided. This was initially made as an attempt to avoid the popular area of counter-revolutionary thought after the

outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 – it became necessary, however, to clearly reject the political reductionism which has governed previous interpretations of eighteenth-century Spanish thought. This means disentangling particular topics such as Jansenism, regalism, reformism, and Freemasonry from their relegation to exclusively political definitions, and rehabilitating them to a far more complex and nuanced status as terms which expressed philosophic postures and attitudes which directed political, economic, and social activities. That they had political applications is doubtlessly sure; likewise sure is that there already exist several admirable monographs which have covered these applications, particularly in the Hispanophonic scholarly literature.¹⁰² The analysis of this dissertation therefore does not investigate these topics, and instead limits itself to the questions of the history of the philosophy of science and religion during the Spanish Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment.

Additionally, this study is not necessarily representative of a popular spirit of the Enlightenment in Spain. This dissertation is a study of texts produced within the Spanish empire during the long eighteenth century and relies upon written records to gauge reactions and ideas. To begin with, the vast majority of the Spanish population during this time was illiterate, and is therefore inadequately represented by textual studies. Some rough estimates have suggested that around one quarter of the Spanish population could sign their own name in 1786.¹⁰³ Though it is difficult to extrapolate literacy records from the early modern period, Antonio Viñao Frago has estimated that by 1841, shortly after the period examined in this study, 75.7% of the population

¹⁰² See, for example, Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808* (Houndsmills, Palgrave MacMillan, 2008); the previously mentioned work of Brading, Cañizares-Esguerra, Lafaye; additionally Scott Eastman, *Preaching Spanish Nationalism across the Hispanic Atlantic* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012).

¹⁰³ See references made by Adrien Maggiolo in Tomás A. Mantecón, *España en Tiempos de Ilustración: Los Desafíos del Siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, S.A., 2013), 229.

of Spain was illiterate, with only 9.7% of the population able to write.¹⁰⁴ These numbers are even more condemning for women, 90.8% of whom in 1841 were illiterate, and 2.2% of whom had the ability to both read and write.¹⁰⁵ While some scholars believe that these estimates may actually have fallen from a higher rate of literacy during the Spanish Enlightenment from 1770-1790, they yet remain strongly suggestive that the expressed ideas in the examined works of this dissertation reflect the upper academic echelon of Hispanic society during the period.

This is particularly true when the primary sources in question are published, non-periodical works. Members of the clergy, individuals associated with academic institutions, or by professionals associated with various *sociedades* or positions in the government wrote nearly all of the works mentioned in this dissertation. The same elitism follows in the periodical press; Herr bleakly estimates that less than one percent of the Spanish population (approximately 10,000,000 by the 1780s) participated in periodical subscriptions.¹⁰⁶ In much of Spain and in Spanish America, historians have convincingly demonstrated that it was the clergy and nobility who had the time, necessary knowledge, contacts, and resources to read and understand Enlightenment works, disseminating these ideas further by responding to these publications.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Frago, "The History of Literacy in Spain: Evolution, Traits, and Questions," *History of Education Quarterly* 30, No. 4, Special Issue on the History of Literacy (Winter, 1990), 573-599; 578..

¹⁰⁵ Frago, "Literacy in Spain," 578.

¹⁰⁶ Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, 199. This is a dubious estimate. The population of Spain and of Madrid in particular, was a source of debate at the end of the eighteenth-century. Various censuses had placed the total population of Spain between 7.5 million and the unusually precise number 9,307,004 inhabitants. Madrid was listed in 1766 by the *Visita General* as having "7,398 houses with 32,745 inhabitants, to which they should add the servants of the Royal House and Nobles, of the Ecclesiastical and Regular State, the Hospitals and Jails, and the Pretensions and Commissions that are not inhabited, all of which is calculated to bring it up to 450 souls." (Sempere I.119-120) Modern research has confirmed that Madrid did indeed grow in size during the second half of the eighteenth century, after a century long population slump during the seventeenth century. See P.M.G. Harris, *The History of Human Populations: Volume I: Forms of Growth and Decline* (Westport: Praeger, 2001), 306-309. Herr claims that in 1787, Madrid had 150,000 residents (Herr, 87).

¹⁰⁷ John Tate Lanning, "The Enlightenment in Relation to the Church," *The Americas* 14, No. 4 (Apr., 1958), 489-496.

The result is a study which primarily examines the vanguard of intellectual discussions in eighteenth-century Spain.

There is, however, some reason to suggest that such discussions effectively “trickled down” to a wider audience. The periodical press was particularly effective at spreading information beyond the traditional classes of clergy and titled nobility. Herr has suggested that the “overwhelming majority of the names on the [subscription] lists belonged to members of neither [clergy nor titled nobility] but to commoners or to untitled hidalgos...members of the royal government...military officers...doctors, lawyers, and professors...very likely many of them were well-to-do commoners without official positions – shopkeepers, merchants, entrepreneurs, professional men, and the like...”¹⁰⁸ These subscription lists, moreover, do not reflect the number of *hearers* of such papers. Additionally, works that intentionally popularized the subjects of this study proliferated during the eighteenth century. While the complexity of a work such as Diego Mateo Zapata’s *Ocaso de las Formas Aristotélicas* (Twilight of the Aristotelian Forms) may not have been accessible to the average literate Spaniard, later works such as Andrés Piquer’s *Discurso sobre la aplicación de la filosofía a los asuntos de religión para la juventud española* (Discourse on the Application of Philosophy to the Facts of Religion for the Spanish Youth) deliberately marketed themselves for a more general reader.¹⁰⁹ In the dedicatory letter to the Duque de Osuna which prefaces Ramón Campos’s *Sistema de Lógica* (1791), for example, the author writes “He is the wiser who has the better System of Logic...this System...without departing from simplicity, attempts to briefly decipher the occult and

¹⁰⁸ Herr, *Eighteenth Century Revolution*, 196-197.

¹⁰⁹ Diego Mateo Zapata, *Ocaso de las formas aristotélicas que pretendió ilustrar a la luz de la razón el doctor D. Juan Martín de Lesaca* (Madrid: En la Imprenta del Hospital General, 1745), Vol. 1; Andrés Piquer, *Discurso sobre la aplicación de la filosofía a los asuntos de religión para la juventud española* (Madrid: por D. Joachin Ibarra, 1778).

complicated paths of knowledge.”¹¹⁰ Deciphering and translating complex material into popular, digestible knowledge was part of the regular task of a Catholic Enlightener. The encyclopedic genre, which included the wildly successful and reprinted works of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, also aimed for broad appeal. Indeed, if the number of complaints levied by academics against the misconstructions of the *vulgo* (populace) are at all indicative, it seems clear that some measure (however mistakenly understood) of “academically elite” works was regularly reaching a significant swathe of the population.

The Significance of Understanding Enlightenment Epistemology

There are several ways in which the methodology of the new sciences proposed by the *novatores* and promoted by Catholic Enlighteners constituted direct breaks with the existing platform of Aristotelian science – that is to say, the practice of science largely influenced by Aristotelian physics and Scholastic philosophy and theology, which, before the eighteenth century, was the only position held in the universities of the Spanish empire. Moreover, these breaks with the Aristotelian system necessarily extended beyond the field of ‘applied’ science, a fact which counter-enlightenment thinkers were quick to point out. In the area of general epistemology and philosophy, these epistemic ruptures included: an elimination of teleology and final cause from the study of the physical sciences (excepting, perhaps, biology and anatomy), a removal of questions of ontology, a transition from qualitative analysis to quantitative analysis, a redistricting of the natural, supernatural, and preternatural realms of causality, the creation of

¹¹⁰ Ramón Campos, *Sistema de Lógica* (Madrid: En la Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, 1791), A2a-b.

disciplines of knowledge and new rules for how these disciplines interacted with one another, and a reprioritization of the modes of perception and corresponding new hermeneutic.¹¹¹

There are several existing works which are excellent reference points for understanding the eighteenth-century as it transpired in Spain. Chief among them are Richard Herr's *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain* (1958) and Jean Sarrailh's *L'Espagne éclairée de la deuxième moitié du XVIII^e siècle* (1954). Herr's work provides a general overview of the Spanish enlightenment, particularly emphasizing economic and policy reforms instituted by Carlos III and with an entire half of the book devoted to the impact of the French Revolution and the growth of liberalism during the reign of Carlos IV. Sarrailh's book, which emphasizes the enlightened mentality more than Herr's, is an extensive reference work which encompasses the entirety of the century. Though slightly dated and amended by later histories, these works are essential for understanding the Spanish eighteenth-century; yet this dissertation departs from them in several key ways. Four differences in approach and scope, in particular, distinguish my research from the admirable work conducted by Herr, Sarrailh, and others: 1) a closer textual analysis of eighteenth-century works, with special attention to the language used by eighteenth-century writers; 2) a serious treatment of Counter-Enlightenment thinkers and their works, approaching religious topics as part of the intellectual history of Spain and avoiding political reductionism; 3) the use of examples from New Spain and Peru to reconstruct a transatlantic dialogue between colonial and peninsular thinkers; and 4) the use of Inquisition cases and functional examples of epistemology to show "real life" application of otherwise abstract ideas, grounding how the New Philosophy could be realized in concrete ways. These are presented in a roughly chronological order throughout the dissertation, recognizing roughly four stages of the

¹¹¹ Gaston Bachelard, *The Formation of the Scientific Mind : A Contribution to a Psychoanalysis of Objective Knowledge*, Mary McAllester Jones, trans. (Manchester: Clinamen Press, 2002).

enlightenment experience in the Hispanic world, each with some overlap: the *novator* movement (1687-1728), Feijóo's encyclopedic work and the popularization of Enlightenment ideas (1726-1760), the synthesizing debates and crystallization of philosophy during the 'High Spanish Enlightenment' (1750-1788), and the late, revolutionary period (1782-1813).

Description of Chapters

Chapter one "Religion and the New Philosophy of Science in Eighteenth-Century Spain," examines the influence that changes in the philosophy of science and the acquisition of knowledge exerted on the work of pre-Enlightenment thinkers of Spain, known as the *novatores*. This chapter explores the religio-intellectual scene of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries (approximately 1687-1728) which existed in Spain and her colonies, specifically examining the works of Martín Martínez and his critics as a touchstone for the wider debates of the period. Additionally, this chapter anchors these intellectual-theological discussions by providing concrete examples drawn from the records of the Spanish Inquisition during this time, as well as seeking anecdotal accounts of popular belief reported in newspapers, gazettes, and other works. By doing so, it will show a preeminent concern with epistemology – that the Catholic intellectual elite (manifested in academic scholars, members of the clergy, inquisitors, court representatives, etc.) were concerned not only with *what* ought to be believed, but *how* it ought to be known. Particularly important to this chapter is the analysis of modes of belief (perception, intuition, revelation, etc.), and the methods by which the intellectual contributions of the *novatores* constituted a significant and distinct paradigm or episteme for the early modern Spanish empire.¹¹²

¹¹² See Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.

The analysis and application of modes of belief from scientific advancements are contextualized in the extensive (and provocative) discourses of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo in chapter two, “A Priest Who Ventured Out of his Science.” Feijóo was perhaps the most widely read representative of enlightenment thought during his time; indeed, he was both so effective and provocative in his work that after one volume of his works had received censorship from the Inquisition, the king later forbade future attacks on his *Teatro Crítico Universal*. This chapter particularly analyzes two aspects of Feijóo’s “anti-superstition campaign” evidenced in his *Teatro Crítico Universal* and *Cartas Eruditas y Curiosas*. First, this chapter examines Feijóo’s numerous discourses on the existence and analysis of miracles – a subject which he gained renown for as a debunker of superstition and myth. It therefore suggests that Feijóo must be read as man of greater complexity than previously treated, a scientific priest who, while instrumental in the advancement of experimental science in eighteenth-century Spain and in the modernization of analytical thinking, was fundamentally influenced and guided by Catholic theology and religious figures of his day. His scientific and religious works are therefore inextricably interwoven, and must be read as such. This marriage of science and religion, furthermore, are characterized as being the unique product of the Spanish reception of the new philosophy of the eighteenth century. This is similarly seen in the second half of this chapter, which surveys Feijóo’s writing on exorcisms in eighteenth century Spain. By demonstrating that Feijóo’s standards of discernment and skepticism towards accounts of exorcisms were largely motivated by a desire to distinguish the legitimate boundaries of supernatural and natural for the strengthening of Catholicism; moreover, much of his methodology and reasoning is deeply rooted in the traditions of the Catholic Church.

Chapter three, “La Verdad Católica, La Falsa Filosofía: the Anti-*Teatrística* Polemics of Salvador Josef Mañer and the Counter-Enlightenment Response in the Early-Eighteenth Century,” assesses the reactionary position of many Spanish intellectuals to an “enlightenment epistemology,” particularly in response to Feijóo’s publications during the mid-eighteenth century. This chapter analyzes individuals such as Mañer, Ignacio Armesto y Ossorio, and Francisco Ignacio Cigala, who reacted against the introduction of enlightenment modes of thought, analyzing their reasons for critiquing the New Philosophy and their suggestions for alternative epistemologies. I examine why leading intellectuals argued against a “Catholic Enlightenment” of eighteenth-century Spain, *what* their specific objections were, and *how* these objections were rationalized and seen as legitimate arguments at the time. This chapter thus demonstrates how religious intellectuals contested for epistemological hegemony in the mid-eighteenth century, proposing alternative, and at times, mutually exclusive, systems for understanding and the pursuit of truth.

Chapter four, “Each Subject Has Its Method,” surveys the work of Vicente Fernández Valcárcel, a Palencian canon at the end of the eighteenth-century who typifies the irenic mediation of Catholic enlightenment thought.¹¹³ By examining Valcárcel’s efforts to negotiate the apparent tensions between science and religion in his work, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, this dissertation also demonstrates how Valcárcel’s epistemology reflects a bridge between the progressivism of thinkers such as Martínez and Feijóo and the conservative stance taken by intellectuals such as Mañer. The systematic nature of Valcárcel’s attempts to circumscribe the “magisteria” of science and of religion is therefore representative of late-enlightenment thought across the Spanish empire.

¹¹³ See Ulrich Lehner, *On the Road to Vatican II*.

Ultimately, the translation of traditionalism and reactionary Catholic epistemology towards an insular stance against reform, enlightenment philosophy, and foreign influences at the end of the eighteenth-century and through the French invasion of the peninsula is presented in the fifth and final chapter, “From *Ilustrado* to *Afrancesado*: Politicizing Reform, Enlightenment, and Jansenism in the Alvarado-Villanueva Debates, 1782-1813.” After the excesses of the French Revolution, and particularly subsequent to the Napoleonic invasion of the peninsula, the metaphysical and epistemological framework that many Spaniards associated with the enlightenment became linked to both French nationality and to the destruction of traditional society. Enlightened “liberalism” and reformism became particularly suspect. This chapter particularly situates the Jansenist debates of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Spanish Catholic Church within broader ecclesiastical efforts to regulate reform and doctrinal critique, as well as to maintain epistemological hegemony. These themes are explored through the works of Spanish Jansenists, assessing how Jansenism was classified as a heterodox variety of Catholicism, what Jansenists professed in their texts, and how Spanish theologians responded and reacted to it. To do so, this chapter specifically analyzes *El Jansenismo*, a religious dialogue and debate written by Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva in 1811, as well as a series of editorial letters authored by Fray Francisco Alvarado. This chapter thus considers the contested definitions of Spanish Jansenism at the end of the eighteenth century and assesses its relation to Catholic reform and Enlightened Catholicism. By doing so, this chapter demonstrates how Spanish Jansenism, as a variety of Catholicism, was part of the larger reforming efforts within the Spanish Catholic Church during the eighteenth century, and how such reform was the direct causal conclusion of the metaphysical, epistemological, and axiological questions raised earlier in the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

While conducting research for this dissertation in Spain, I was frequently asked by scholars, clergy, and lay persons the subject of my study. When I answered that I was investigating the Spanish enlightenment, the confused response was always a variation of the same reply: “pero no existía en España la Ilustración.” This was said with an assertive finality that suggested both the obviousness of this fact and the intimation that my time would be better spent searching for something that actually existed. One of my main aims in this work is to correct this common misunderstanding, showing that not only did Spain participate in the enlightenment, but that the intellectual production of the Spanish empire during this time constituted a rich and distinctive body of thought worthy of study and critical to understanding the history of Europe in the eighteenth century.

The age of enlightenment witnessed sweeping changes in almost every sphere of life throughout Europe and across the Atlantic to the colonies of the New World. “Our indispensable century,” the poet Matthew Arnold labeled it, and indeed it was; in Spain, everything from political reforms, to economic improvement plans, new agricultural and industrial implementations, literature, infrastructure, social justice, natural law and human rights, jurisprudence, and, most importantly for this dissertation, advancements in the natural sciences which introduced a time of transition and debate for the areas of philosophy, epistemology, and theology. The greatest minds of the century were split between those who argued against the introduction of new ideas and those who urged for them to be adopted – and among each camp, differences of opinions on how these ideas were useful, beneficial, harmful, or errant differed

greatly. One hundred years afterwards, two of the greatest historians of the period had failed to reach a consensus.

Writing in 1890, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, the most prominent historian of ideas in Spain during the nineteenth century, member of the Real Academia Española and director of the Academia de la Historia, was direct about his opinions on the comparative brilliance of the various thinkers of the eighteenth century. Looking back on the litany of Spanish philosophers of the second half of the eighteenth century, most of whom were largely inspired by John Locke, he wrote that:

For the glory of our nation, one should say that the only illustrious expositor here was Locke, and that the rest didn't even reach the point of mediocrity, and that, on the other hand, the most illustrious thinkers of the eighteenth century, the Cistercian Rodríguez, the Hieronymite Ceballos, the canons Valcárcel and Castro, and the important doctor Piquer and his disciple Forner, in whom it seems the spirit of Vives was reborn; the Sevillano Pérez y López, emulator of Sabunde, and finally, the Jesuit Hervás y Panduro...they maintained immunity to such a contagion, they grappled without compromise against the intellectual invasion of France, they managed to add to the golden chain of our culture and were fervent spiritualists, as opposed to those who denied all the anterior and superior activity of the soul to the sensations and searched in sensations and the various transformed modes, the root of all knowledge, clumsily applying the analytic method.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Menéndez y Pelayo, HHE, VI.iii.4.pp.516. Antonio José Rodríguez, OCist (1703-1777), was a physician and writer whose works were the *Palestra critica-medica en que se trata de introducir la verdadera Medicina...*, six volumes (Pamplona: J.J. Martínez y Zaragoza, F. Moreno, 1734-1749) and the *Nuevo aspecto de Theología Médico-Moral* (1742); Ceballos is a common corruption of Fernando de Cevallos (OSH); Vicente Fernandez Valcárcel (1723-1798), autor of *Desengaños Filosoficos, Que en Obsequio de la Verdad, de la Religion, y de la Patria* (Madrid: Don Blas Roman, Impresor de la Real Academia de Derecho Español, 1787); Juan Francisco de Castro Fernández (1721-1790), a presbyter, lawyer, and apologist who, like Feijóo, was from Galicia, in nearby Lugo. He was appointed a canon of the city by Carlos III, and later an archdeacon. In addition to authoring works on law (*Discursos críticos sobre las Leyes, y sus Interpretes, en que se demuestra la incertidumbre de éstos, y la necesidad de un Nuevo y metódico cuerpo de derecho, para la recta administración de justicia* (Madrid, 1765,1770, three volumes), he also was the president of the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Lugo*, which he directed from 1784-1790. . (www.filosofia.org/ave/001/a184.htm); Juan Pablo Forner y Segarra (1756-1797), nephew of Piquer and Spanish apologist; Antonio Xavier Pérez y López (1736-1792), a faculty member of the University of Sevilla; and Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, SJ (1735-1809).

To Menéndez y Pelayo, who admittedly often wrote sympathetically to the conservative position, the majority of the most insightful philosophical productions from the *siglo de las luces* did not come from those authors who styled themselves as *ilustrados*, but rather from those who have been consigned by historians to the “losing team” of counter-enlightenment thinkers. While Piquer and Castro Fernández are considered part of the Catholic Enlightenment movement in Spain, every other name that Menéndez y Pelayo exalts authored a significant work against the new thinking introduced in the eighteenth-century.¹¹⁵

Not to be outdone in color, Mario Méndez Bejarano, writing shortly after Menéndez y Pelayo described the eighteenth century from a completely different perspective, writing that:

Ill winds blew through Spain for philosophy in the eighteenth century, nothing more than the *ancilla Theologiae* that endured this long night of conscience, not awoken to hopeful matins until the end of the century. Not a single original thinker until D. Javier Pérez y López, who audaciously translated the Cartesian enthymeme from psychology to ontology. Religious orders continued to ruminate scholasticism: the Franciscans in their Scotist variety, the Dominicans in Thomistic orthodoxy, and the Ignatians in the Suarezist modification. Some Jesuits were tossed into the arms of sensualism, which I fail to comprehend how they paired it with Christian doctrine, because the entire system is arranged on the senses, which are considered the only source of knowledge, a fatal impulse to materialism in psychology and ontology towards atheism. All the while, the Cartesian and Gassendenist surf lapped against the peaks of the Pyrenees and its splashes were approved by Feijóo.¹¹⁶

This dissertation closely examines both of these views, and each of the authors named are analyzed in hundreds of publications and manuscripts from the period. What is ultimately sought is not a champion of the eighteenth-century Spanish intellectual sphere,

¹¹⁵ The historiographical jury is out on Castro Fernández; while Sempere y Guarinos agrees with Menéndez y Pelayo, writing that “the Author thinks well, and has merit in many of his reflections, and particularly his examples...” Mario Méndez Bejarano stated that Castro Fernández was “of little philosophical talent... [his work] covered a lot, girded a little, and didn’t offer any novelty in justification of final causes (*causas finales*)...” See Sempere y Guarinos, EBE II.158-159, and Mario Méndez Bejarano, *Historia de la filosofía en España hasta el siglo XX* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1929), XVI§vii.381.

¹¹⁶ “Degeneración de la filosofía” in Méndez Bejarano, *Historia de la filosofía en España hasta el siglo XX*, XVI. §i.335-336.

but a clear and detailed understanding of how the various philosophies of science and religion interacted and contested over the epistemological claim of the Spanish empire, and why this particular debate was the defining concern of the leading minds on both sides of the Spanish Atlantic for over a century.

CHAPTER ONE:

Religion and the New Philosophy of Science in Eighteenth-Century Spain:

Martín Martínez's Medical Skepticism, Empiricism, and the Challenges of Epistemic

Demarcation, 1687-1730

“It is enough simply to mention the New Philosophy to turn their stomachs...The preoccupation reigns in Spain against all new things. Many say that the title of ‘new’ in the doctrines is enough to reprove them, because in the area of doctrine, all new things are suspicious...This absurdity follows and falls on their heads like a lead weight: in the Sciences and Arts there has never been a discovery or invention that was not at some time new.”

-P.Fr. Benito Jerónimo Feijóo (OSB), “On the Causes of Backwardsness that Spain Suffers”¹¹⁷

“It is certain that in our time it seems that Athens has been transplanted to Spain. St. Luke says in the *Acts of the Apostles* that the Athenians and Foreigners of that City were completely given over to talking and hearing about some new thing...But if you were to ask the various professors of the New Philosophies if they have found the truth? Not a single one would say ‘yes.’”

-P. Fr. Diego Tello Lasso de la Vega (O. de M.), personal letter to Josef Cevallos¹¹⁸

In 1722, Martín Martínez, a physician practicing in Madrid and president of the Regia Sociedad de Medicina de Sevilla (Royal Society of Medicine in Seville), and later professor of anatomy and personal physician to the King's own chamber, published his latest addition to the

¹¹⁷ “Basta nombrar la nueva Filosofía, para conmovier a estos el estómago...La segunda causa es la preocupación, que reina en España contra toda novedad. Dicen muchos, que basta en las doctrinas el título de nuevas para reprobárlas, porque las novedades en punto de doctrina son sospechosas... de ella se sigue un absurdo, que cae a plomo sobre sus cabezas. En materia de Ciencias, y Artes no hay descubrimiento, o invención, que no haya sido un tiempo nueva.” CE.II.16§3, 6, and 9 (1745).

¹¹⁸ “Cierto que en nuestro tiempo parece se ha trasladado Athenas a España. Los Athenenses, y Forasteros en aquella Ciu.d. dice San Lucas en los Hechos Apostolicos, que estaban totalmente dados a deicr, u oír alguna cosa nueva. Athemenses autem omnes, et al vena hospites, ad nihil aliud sacabant, nesi aut dicere aut audire aliquid novi. Detor. 17 Pero si preguntas semos a los Varios Profesores de las nuevas Philosophicas, si han hallado la verdad ? Ninguno dirá que si.” in Fr. Diego Tello Lasso de la Vega, “Carta de Fr. Diego Tello Gasso de la Vega a Cevallos,” (28-Noviembre-1756), in bound manuscript volume BNE_10350, páginas 95-112. This is part of a collection of eighteen personal letters which de la Vega sent to Cevallos between October 1, 1751 and July 19th, 1760. Lasso de la Vega (1686-1763), O. de M., a presentado de numero and chair of the province of Andalucía el Real, was best known as the author of two hagiographical works on San Laureano, archbishop of Sevilla (r. 522-539). He was also a *consultor* for the Sacred Congregation of the Index, and a *calificador* of the Holy, Supreme, and Universal Office of the Roman Inquisition.

burgeoning field of medical knowledge and discoveries of the early-eighteenth century in Spain. Since the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the Spanish empire had undergone its own “Scientific Revolution” experience, and a generation of physicians and natural philosophers had published dozens of works discussing the most cutting-edge medical and scientific experiments being performed both within the Spanish kingdoms and across the Pyrenees. Martínez’s contribution was a lengthy, two-volume work entitled *Medicina Sceptica* (Skeptical Medicine), and contained, strikingly, not only practical information about the practice of medicine, anatomy, and surgery, but a radically clear call for the adoption of skepticism as a philosophy and practice within these disciplines.¹¹⁹ Quoting Saint John Chrysostom, Martínez stated the purpose of his work in the prologue, asserting that:

It is very difficult to teach, but it is much more difficult to “unteach,” principally when the propagated errors come from our forefathers; because those that are already are so accustomed it is so extremely difficult to remove the preconceived opinions... So powerful is this persuasion that the false things first learned have more strength than the true ones, if they are learned later.¹²⁰

Martínez sought to “unteach” not only how people approached the study of the natural world, but also to reconceive of the way that the intellectual sphere of eighteenth-century Spain thought about the relationship between science and religion and their respective epistemologies. In his work, Martínez thus called for not only new areas of knowledge, but a new way of learning this knowledge. In order for this new way to be learned, old habits of understanding had to be

¹¹⁹ Quotes are taken from the third edition of Martínez’s two-volume *Medicina sceptica* (ME), which included Feijóo’s apology for the work. See Martín Martínez, *Medicina sceptica y cirugia moderna, con un tratado de operaciones chirurgicas. [Texto impreso]* (1748), tercera impresión añadida con una apología del Rmo. P.M. Fr. Benito Feijoo; Biblioteca Nacional de España 2/61446.

¹²⁰ Martínez, ME.I.70-71. “Muy difícil es enseñar, pero mucho mas difícil desenseñar, principalmente quando los errores vienen propagados desde nuestro ancessores; porque los que assi están yá impuestos, tan difícilmente dexan las preconcebidas opiniones, aunque las hallen sólidamente impugnades, como los que tienen hijos adoptivos, a quienes han mantenido largo tiempo, los quales, si hubieran sabido al principio que eran hijos supuestos, y achacados, ni aun los hubieran admitido. Tan poderosa es la persuasión, que las cosas falsas aprendidas primero, tienen mas fuerza que las verdaderas, si se enseñan después.” Prologo.ii-iii

‘untaught’ to Spain’s scholars. What Martínez meant by skepticism (*scepticismo*), the deeper, epistemological consequences of his work, and the numerous debates that broke out across the intellectual climate of eighteenth-century Spanish empire all indicate a concern with defining the relationship between religion and science, as well as clearly discerning a Catholic epistemology with which religious thinkers could search for truth and knowledge.

This chapter explores the religio-intellectual scene of the early-eighteenth century that existed in Spain and her colonies by specifically examining the works of Martín Martínez and his critics. Additionally, this chapter anchors Martínez’s writings in the broader intellectual-theological discussions of the eighteenth century by providing the context of some of Martínez’s critics and supporters. Martínez’s publications in the 1720s tackled directly the philosophical concerns of the new sciences, and the debate in which he became embroiled is representative of the widespread conflicts between Counter- and Catholic-Enlighteners that occurred during the initial stage of the Spanish Enlightenment (1687-1737). By doing so, it shows the preeminent concern of the Spanish Catholic and Counter-Enlighteners with epistemology – that the Catholic intellectual elite (university professors, certain members of the clergy, *calificadores*, jurists, physicians, among others) were concerned not only with what ought to be believed, but how it ought to be known. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates how, as a result of these concerns, Martínez advocated for the adoption of skepticism in natural philosophy, the abandonment of Aristotelianism and Galenism, and how he worked to effect an epistemic demarcation between theology and science, similar to what Richard Popkin has termed a fideistic skepticism and Francisco Sánchez-Blanco has called a “Christian Skeptical Philosophy.”¹²¹ Though Martínez

¹²¹ Richard Popkin, *The History of Scepticism: From Savonarola to Bayle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), xxi. Fideism is the epistemological belief that faith and reason are distinct (or, at times, contradictory) modes of belief, intended for distinct fields of knowledge. See, for example Blaise Pascal’s *Pensées*. Francisco Sánchez-Blanco, “Benito Jerónimo Feijoo y Montenegro (1676-1764): Benedictine and Skeptic Enlightener,” in

advocated this separation, both the writings of his critics and the record of subsequent publications of the period indicate that such an epistemic demarcation was disregarded, misunderstood, or seen as fundamentally unstable. These Counter-Enlightenment writers pointed to the insufficiency of skepticism in both natural philosophy and metaphysics, as well as to the porosity of Martínez's proposed disciplinary boundaries.

Defining the Novatores and the "Novator Movement" (1687-1737)

The study of the particular transition period in the intellectual climate from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, while less-known in English scholarship, has yielded numerous and considerable scholarly works on the 'epoch of the *novatores*.' The first significant work to attempt such a history was Paul Hazard's *Le Crise de la Conscience Européene*.¹²² Hazard's work is encompassing and thorough, describing the channels in which traditional ways of knowing and bodies of knowledge were steadily challenged and often successfully replaced by religious movements previously considered heterodoxical, by new methods such as rationalism, skepticism, or empiricism, by developments in scientific knowledge and natural philosophy, by innovative political ideologies, by new fields of study in biblical exegesis, even by new understandings of morality, ethics, and human psychology. Hazard describes this process in militant terms, describing a tension between two predominantly mutually exclusive factors, writing,

The champions of Reason and the champions of Religion were, in the words of Pierre Bayle, fighting desperately for the possession of men's souls, confronting each other in a contest at which the whole of thoughtful Europe was looking on...

Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe: A Transnational History, Jeffrey D. Burson and Ulrich L. Lehner, eds. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014), 309-326.

¹²² Paul Hazard, *La Crise de la Conscience Européene* (Boivin : Paris, 1935). See also Paul Hazard, *The European Mind (1680-1715)*, trans. J. Lewis May (London : Hollis & Carter, 1953).

The first task was one of demolition. That well and truly completed, the next thing was reconstruction.¹²³

Hazard therefore necessarily describes the turn of the century as one of epistemic rupture – an old system was being replaced, sometimes gradually, other times more precipitously (i.e., with medical, scientific, and technological discoveries), by new thoughts. Hazard’s work, while pioneering and immensely helpful in understanding a well-synthesized overview of the period from 1680 to 1715, is unfortunately limited to France and England, and neglects the spread of Enlightenment ideas or parallel movements in other European countries.

Implicit in Hazard’s analysis is a necessary rupture between reason and religion – a religio-intellectual battle that involved European society on multiple levels and in various forums, creating a general “crisis of conscience,” or as Hazard labels it elsewhere, a “dubious no-man’s-land” of transition, a general “quest for truth and happiness.”¹²⁴ In this quest, Hazard argues, “what men craved to know was what they were to believe, and what they were not to believe.”¹²⁵ While this last statement is doubtlessly true, it emphasizes the content and material of what was believed by European society to the detriment of the method of its acquisition. This necessarily results in a historiography that is heavy-handed toward epistemic rupture as the defining characteristic – most simply, historians have cataloged the beliefs and notions of European intellectual elite circa 1687 and again in 1725, have noted wide disparities, and have concluded that something dramatic occurred.

For Spain, the study of this transition period is synonymous with the study of the *novatores* or the “Novator Movement.” First used disparagingly by Francisco Palanco in 1714 to describe a group of individuals attacking the established beliefs in theology, philosophy, and

¹²³ Hazard, *The European Mind*, xv-xvi.

¹²⁴ Hazard, *The European Mind*, 15.

¹²⁵ Hazard, *The European Mind*, 15.

science, the term “*novatores*” (“innovators”) is now applied historically to the roughly coterminous collection of individuals who challenged the existing Galenic and Aristotelian practices in medicine and natural philosophy in Spain at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries.¹²⁶ They often included physicians, anatomists, surgeons, scientists, mathematicians, and armchair enthusiasts of the aforementioned fields, commonly advocated for the adoption of iatrochemistry, iatromechanism, vitalism, or atheoretical empiricism in medicine and science, and competed against the existing Scholastic institutions to legitimize these practices, often resorting to alternative and informal intellectual networks. They have alternatively been considered the first generation of early-enlightenment thought, the group responsible for introducing ‘modernity’ to Spain, or Spain’s reaction to and participation in the broader European scientific activity of the mid-seventeenth century.

The era of the *novatores* in Spanish history is inextricably linked to studies of the ‘Scientific Revolution,’ and accordingly, the two share similar historiographical trends.¹²⁷ Two such similarities are the blurring of any clear periodization and the fracturing of the idea of a unified, coherent movement. For example, historians have emphasized that the idea of a clean, epistemic break or unified paradigm shift that occurred at a discrete moment of ‘Revolution’ between the old and the new is simply inaccurate. “The line dividing the ancients and the

¹²⁶ Francisco Palanco [alternatively Polanco], *Dialogus Physico-Theologicus contra Philosophiae Novatores, sive Thomista contra Atomistas. Cursus Philosophici* (Madrid: Blasij de Villanueva, 1714).

¹²⁷ A review of the available literature on the Scientific Revolution would necessitate another dissertation. For a brief overview, in addition to Thomas Kuhn and Steven Shapin’s work, which serves as a useful introduction to both the history and historiography of the Scientific Revolution, see also these trends reflected or noted in: George Basalla, *The Rise of Modern Science: External or Internal Factors?* (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1968); Herbert Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science, Revised Edition* (New York: The Free Press, 1957); Lorraine J. Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2007); A. Rupert Hall, *The Scientific Revolution 1500-1800: The Formation of the Modern Scientific Attitude* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966); Robert A. Hatch, “The Scientific Revolution: Paradigm Lost?,” *OAH Magazine of History* 4, No. 2 (Spring, 1989): 34-39; Pamela H. Smith, “Science on the Move: Recent Trends in the History of Early Modern Science,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, No. 2 (Summer 2009): 345-375.

moderns often tends to blur in complex ways...” writes Mary Lindemann, further arguing that many “modern projects” were simply refurbishments of ancient ideas.¹²⁸ Juan de Cabriada, considered by many to be the first of the *novatores*, for example, described his own subject of study as “la nova-antigua medicina” – the “new-old medicine.”¹²⁹ Many of the *novatores* straddled the line between traditionalism and innovation or who saw many of their particularly scientific discoveries as non-contradictory to the metaphysical framework of Aristotelianism. Similarly, and more importantly, just as historians have broken the Enlightenment into multiple enlightenment experiences and shattered the idea of “any singular and discrete event...any single coherent cultural entity” such as a practice of science or the ‘Scientific Revolution,’ scholars have recently undermined the idea of a unified and coherent group or movement of *novatores* present at turn-of-the-century Spain.¹³⁰

The alternative is to see “a diverse array of cultural practices aimed at understanding, explaining, and controlling the natural world,” or more specifically to the *novatores*, to understand that the term is itself a construction of historians, and that the reality was “plural and heterogeneous...the result of processes linked to their own rhythms and adjustments and, above all, marked by an distinctly local context.”¹³¹ This is done, argues historians José Pardo-Tomás and Alvar Martínez-Vidal, by paying special attention to the locality of the production of scientific knowledge, emphasizing particular cultural practices, institutions, and intellectual

¹²⁸ Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 199), 78.

¹²⁹ Juan de Cabriada, *Carta Filosofica-Medico-Chymica en que se demuestra que de los tiempos, y experiencias se han aprendido los Mejores Remedios contra las Enfermedades. Por la Nova-Antigua Medicina* (Madrid: Lucas Antonio de Bedmar y Baldivia, 1687), title page. See also Andrés Piquer’s use of “vetus et nova” in Andrés Piquer, *Medicina vetus et nova I secundis curis retracta* (Mantua: Joachimum Ibarra, 1758).

¹³⁰ Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 3.

¹³¹ Shapin, 3; José Pardo-Tomás and Alvar Martínez-Vidal, “Medicine and the Spanish Novator Movement,” in *Más allá de la leyenda Negra: España y la Revolución Científica*, William Eamon and Victor Navarro Brotóns, eds., 341-342.

networks that influenced the generation, dissemination, and adaptation of scientific ideas and practices. This would include, for example, the role of personal networks between physicians, anatomists, apothecarists, surgeons, and academics, academic societies (royal and informal), *tertulias*, the development of hospitals, anatomical theaters, and medical schools, medical *consultas* and *juntas*, publishers and publishing houses, the dissemination of printed works, personal letters, and other means of circulating, adapting, and growing knowledge.¹³²

It also means avoiding generalizing categories and labels or “troubling anachronistic territorial taxonomy.”¹³³ This last issue is particularly pronounced in Spanish and Portuguese historiographies, as the founding studies of the *novatores* and their works was born under the influence of the *polémica de la ciencia española* which formed part of the Spanish Black Legend. Indeed, in the case of Portugal, the term for the early pioneers of the new science is not “innovators” but “*estrangeirados*” – those who have been influenced by foreigners.¹³⁴ These early works, and particularly the contributions of José María López Piñero, emphasized the ‘home-grown’ nature of the *novatores* to contradict the previous consignment of Iberia to passive receptivity of the “diffusionist narrative.” It additionally challenged the date of the modernization of science in Spain from the 1730s to an entire generation earlier, displacing

¹³² In this respect, José Pardo-Tomás has led the field of the history of science in Spain. See, for example, Alvar Martínez-Vidal and José Pardo-Tomás, “Anatomical Theaters and the Teaching of Anatomy in Early Modern Spain,” *Medical History* 49 (2005): 251-280; José Pardo Tomás and Alvar Martínez Vidal, “Los Orígenes del Teatro Anatómico de Madrid (1689-1728),” *Asclepio* XLIX-1 (1997): 5-38; José Pardo Tomás and Alvar Martínez Vidal, “Las consultas y juntas de médicos como escenarios de controversia científica y práctica médica en la época de los *novatores* (1687-1725),” *DYNAMIS. Acta Hisp. Med. Sci.Hist. Illus.* 22 (2002): 303-325; for Latin America: Antonio Lafuente, “Enlightenment in an Imperial Context: Local Science in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Hispanic World,” *Osiris* Vol. 15 (2000): 155-173; for Portugal: Ana Carneiro, Ana Simoes, and Maria Paula Diogo, “Enlightenment Science in Portugal: The *Estrangeirados* and Their Communication Networks,” *Social Studies of Science* 30, No. 4 (Aug., 2000): 591-619.

¹³³ PardoTomas and Martínez-Vidal, “Medicine and the Spanish Novator Movement,” 341.

¹³⁴ Ana Carneiro, Ana Simoes, and Maria Paula Diogo, “Enlightenment Science in Portugal: The *Estrangeirados* and Their Communication Networks,” *Social Studies of Science* 30, No. 4 (Aug., 2000): 591-619.

Gregorio Marañón's assertion that Feijóo was the herald of the enlightenment by suggesting in his place de Cabriada's 1687 work, *Carta Filosofica-Medico-Chymica*.¹³⁵

All of this reinforces the fact that to speak about the *novatores* as a distinct movement of card-carrying members is wildly misleading, as is the impulse "to shoehorn major figures into one category or another."¹³⁶ Indeed, Pardo-Tomás and Martínez-Vidal suggest that a close examination of a particular *novator's* thought and polemics, for example, that of Martín Martínez, would demonstrate the vast spectrum of opinions being espoused at this time.¹³⁷

This chapter follows Pardo-Tomás and Martínez-Vidal's suggestion, examining the arguments over Martínez's work to show the "multiplicity of standpoints" within the vague and encompassing term of "the New Philosophy."¹³⁸ In so doing, however, it classifies and constructs a taxonomy of terms – not only to satisfy the "historiographical itch to arrange and classify," but to provide students of the period a manageable way to understand how Enlighteners and Counter-Enlighteners described their thinking.¹³⁹ The result is a long and confusing lexicography of philosophical, theological, and scientific terms, many of which are arcane, some of which are contradictorily employed by different agents, and all of which demand further study. Despite these faults, this approach has one redeeming virtue: it studies the Spanish Enlightenment on its own terms, seeking to "see things their way."¹⁴⁰ This method, followed by this dissertation, treats the historical texts seriously to understand how eighteenth-century intellectuals thought. Certainly, historians who become agitated with the conflation and

¹³⁵ See Pardo-Tomás and Martínez-Vidal's summary in "Medicine and the Spanish Novator Movement." Related also is the foundational work of Gregorio Marañón and of José María López Piñero.

¹³⁶ Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 85.

¹³⁷ PardoTomas and Martínez-Vidal, "Medicine and the Spanish Novator Movement," 356.

¹³⁸ PardoTomas and Martínez-Vidal, "Medicine and the Spanish Novator Movement," 355-356.

¹³⁹ PardoTomas and Martínez-Vidal, "Medicine and the Spanish Novator Movement," 340,

¹⁴⁰ Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, eds, *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

proliferation of philosophical terms and schools generated during the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can take solace in the fact that Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment thinkers similarly ridiculed the hyperspecific “-isms” of the time. “The Systematic [Philosophy] has many dividend members,” rattled off Feijóo, “e.g. Pythagoreanism, Platonism, Peripateticism, Paracelsianism, or Campanela’s Chemistry, Cartesianism, Gassendism, etc.”¹⁴¹

Assessing the “New Philosophy” of the Novatores

Novelty thus was the defining trait of the *novatores* – they proposed the “New Philosophy,” composed of new ideas learned from the “New Sciences” as alternatives to the Scholastic, Aristotelian, and Galenic status quo in Spain. The widespread use of the term “New Philosophy” or occasionally “Modern Philosophy” (more prominently used in Mexico as an alternative label, but periodically in Spain as well) supply ample evidence that the conception of a group of philosophies characterized by either similarities in their beliefs or, at the very least, their recent inventions, held a coherent, semantic meaning, not only in the Hispanophonic world, but in examples from England, France, and the Italian peninsula also.¹⁴²

Despite an awareness of these varied schools, the historiographical scope has rarely moved from what Spaniards thought to how they thought. One of the few historians to address this oversight is Anthony Pagden. In his article, “The Reception of the ‘New Philosophy’ in Eighteenth-Century Spain,” Pagden argues that the work of *novatores* was largely ineffective, and attempts to explain why the challenges posed by *la nueva filosofía* to the established epistemology of “Thomist jusnaturalism” failed to take root in the initial decades of eighteenth-

¹⁴¹ Feijóo, *Teatro Critico Universal* (TCU) II.16§19.

¹⁴² The term “New Philosophy” or “Modern Philosophy” is found in Vicente Fernández Valcárcel, Louis Antoine de Caraccioli, Andres Piquer, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, Claude François Nonnotte, Fernando de Cevallos, Teodoro de Almeida, Josefa Amar y Borbón, and Giuseppe Gazola, among others.

century Spain.¹⁴³ Pagden traces the origins of the rise of *novatore* philosophy to Cartesianism; certainly, individuals such as Martínez, Feijóo, and Diego Mateo Zapata were all aware of and profoundly influenced by the work of Descartes - but they were equally as influenced by numerous others.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, many Catholic Enlightenment intellectuals recognized that Descartes had made errors in areas of his thinking. “Descartes was given a sublime genius,” wrote Feijóo, “... [and] overall, although Descartes spoke poorly in some things, he taught innumerable Philosophers to speak well.”¹⁴⁵ Early-eighteenth century Spanish Catholic philosophers had to work to glean the salvageable material from Descartes (Feijóo, for example, had difficulty accepting the idea of the *cogito*) and to separate his philosophies from Gassendian atomism, which was seen as fundamentally contradictory to such Catholic doctrine as transubstantiation.¹⁴⁶ Importantly, Pagden argues that the challenges made to technical or scientific knowledge quickly became associated with broader questions of knowledge and epistemology, even disturbing what he calls “the cultural hegemony” of the religio-intellectual elite. He writes,

At one immediate level, these Philosophers challenged the cultural hegemony of the traditional academic institutions because their concerns, however cautiously pursued, by privileging experience and individual cognition over exegesis, clearly constituted a threat to the system of text-based knowledge on which late scholasticism relied.¹⁴⁷

Pagden raises many valid questions, and his framework for assessing the failure of *novatores* as an epistemological one – one in which they were unable to displace scholasticism,

¹⁴³ Anthony Pagden, “The Reception of the ‘New Philosophy’ in Eighteenth-Century Spain,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51 (1988), 126-140.

¹⁴⁴ Martínez’s *Filosofía Escéptica*, for example involves a Cartesianist as one of the four principal characters in his dialogue.

¹⁴⁵ CE.II.16§17,18 “Fue Descartes dotado de un genio sublime... Con todo, aunque Descartes en algunas cosas discurrió mal, enseñó a innumerables Filósofos a discurrir bien.”

¹⁴⁶ Pagden, “New Philosophy,” 130.

¹⁴⁷ Pagden, “New Philosophy,” 128.

Aristotelianism, Thomism, and other “older methods of explanation” is useful.¹⁴⁸ However, it necessarily posits the *novatores* as outsiders, and at times, has a reductionist, duplicitous interpretation where *novatore* thinkers only attempted reconciliation of ideas as conceits or feints to protect their reputation or work from punishment or censorship. Moreover, it fails ultimately in its explanation, because by the end of the eighteenth century, the position formerly occupied by *novatores* was now dominant, whereas the conservative Scholastic principle was seen as backwards, recalcitrant, and reactionary.

Another way of describing the philosophical debate of the eighteenth-century is that of *a priori* and *a posteriori* knowledge.¹⁴⁹ *A priori* knowledge is that knowledge which requires justification independent of experience or empirical observations; this knowledge is produced and used, for example, in the field of mathematics, and is present in tautologies as well theoretical deductions, logic, and “pure reason.” Because of the heavy reliance upon deduction (moving from one or more general premises to reach necessarily true conclusions), those who argue from *a priori* knowledge are often labeled “deductionists;” alternatively, because of the use of “pure reason,” such philosophers are also called “rationalists.” *A posteriori* knowledge, on the other hand, is knowledge which has to be justified by experience and empirical observation; such is the knowledge generated in the physical sciences, for example. Because of the reliance upon inductive reasoning (gathering repeat premises as evidence for a probable

¹⁴⁸ Pagden, “New Philosophy,” 140.

¹⁴⁹ Although Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) is most famous for his treatment of these terms, there is no evidence of his work being made readily accessible or discussed in Spain during the eighteenth century. The oldest copy of a Spanish translation of Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason* in the collection of the Biblioteca Nacional de España only dates back to 1883; Immanuel Kant, *Crítica de la razón pura: texto de las dos ediciones. Precedida de la Vida de Kant y de la Historia de los orígenes de la filosofía crítica, de Kuno Fischer*, translated from German by José del Perojo (Madrid: Gaspar, 1883), BNE 5/42132 V.1. Older copies in French and German are available, as well as some earlier Spanish translations of other Works by Kant. The terms *apriori* and *a posteriori*, although used by both Euclid and Berkeley and doubtless known by the Spanish intelligentsia, do not appear in the literature. Berkeley is similarly absent, except in French translations.

truth) and on the empirical senses, philosophers who argue for the primacy of *a posteriori* knowledge are often described as “sensationalists” or “empiricists.” The Spanish *novatores* defy easy categorization – particularly those who are conscribed to the Spanish Catholic Enlightenment. It is for this reason why many historians have overused the term “eclecticism” to characterize the philosophical approach of Spanish *ilustrados*, a term that will be discussed in greater detail at the end of this chapter and in the following chapter. As much as possible, this dissertation uses the words which the historical agents themselves employed (*moderate skeptics*, *dogmatists*, *systematicists*, etc.), even if it requires extensive cataloging and explanation.

Martínez’s Medical Skepticism

Born in Madrid, November 11, 1684, Martín Martínez was one of the most prominent physicians and public intellectuals of his time, becoming a key figure in the *novator* movement. After studying medicine at Alcalá de Henares, he held numerous prestigious positions, including service as a doctor at the Hospital General de Madrid (1706), a professor of anatomy at that same hospital (1728), personal physician to king Felipe V, a *protomedico* (evaluatory position charged with monitoring the standards for the health sciences - medicine, surgery, pharmacy - within Spain), and perhaps most importantly, President of the Regia Sociedad de Medicina de Sevilla.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ For biographical information on Martín Martínez, see his entry and introduction from the Proyecto Filosofía en español (2001), available online at ww.filosofia.org. See also “Pedro Martín Martínez” in Jose Alvarez-Sierra, *Médicos Madrileños Famosos: Biografía y Bibliografía de Médicos ilustres nacidos en Madrid y su provincia* (Madrid: Bolaños y Aguilar, 1934), 64-66. John Christian Laursen writes that “The fact that he never held a chair at a university surely helps account for his hostility to the medical faculties of his day.” (Laursen, “Medicine and Skepticism: Martín Martínez (1684-1734),” 311, in Gianni Paganini, ed. *The Return of Scepticism from Hobbes and Descartes to Bayle*, (Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 305-325.) This is a common charge levied at members of the Regia Sociedad de Medicina de Sevilla who see it as fundamentally against the Spanish university system. It should be noted that while it is true that Martínez was never a chair, he was the *futura* selection (a placeholder position until a suitable chair could be found) for the professorship in anatomy at the Hospital General in Atocha, Madrid after the death of José de Arboleda in 1728 (see Pardo-Tomás and Martínez-Vidal, “Medicine and the Spanish Novator Movement,” 355). Not only is Laursen’s assumption pure speculation, but this claim reduces the arguments of Martínez from substantive comments about learning to jealous *ad hominem* attacks. It may be just as possible that Martínez’s already full employment record afforded no opportunity for a university

Martínez, like the other subjects of this study, found in the medical fields a fertile testing ground for his intellectual curiosity and philosophical experimentation. Anthony Pagden has argued that the early-enlightenment thinkers were almost universally doctors, for doctors were the only intellectuals during this period who would have been able to secure patrons outside of the closely monitored and highly structured Church and the university system; “The Spanish nobility,” Pagden argues, “like the nobility everywhere, wished to be cured of its diseases.”¹⁵¹

Individuals such as Martínez sought to provide new solutions to diseases, and in doing so, broadened their questions in scope. Intellectual fellowships such as the Regia Sociedad enabled him to maintain contact with many of the intellectual elite of early eighteenth-century Spain. Some, Martínez supported – he was, for example, a close friend of the polymath Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, for whom he wrote two apologies defending his work, entitled *Carta defensiva, que sobre el primer torno del Theatro critic universal* and *Juicio Final de la Astrología, en defense del Teatro Crítico Universal*.¹⁵² Feijóo, correspondingly praised Martínez, lauding him as the “the eagle of the geniuses.”¹⁵³ Others, Martínez engaged in polemical discussions, most notably

position, or even more likely, that his “hostility to the medical faculties” preceded his abstention from them. For further information on the *protomedicato* (the council governing the protomedicos of the Spanish empire, designed to protect the populace against charlatans and unregulated health practices), see: John Tate Lanning, *The Royal Protomedicato: The Regulation of the Medical Profession in the Spanish Empire*, John Jay TePaske, ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985); Robin Price, “Spanish medicine in the Golden Age,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 72 (November 1979), 864-874; and for a colonial perspective, Emeterio S. Santovenia, *El Protomedicato de La Habana* (Havana: Ministerio de Salubridad y Asistencia Social, 1952).

¹⁵¹ Pagden, “New Philosophy,” 131.

¹⁵² For further information, see Martín Martínez, *Carta defensiva que sobre el primer Tomo del Teatro Crítico Universal, que dió a luz el Rmo. P. Mro. Fr. Benito Feijoo, le escribió su más ficionado amigo D. Martín Martínez, Doctor en Medicina, y Médico Honorario de Familia de S.M. Profesor de Anatomía, Examinador del Protomedicato, Socio, y actual Presidente de la Regia Sociedad de Ciencias de Sevilla, &c.* (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1726); Martín Martínez, *Juicio Final de la Astrología, en defensa del Teatro Crítico Universal, dividido en tres Discursos* (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1727); both are available digitally through www.filosofia.org.

¹⁵³ Alvarez-Sierra, *Medicos Madrileños*, 65. “el águila de los ingenios.” Alvarez-Sierra rightly notes that this compliment is especially surprising considering Feijóo’s inclination to distrust and dislike physicians and medical practitioners.

Bernardo López de Araujo y Ascarraga and Juan Martín Lessaca. He died in Madrid, October 9, 1734.

While Martínez was a prolific writer of medical treatises and works introducing new, innovative medical and anatomical knowledge, his work also advocated a distinct epistemological platform, one directly informed by his empirically skeptical study of medicine. Sadly, much of the previous work on Martínez has remained at a purely content-based level of analysis, concerned only with the scientific contributions and reforms of medical education at the university level that Martínez achieved.¹⁵⁴ Martínez's magnum opus was the two-volume work, *Medicina escéptica y cirugía moderna*, published in two volumes in 1722 and 1725, with reprints of both volumes made in 1727 and 1748.

Both Martínez's *Medicina Escéptica* and his subsequent work, *Philosophía Scéptica, Extracto de la Physica Antigua y moderna, Recopilada en Dialogos, entre un Aristotélico, Cartesiano, Gasendista, y Scéptico, para instrucción de la curiosidad Española* (1730, with reprints in 1750 and 1768) take the form of dialogues between physicians of various schools of thought.¹⁵⁵ In the *Medicina Escéptica*, these are a Galenist, a Chemist, and Hippocratic Skeptic (who, Martínez explains in the prologue, represents his own opinions). In the *Philosophia Escéptica*, these positions shift to an Aristotelian (a Galenist), a Cartesian, a Gassendist, and a

¹⁵⁴ See, for example, the information on the life and work of Martín Martínez in Luis S. Granjel, "El pensamiento médico de Martín Martínez," en *Archivos Iberoamericanos de Historia de la Medicina*, IV:41-78, Madrid 1952; Carlos del Valle-Inclán, "El léxico anatómico de Porras y de Martín Martínez," *Archivos Iberoamericanos de Historia de la Medicina*, IV:141-228, Madrid 1952; M^a Victoria de Aguinaga Manzanos, *Martín Martínez: un intento de sistematización de la medicina europea en España* (Tesis Doctoral, Medicina, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1987). The exception to this historiography is the understudied and laudable work by M^a Victoria Cruz del Pozo, *Gassendismo y Cartestianismo en España: Martín Martínez, médico filósofo del siglo XVIII* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1997).

¹⁵⁵ Translated, the titles are *Skeptical Medicine and Surgery, with a Treatise on Surgical Operations, Volume One, Which is Called 'Tentative,'* (1722), *Skeptical Medicine, Volume Two. The First Part Apologema, in favor of Skeptical Doctors. The Second Part Apomathema, against Dogmatist Doctors, in which it all contains the work of fevers* (1725), and *Skeptical Philosophy, Extracted from Ancient and Modern Physics, Recompiled in Dialogues between an Aristotelian, a Cartesian, a Gassendist, and a Skeptic, for the instruction of Spanish curiosity* (1734).

Skeptic.¹⁵⁶ Both works are dedicated to advocating and explaining the application of what Martínez labeled “skeptical medicine” and “skeptical philosophy.”

By skepticism (*escepticismo*), Martínez meant that in the practice of the sciences (*physicas*), one ought to employ a “suspension of belief,” constructing all assertions from empirical evidence and immediate observation. In the study of nature, Martínez asserted, God had never given a secure knowledge of the causes of things – only an awareness that these things were. In *Philosophia Escéptica*, Martínez wrote:

Physical Philosophy is a *Science*, or as it is better to say, it is a *probable awareness of natural effects for [the study of] their causes*. I said *probable awareness*, because God has left us in this world only the certainty and use of some truths, but not the scientific comprehension of these; rather that we investigate the causes of things, it is easy for us to have *probable awareness*, but impossible [to have] evidence...¹⁵⁷

In a variation of this statement, Martínez writes that not only has God not given humanity the causes, or first principles, these may have originally been granted to man, but have been hidden in Nature due to the distortion of sin in the Fall. Martínez describes that:

... These most obscure shadows Philosophy left for our first Father Adam, from where the marring of the first sin affected Nature, and miscarried the beautiful light of Science, which his Creator had infused in him, leaving him only by divine

¹⁵⁶ The shift in schools of thought may indicate that already, by 1730, Martínez was beginning to question the relationship between medicine, the philosophy of science, and broader epistemological questions that would impact theology.

¹⁵⁷ “*Philosophia*, pues, es palabra Griega, que significa *amor de la sabiduría*, voz modesta de que usaron los antiguos Sabios, para explicar con humildad desengañada su poca ciencia, y su mucha afición. La *Philosophia*, generalissimamente hablando, es *Ciencia de las cosas Divinas, y Humanas*: en el qual concepto se incluye la *Theologia, Metaphysica, Physica, Ethica, Jurisprudencia, y Logica*; pero dexando las demás, que no son de nuestro instituto, la *Philosophia Physica* es una *Ciencia*, ó por mejor decir, es una *probable noticia de los efectos naturales por sus causas*. Dixe *probable noticia*, porque haviendonos Dios dexado en este mundo solo cierto el uso de las verdades, pero no la comprehension científica de ellas, por mas que investiguemos las causas de las cosas, nos es fácil su probable noticia, pero imposible la evidencia: Esto para mi, no solo es de Fé humana, sino aun de Divina: pues la Sacra Escritura enseña, que *de todas las obras de Dios, que están debaxo del Sol, no puede hallar razón el hombre: y que quanto mas trabaje para inquirirlo, tanto menos hallará*. No obstante esta *Ciencia*, ó probable noticia, se distingue del conocimiento vulgar, porque el Vulgo vé los [23] efectos, y no solo no conoce las causas, y razones, por las quales las cosas son assi; pero ni aun prudentemente las investiga, ni trabaja para conocerlas, que es la *pessima ocupación, que dió Dios á los hijos de los hombres*, esto es, á los *Philosophos*.” Martínez, *Philosophia Escéptica, extracto de la physica antigua, y moderna, recopilada en diálogos, entre un Aristotelico, Cartesiano, Gassendista, y Sceptico, para instrucción de la curiosidad Española* [hereafter PE], second printing, (Madrid, 1750), 22-23.

mercy the light of reason, or first principles, which developed with repeated experiences in the dilated course of his live, which in the acquired Science constituted a consummate Philosopher, and Master of his posterity.¹⁵⁸

Thus, in approaching the study of the natural world, Martínez insisted that one could not argue from the coherence of logical syllogisms alone, but that these had to be rooted, and indeed, ought to originate from corresponding empirical evidence.¹⁵⁹

In his article, “Medicine and Skepticism: Martín Martínez (1684-1734),” John Christian Laursen analyzes the works of Martínez, particularly the two volumes of his *Medicina Scéptica* (1722 and 1725). Laursen provides a fairly straightforward narrative through the works, emphasizing that the only mode of belief acceptable in the practice of medicine to Martínez was direct experience. Laursen highlights numerous passages throughout both volumes of the *Medicina Sceptica* in which Martínez either praises observation or condemns the application of syllogisms. “Martínez’s bedrock,” he writes, “is experience.”¹⁶⁰ Martínez wrote primarily against the Galenists and Dogmatists (define), who believed that the combination of logic and *endeixis* (translation) were sufficient for diagnosing illnesses and the study of medicine, and many of his arguments for the employment of *escepticismo* were directly constructed against the Galenists.

Because these experiences (*cosas, probable noticia*) could be easily misunderstood, misapprehended by the senses, or confusing, Martínez insisted that philosophers who studied science did not apprehend verity, but rather verisimilitude. The conclusions drawn from

¹⁵⁸ “Entre estas obscurissimas sombras dexó la Philosophia nuestro primer Padre Adán, desde que el borron de la primera culpa afeo la Naturaleza, y malogró la hermosa luz de Ciencia, que le infundió su Criador, quedándole solo por piedad divina la luz de la razón, ó primeros principios, que adelantados con repetidas experiencias en el dilatado curso de su vida, le constituyeron en la Ciencia adquirida consumado Philosopho, y Maestro de su posteridad.” Martínez, *PE*, 22-23.

¹⁵⁹ Generally speaking, in epistemology, the correspondence of truth determines the truth of a statement based on its *correspondence*, or relation, to the world. Coherence theory, however, determines the truth of a statement based on its relationship to other statements in its own episteme.

¹⁶⁰ Laursen, “Medicine and Skepticism,” 323.

repeated experiments formed *probability*, but not *certainty*. Therefore, asserted Martínez, the natural philosopher must adopt a state of *epoche*. *Epoche*, borrowed from the Greek skeptics and revised by Cartesianism in the seventeenth century, demanded a suspension of belief – a state in which the mind doubted both the truth and falsehood of a statement, remaining in an inquisitive, undecided state.¹⁶¹ All human knowledge (*saber*), stated Martínez, “is knowing to doubt, but not to decide. This doctrine is that of the ingenious Skeptics, in whose tranquil *Epoché* I have found a safe port after having long wandered among the inconstant gulfs of the Dogmatists.”¹⁶² He further explained the *epoché* as verisimilitude, and contrasted it to the logical posturing of the Dogmatists, writing:

...one must suppose that the verisimilitude is halfway between knowledge (*el saber*) and ignorance, because probability and awareness (*noticia*) are not absolute ignorance, but neither arrive at being a science. The Skeptics confess that they have some clear idea about their arts, with which they are not ignorant of that which others know, but they know that which the others ignore: it is very contrary to those arrogant Dogmatists, who affect that they know that which they do not know, and they make us presume that they are ignorant of what they know.¹⁶³

Martínez borrowed a medical metaphor to describe this “suspended state of mind” practiced by the Skeptics, writing that the *epoché* functioned as a purgative, removing the humors from the body.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹¹⁶¹ The meaning for the Greek Word *skepsis* is literally an inquiring or an examination.

¹⁶² “...todo el saber humano es saber dudar, pero no decidir. Esta doctrina es la de los ingenuos Scepticos, en cuya tranquila *Epoche* he encontrado feyuro puerto, despues de aver largamente vagado por los inconstantes golfos de los Dogmáticos...” Martín Martínez, *Medicina Sceptica, y Cirugia Moderna, con un tratado de operaciones chirurgicas*, Vol. I, third edition (Madrid:1748), 72 [hereafter ME.I].

¹⁶³ “Parecerá esto en mi hipocresía, ó vanidad; porque (como reparó un Critico) los Scepticos hacen que ignoran lo que saben, por afectar, que saben lo que ignoran. Para satisfacer á esta censura se ha de suponer, que la verisimilitud es medio entre el saber, y el ignorar, porque la probabilidad, y la noticia no son absoluta ignorancia, pero ni llegan á ser ciencia. Confieñsan los Scepticos, que tienen alguna clara idéa de sus artes, con que no ignoran lo que los demás saben, pero saben lo que los demás ignoran: muy al contrario de los arrogantes Dogmaticos, que afectando saber lo que ignoran, nos hacen presumir que ignoran lo que saben.” ME.I.72.

¹⁶⁴ “Vaye de otro modo: esta proposición *Epoche es un estado suspenso de la mente*, es de las reflectentes, porque ácia su verdad también ay *Epoche*; es muy semejante á la otra, *Nada se sabe*; porque si se sabe algo, es falsa; y si no se sabe, a lo menos se sabe que nada se sabe, y assi también es falsa. La falta de erudición en el Centinela, hace que manche papel con tan ridículos argumentillos: él no ha visto mas libros que traten de Scepticos, que aquellos de que le hemos dado seña, y contraseña (es verdad que no tiene mas obligación un Centinela) pero si esos los hubiera

In her analysis of Martínez's work, "The False Alarm of 'Scepticism'," scholar Ivy McClelland has argued that Martínez's use of "skepticism" (*escepticismo*) was strictly limited to the study of medicine and science, had a unique, technical application in meaning, and was misunderstood by the majority of his readers (including many present-day historians).¹⁶⁵

Martínez's use of the word, McClelland states, directly caused a bitter dispute in which both sides were employing vocabulary which their counterparts understood differently. She writes,

Its [skepticism's] use by Martínez in 1722, in the title of his *Medicina scéptica*, meaning medical acknowledgement of medical uncertainties, might have been less notoriously provocative and alarming had not Feijoo...imaginatively paraded its every possible Baconian application in his own treatises.... Yet neither Martínez nor Feijoo was speaking of skepticism in the abstract.¹⁶⁶

Contemporaries clearly linked Martínez's name with skepticism (and indeed, his two principal works) generally misunderstood at that time as a quasi-Cartesian rejection of all knowledge, even common sense. Juan Bernabé's portrait of Martínez in 1745, for example, featured the *médico* in his study, armed with a quill and the two volumes of his *Medicina Escéptica*, and a Latin epigraph underscoring his skepticism below him declaring "Since learned opinion is, in truth, only ignorance, I know nothing, not even the sky above me; I know only that I know nothing at all."¹⁶⁷ The confusion and general alarm that occurred in response to Martínez's use of skepticism is understandable. Martínez situated the academic lineage of the Hippocratic-Skeptic clearly in the very first dialogue of the *Medicina Escéptica*. "The Rational Empiricists," he

visto bien, hubiera hallado la respuesta graciosa en uno de ellos. Los Scepticos dicen, que esta proposicon, *Nada se sabe*, es de tal naturaleza, que destruyendo á las demás, se destruye á sí misma; y quitando la verdad de las otras, también la quita de sí: al modo que los medicamentos purgantes, sacando los humores del cuerpo, se sacan á sí mismos." Martín Martínez, *Medicina Sceptica, Tomo Segundo*, Vol. II (Madrid, 1748), 36-37 [hereafter ME.II].

¹⁶⁵ See I.L. McClelland, "The False Alarm of 'Scepticism'," in *Ideological Hesitancy in Spain 1700-1750* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), 9-57.

¹⁶⁶ McClelland, *Ideological Hesitancy*, 10-11.

¹⁶⁷ "Cum sit opinio docta quidem ignorantia tantum. Nil scio, coel solium me, scio, scire nihil." For the *retrato*, see Juan Bernabé Palomino, *Retrato de Martín Martínez [Material gráfico]* (1745), Biblioteca Nacional de España ER/4006(1).

writes, “among those one should speak of Hippocrates, Erasistratus, Celsus, Boyle, Sidenham, Capoa, Silvio, and Gassendi.”¹⁶⁸ In many other parts of his work, Martínez includes the great prince of empirical thinking, Francis Bacon.¹⁶⁹ Not only were the majority of these natural philosophers heretics, but some had very recently advocated skepticism that was far more radical and epistemic than Martínez’s.¹⁷⁰ (Gassendi’s atomism, for example, had already become a byword for atheist materialism in Spain by the 1720s.)

To distance himself from such radical interpretations, Martínez attempted to distinguish between “prudent skeptics” and more “academic skeptics.”¹⁷¹ Prudent skeptics, according to Martínez, did not negate the existence of such patent logical truths as “the whole is greater than the parts” or rules of logic (such as the law of non-exclusivity). Nor did prudent skeptics carry the fallibility of the senses to a degree that impaired their ability to observe, record, and examine.

Similarly, Feijóo, like his friend and colleague Martín Martínez, distinguished between gradations of skepticism. In the first paragraph of his essay, “Esceptismo filosófico,” written shortly after the publication of the *Medicina Escéptica*, Feijóo described skepticism as having a great “latitude,” primarily dividing skeptics between “rigid” and “moderate” believers. “Rigid skepticism,” wrote Feijóo, “is an extravagant delirium; moderate [skepticism] is a prudent caution.”¹⁷² The difference between these, and their corresponding relationship to rationality

¹⁶⁸ “...los Emphyricos racionales, entre los quales debéis contar á Hyppocrates, Erasistrato, Celso, Boyle, Sidenham, Capoa, Silvio, Gassendo...” ME.I.79. Laursen distinguishes ancient definitions of medical schools of thought, and therefore highlights that in this line of philosophers, Martínez conflates empiricists with skeptics. This study is not concerned if this is a departure from ancient parameters of the schools of thought, rather I only wish to highlight how Martínez himself viewed these beliefs (Laursen, “Medicine and Skepticism,” 314).

¹⁶⁹ See the opening quote, “*In Phisicis ubi natura opera, non adversaries argumento constringendus est, elabatur plane veritas ex minibus propter longé maiorem naturalium operationum, quam verborum subtilitatem.* Verulam. De Augment. Scient.” PE.frontmatter.

¹⁷⁰ Novatores such as Martínez and Feijóo freely acknowledged that many of their heroes in the philosophy of science were heretics. See, for example, CE.II.16.23, “En Inglaterra reina la Filosofía Newtoniana. Isaac Newton, su Fundador, fue tan Hereje como lo son por lo común los demás habitantes de aquella Isla.”

¹⁷¹ See ME.I.prólogo

¹⁷² Feijóo, TCU III.13 “Hay tanta latitud en el Escepticismo...El Escepticismo rígido es un delirio extravagante; el moderado una cautela prudente.”

was, to Feijóo, a matter of to what degree “doubt” or “suspension of assent/belief” was extended.¹⁷³ Rigid skepticism, elsewhere labeled by Feijóo “universal skepticism,” was soundly denounced. “Doubting everything,” he wrote, “is madness.”¹⁷⁴ Similarly, he disparaged such skeptics, writing that “one shouldn’t consider such as a philosopher, but as a sot, it would be inappropriate for one to be able to call such a particular mode of philosophy thus, more just reason is owed to call such a particular mode [of thought] delirium.”¹⁷⁵ Three years earlier, in his apology to the first volume of the *Teatro Crítico Universal*, Martín Martínez similarly described “los rígidos Escépticos.”¹⁷⁶ It is not immediately clear if this is a distinction which all Counter-Enlightenment authors knew. Fray Luis de Flandes differentiated between “rigid or moderate skeptics,” and disdained them both equally; Araujo y Ascarraga, whether through ignorance or as a deliberate, rhetorical strategy, simply wrote against the “Skeptic or Pyrrhonist Sect.”¹⁷⁷

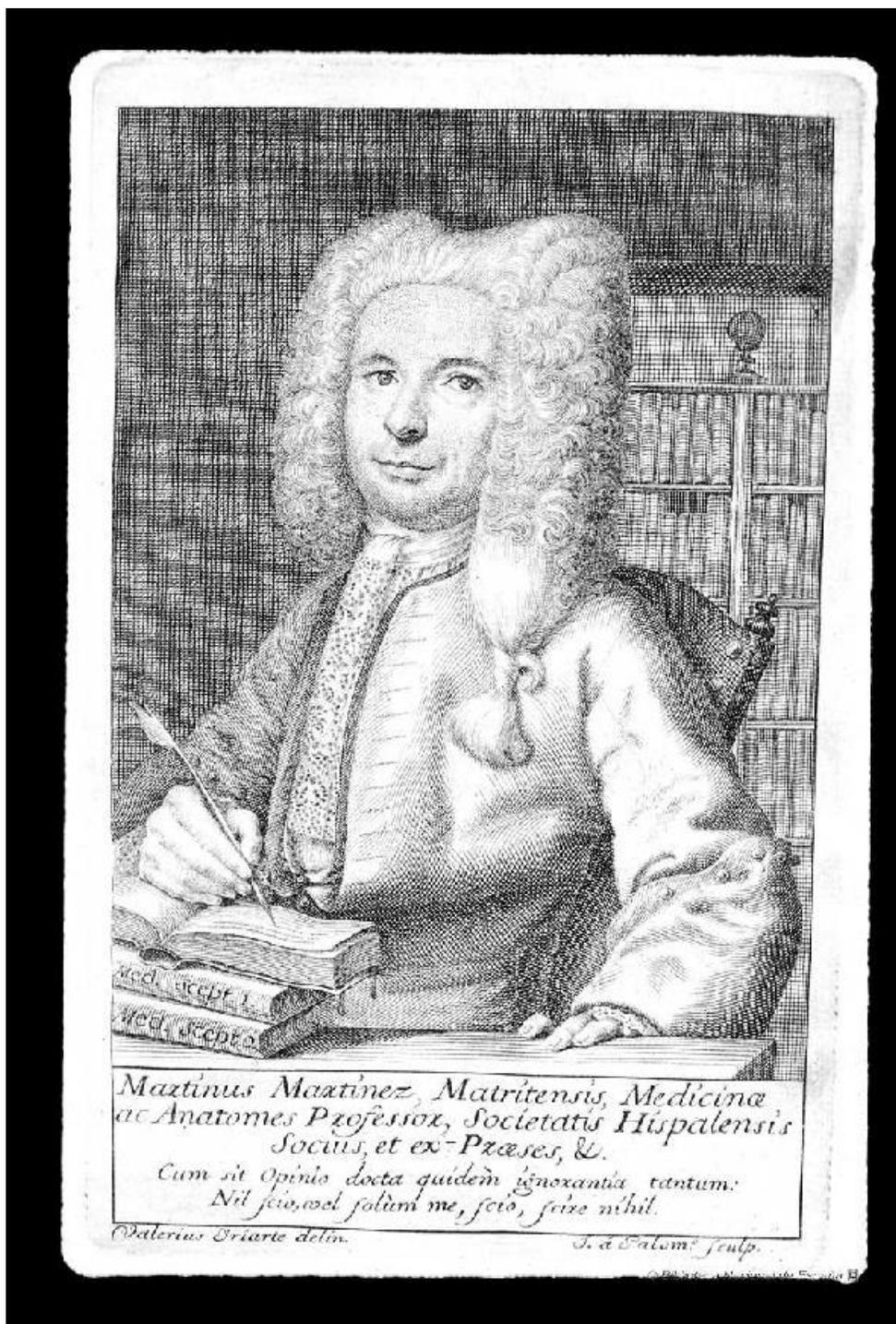
¹⁷³ “Esta duda, o suspensión de asenso puede ser más, o menos racional, según la mayor, o menor extensión que se le da, y según las materias a que se aplica.” TCU III.13§i.3.

¹⁷⁴ TCU III.13§i.3 “...dudar de todas es locura...”

¹⁷⁵ TCU III.13§iii.8 “...no debe considerarse como Filósofo, sino como fatuo; y este modo particular de filosofar, impropriamente se puede llamar tal, debiendo a justa razón llamarse un modo particular de delirar.”

¹⁷⁶ See Martínez, *Carta defensiva que sobre el primer Tomo del Teatro Crítico Universal, que dió a luz el Rmo. P. Mro. Fr. Benito Feijoo, le escribió su más ficionado amigo D. Martín Martínez, Doctor en Medicina, y Médico Honoraio de Familia de S.M., Profesor de Anatomía, Examinador del Proto-Medicato, Socio, y actual Presidente de la Regia Sociedad de Ciencias de Sevilla, &c.*

¹⁷⁷ Fr. Luis de Flandes, *El Antiguo Academico, Contra el Moderno Sceptico, o Dudoso, Rigido, o Moderado. Defensea de las Ciencias, y especialmente de la Physica Pytagorica, y Medica en el conocimiento, y practica de los Medicos Sabios* (Madrid: Casa de Mr. Symond, 1743[¿]); Bernardo Lopez de Araujo y Ascarraga, *Centinela Medico-Aristotelica Contra Scepticos: En la qual se declara ser mas segura, y firme la doctrina que se enseña en las Universidades Españolas, y los graves inconvenientes que se siguen de la Secta Sceptica, o Pyrrhonica* (Madrid, 1725).



A portrait of Martín Martínez, drawn by Juan Bernabé Palomino (1692-1777) in 1745, which features both volumes of the *Medicina Escéptica*, and whose caption references a more rigid philosophical skepticism than Martínez ever advocated.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Palomino, Juan Bernabé. *Retrato de Martín Martínez* (Madrid: en la Imprenta Real, por Don Miguel Francisco Rodríguez, 1745). Biblioteca Nacional de España, ER/4006(1) Published in the *Antomia completa del hombre* (1745), and made digitally available through the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica.

Martínez's Epistemic Demarcation of Science and Religion

Very importantly, Martínez limited the application of skepticism and his rule on the *epoché* of evidence and empirical observation as the only acceptable modes of belief by seeking to separate science (and the particular practice of medicine) as a distinct field of knowledge from theology. This not only helped to distance himself from the “academic skeptics” who extended skepticism to every area of life, but worked to establish distinct epistemological approaches to each individual field of inquiry. Martínez masterfully contrasted Faith and Science, and their respective epistemologies, writing that:

In Medicine, we fight with understandings... God has given us two modes...of knowing [*dos modos...de conocer*]: by reason and by authority; the first we call *Science*, the second *Faith*. In the first, one believes by itself (what haughtiness!). In the second, one trusts in another (and if this other is infallible, what security!). Both are common languages: one is dubious, the other certain. The first is respective; that is we know the truth not as it is, but rather in its relation to our preservation and life. The second is absolute; which we praise as the truths that they are. Of the first, let us use it, and arrange natural instructions, albeit into superfluous musings. Of the second, let us value it, becoming captive to the declarations of the Church; and he has less need in this who makes a complete sacrifice of his reason, without reserving anything for himself. Of the eternal and necessary truths, we all know: of the human dogmas, nothing; in which we can achieve two happinesses, as says the Poet:

*I will always judge that the only Blessed here
Are those that know all things, or nothing at all.*¹⁷⁹

In a rare case of terminological continuity to the present day, Martínez describes two “modes of understanding/knowing” (epistemologists today similarly describe various “modes of belief” –

¹⁷⁹“Luchemos en la Medicina con los entendimientos, dexemos los Mysterios incomprehensibles, reservados para lo intimo de nuestra veneración, y creencia. *Definat elatis quisquam considerare rebus; Vincere nostra potest pectora sola fides*. Dos modos nos dexó Dios de conocer: por razón, y por autoridad; al primero llamamos *Ciencia*; al segundo *Fé*. En el primero, se fia uno á sí mismo (que sobervia!) En el segundo, se confía uno á otro (si este es infalible, qué seguridad!) Ambos son lenguajes comunes: el uno dudoso; el otro cierto. El primero respectivo; con que conocemos la verdad, no como es en sí, sino con relación á nuestra conservación, y vida. El segundo absoluto; con que alcanzamos las verdades como ellas son. Del primero usémos, arreglándonos á las Instrucciones naturales, sin cavilaciones superfluas. Del segundo valgámonos, cautivándonos a las declaraciones de la Iglesia; y menos tendrá que hacer en esto, quien hace total sacrificio de su razón, sin reservar nada para sí. De las verdades eternas necesarias, todo lo sabemos: de los dogmas humanos nada; con que logramos las dos felicidades, que dixo el Poeta. *Iudice me soli Semper perinde Beati. Sunt, quicumque sciunt omnia, quique nihil.*” ME.ii.53 Martínez took the Latin phrase at the end of this passage from Owen’s *Epigrammata* 3.134.

i.e. intuition, revelation, authority, reason, empirical observation). He ascribes authority and revelation to Faith, reserving reason (*razón*) for Science (*Ciencia*). In this example, Martínez did not mean the pure logic of the Galenic Dogmatists, but as he explained the applied reason that involved the “arrange[ment] of natural instructions.”¹⁸⁰ It is similarly important to note that Martínez ascribed security and greater importance to the knowledge that came from trusting the authoritative revelations of divine matters. He established early in the introduction of his *Medicina Escéptica* that in no way should skepticism interfere with the metaphysical axioms of the Catholic Church.

Just as one speaks about the Mysteries of the Faith, one can also speak well about the mysteries of Physics, and Medicine. One says revealed things which can neither be deceived nor deceive us; [the other] speaks the views of this world, which can be deceived and deceive us. The first remained admitted by those words of the Introduction: *We believe infallibly the revealed truths*. The second remained impugned in the entire context of the Work, to which one cannot give satisfaction.¹⁸¹

Science and religion, according to Martínez operated under entirely different epistemic assumptions. The natural world presented experiences without offering any principles or explanations of causes; the metaphysical world was revealed in truths for which no empirically evidential observations could suffice or were supplied. Responding to the Aristotelian in his *Philosophía Escéptica*, Martínez wrote:

...If your intent is to follow Theological studies, cultivate the Philosophy of Aristotle, as it is studied in our Schools, not only for the harmony with which that Philosophical system goes hand in hand with Theology, but also because as

¹⁸⁰ ME.ii.53.

¹⁸¹ “Chimista: Como no se hable de los Mysterios de la Fé, sino de los mysterios de la Physica, y Medicina, dicen muy bien. Las cosas reveladas las dice, quien ni puede engañarse, ni engañarnos: las opiniones de este mundo las dice, quien se engaña, y nos engaña. Las primeras quedaron admitidas por aquellas palabras de la Introduccion: *Creemos infaliblemente las verdades reveladas*. Las segundas quedaron impugnadas en todo el contexto de la Obra, á que no se ha dado satisfacción...” ME.ii.35

Aristotle is founded on abstract ideas, it seems more proportionate to explain supernatural things, outside of all materiality...¹⁸²

As for science, which examined the material world, Martínez advised the Aristotelian physician that: “But if you should want to follow the natural Sciences, it seems that you would find clearer and more useful ideas in the *corpuscular* Philosophies (which are about Geometric principles and senses [that] have interpreted nature) that are in your Authors...”¹⁸³ This epistemic demarcation of science and religion is fundamental to understanding Martínez’s work. The only reason he advocated the use of skepticism at all was his belief that it was confined to a limited exercise in a distinct field of knowledge. For this reason, Martínez refrained from making excessive references to Scripture or to citations of patristic authors. He noted that:

Of the Sacred Scripture I do not cite, but those that are very opportune or essential, because I abhor the necessity of mixing the Sacred with the profane, but that which is brought in with great discretion, or necessity, because to sprinkle a profane paragraph in places with the Sacred, besides being an impertinence, does not have more value, than to record the concordances and to read whatever Psalm, where for each verse you can easily find yourself a niche [that is, a place which conveniently fits your position]. And what thing could be more stupid that to see a Physician cite more from Solomon than from Hippocrates?¹⁸⁴

Reinforcing this division, the first sixty-five pages of Martínez’s text are endorsements from fellow scholars attesting to both the soundness of his arguments and, particularly in later editions of the text, the orthodoxy of his beliefs. Included is an *aprobación* (editorial approbation) from

¹⁸² “No obstante, señor Aristotelico, si vuestro intento es seguir los estudios Theologicos, cultivad la Philosophia de Aristoteles, como se estudia en nuestras Escuelas, no solo por la harmonia, con que mutuamente se dán la mano el sistema Philosophico con el Theologico, sino porque como el Aristotelico se funda en idéas abstractas, parece mas proporcionado para explicar las cosas sobrenaturales, ajenas de toda materialidad...” PE.21

¹⁸³ “... pero si quereis seguir las Ciencias naturales, parece que hallareis mas claras, y útiles idéas en los Philsophos *corpusculares* (que sobre principios Geometricos, y sensibles han interpretado la naturaleza) que en vuestros Autores...” PE.21 Martínez was referencing the *corpuscularianism* of Gassendi and Boyle, which advocated the position that all matter was composed of smaller bodies (corpuscles).

¹⁸⁴ “De Sacra Escritura no pongo, sino las que son muy oportunas, y esenciales, porque aborrezco la necedad de mezclar lo Sagrado con lo profano, sino que venga traído con gran discreción, ó necesidad, porque salpicar un párrafo profano de lugares Sacros, demás de la impertinencia, no tiene mas costa, que registrar las concordancias, y leer qualquier Psalmo, donde para cada verso con facilidad se encuentra nicho. Y qué cosa mas zozca, que ver á un Medico citar mas a Salomón, que a Hyppocrates?” ME.I.76.

Juan de Ayala, retired *catedrático* of Sacred Theology at the Universidad de Salamanca, a *licencia del ordinario* by Doctor Don Cristóbal Damasio, representative for the Holy Office of the Inquisition, a *censura* of Doctor Don Miguel Marcelino Boix, *catedrático* of Medicine at the Universidad de Alcalá and founder of the Real Academia of Sevilla, and, most famously, an apology (*aprobación apologetica*) from Feijóo.¹⁸⁵ In each of these, the authors assure that nothing in Martínez's work, despite the alarming sound of skepticism, was contrary to the teachings of the Church. Father Gaspar Luis de Nabas, for example, reaffirmed what Martínez had written, reminding readers that "only God has the keys to that which is hidden in nature..."¹⁸⁶ Laursen, citing the work of Richard Popkin, has described this as a "fideist use of skepticism" – that is to say, the use of a limited skepticism by one who believed that some truths, particularly religious truths, could only be guaranteed or granted by faith or revelation.¹⁸⁷

To reaffirm this rigid demarcation between the sciences and theology, Martínez argued that the practice of certain fields of knowledge – medicine, anatomy, and surgical expertise, for example – should be seen as an epistemologically distinct *techne* or what Laursen has described as a *didaskalia technoon*, a limited and specific art or area of expertise in which the use of skepticism was legitimate, but controlled.¹⁸⁸ This is rather different than the shift demonstrated

¹⁸⁵ See *Aprobacion del Rmo. P.M. Fr. Juan Interian de Ayala, del Real Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Redempcion de Cautivos, del Claustro, y Cathedratico Jubilado de la Universidad de Salamanca, en la Facultad de Sagrada Theologia, Predicador, y Theologo de su Magestad, en la Real Junta de la Concepcion, &c.* (ME.I.17); *Licencia del Ordinario* (ME.I.21); *Censura del Doct. Don Miguel Marcelino Boix, Cathedratico de Medicina en la Universidad de Alcalá, Colegial del Infige Trilingues, Socio, y Fundador de la Real Academia de Sevilla, Medico Honorario de Camara de su Magestad, &c.* (ME.I.22); *Aprobacion Apologetica del Scepticismo Medico, escrita por el Rmo. P.M. Fr. Benito Geronymo Feyjoo, Benedictino, Cathedratico de Theologia en la Universidad de Oviedo, &c.* (ME.I.24)

¹⁸⁶ Laursen, "Medicine and Skepticism," 312.

¹⁸⁷ Laursen, "Medicine and Skepticism," 312; see also Popkin's brief definition of skepticism and fideism in the introduction of his *History of Skepticism*. Because Popkin does not extend his study into eighteenth-century Spain, and because individuals such as Martínez did not themselves use *fideism* as a term, this paper generally avoids employing *fideism* as a heuristic device.

¹⁸⁸ Laursen, "Medicine and Skepticism," 309, citing Sextus Empiricus.

in Pamela H. Smith's *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*.¹⁸⁹ In this work, Smith, demonstrative of the majority of current scholars, blurs the line between the *experiential* or *praxis* of applied knowledge and the broader theoretical knowledge of *scientia* or *episteme*.¹⁹⁰ If medicine is viewed as a *techne*, its impact on theoretical approaches to *scientia* may be clearly established - the connection between physicians and practitioners of philosophical skepticism betrays the reality of the connection between *techne* and *episteme*. Laursen notes, for example, that nearly every major skeptic was a physician, from Sextus Empiricus's ancient contributions, to Francisco Sánchez, whose *Quod nihil scitur* dominated Spanish conversations on the topic since its publication in 1581.¹⁹¹ Whereas many historians of science have similarly noted that the scope of *techne* had a direct impact on the evolution of an *episteme*, and therefore reference the contributions of an "artisanal epistemology" that contributed to the Scientific Revolution and to the Enlightenment, Martínez clearly argued against such a relationship.¹⁹²

Martínez labeled Science and Medicine, at several points, an "art," writing about the "art of healing" or noting that "The Sceptics confess that they have some clear idea about *their arts...*"¹⁹³ It is probable that this view of medicine as a craft or a technical skill alarmed many of Martínez's readers, who unlike, Martínez, did not have a background in the study of anatomy, which was distinct from the study of medicine. Michael Burke describes the divide between

¹⁸⁹ Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹⁹⁰ See also Luis R. Corteguera, "Artisans and the New Science of Politics in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 43, No. 3 (Fall 2013), 601.

¹⁹¹ Laursen, "Medicine and Skepticism," 305.

¹⁹² For "artisanal epistemology" see Smith, *The Body of an Artisan*, and Corteguera, "Artisans and the New Science."

¹⁹³ "No te admire, pues, que yo piense contra las vulgares sentencias, pues prescindiendo de que este es reato preciso de la conjetura, la Phiosophia, y Medicina, que en las Escuelas se nos enseña, es tan impertinente para el arte de curar..." (ME.I.i) "Do not admire, therefore, that I think against these vulgar sentences, because regardless of whether this is bound in precise conjecture, Philosophy and Medicine, which in the schools are taught to us, is as impertinent to the *art of healing*."; "Confieſſan los Scepticos, que tienen alguna clara idéa de sus artes..." "The Sceptics might confess that they have some clear idea of their arts..." ME.I.72. Emphasis added.

medicina and *cirugía*, writing that “the physician was a professional, familiar with the classics and possessing an academic degree; the surgeon, on the other hand, was an uneducated craftsman who worked with his hands.”¹⁹⁴ Martínez, as an anatomist, was familiar with surgical procedure, and yet was simultaneously a university-educated member of the intellectual and social elite. He was in a perfect position, therefore, to be an avant-garde proponent of the inclusion of surgical study and empirical observations of the body for physicians (the entire second half of *Medicina Escéptica* is a surgical treatise, and Martínez’s first work, *Noches Anatómicas*, contained specific anatomical instruction for physicians). Martínez’s description of medicine as a craft, perhaps borrowed from his training in anatomy and surgery, thus helped him to account why there was a distinct epistemology for the sciences.

To further distinguish the sciences as a closed field, Martínez argued throughout his works that the ultimate measure of effectiveness of a scientific practice was less in achieving higher grades of verisimilitude than in utility; what mattered to Martínez was not the logical coherence of a particular medical theory, but in patients cured and lives saved. “How many times,” he lamented, “do the ill die from petty discourses!”¹⁹⁵ The very titles of the conversations in his *Medicina Escéptica* demonstrate the importance of utility. The first three chapters of volume one, for example, include: “the use of Medicine...,” “...it is superfluous for the Practical Method to inquire if elements formally remain in a Mixture...,” and “...it is useless to dispute the correspondence of the Elements...”¹⁹⁶ In his study of surgical reform in Spain,

¹⁹⁴ Michael E. Burke, *The Royal College of San Carlos: Surgery and Spanish Medical Reform in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1977), 25. This was a well-established challenge against surgery and anatomy by the time of Martínez; still, it is interesting to note the unique role which anatomy played in bringing the about the empirical turn of medical and scientific practice, given that it was once a lesser subject of study.

¹⁹⁵ Martínez’s *Apomathema* (pg. 129), cited in Laursen, “Medicine and Skepticism,” 322.

¹⁹⁶ “Que para el uso de la Medicina, ni sirve, ni se puede determinar el numero de los Elementos.” ME.I.Conversación 1; “Que es superfluo para el Methodo Practico inquirir si los elementos permanecen formalmente en el Mixto.” ME.I.Conversación 2; “Que es inútil disputar la correspondencia de los Elementos en el Mixto: y moralmente imposible decidirla.” ME.I.Conversación 3

Burke emphasizes the growing importance that practical *use* had in determining validity, contrasting this with French *philosophes* as a uniquely Spanish element.¹⁹⁷ Not only did Martínez want his work to be useful and to stay as close to the practical curative goal, he also desired as part of this utility that his work should be widely read and noticed. Martínez deliberately published his works in Castilian rather than Latin, and he offered a six-part defense for doing so. Among his arguments, Martínez quoted Hippocrates, writing that his work “was not only for physicians, but also for those that, not being physicians, need medical knowledge.”¹⁹⁸ By stressing utility rather than truth as the goal of medicine and science, by comparing scientific endeavors, and particularly medicine, to technical crafts, and by direct comparison with theological studies, Martínez repeatedly emphasized his conception of epistemically distinct areas of science and religion. In such a conception, Martínez felt secure describing the limited application of an empirically based epistemology which he described as “medical/philosophical skepticism.” However, immediately subsequent to the publication of his first volume, Martínez had to contend with critics and with alternate views on skepticism and the interaction of science and religion. Ultimately, Martínez’s own epistemic demarcations would prove unstable in eighteenth-century Spain.

¹⁹⁷ Burke writes that “Unlike many French philosophes, the Spanish *ilustrado* was immensely practical. He saw the new sciences not as the key to all truth but as concrete tools to improve human life. Again and again, the Spanish innovators used the term “useful knowledge.”... Thus, the Spanish Enlightenment reflected the utilitarian thrust of the alter Enlightenment throughout Europe, but it largely ignored the more idealistic concerns with rationalism and natural law that also characterized that intellectual movement elsewhere in Europe.” Burke, *San Carlos*, 5.

¹⁹⁸ ME I.73, “...el qual escribió Hyppocrates en Griego, no solo para los Medicos, sino para los que no seindo Medicos necessitan de Medico...” Martínez is affecting wordplay on the similarity between *médico* (physician) and *médico* (medical). Throughout this paper, I consistently translate *médico* as ‘physician’ rather than ‘doctor’ in order to avoid any ambiguity; similarly, I translate *docto* as ‘learned.’ Martínez specifically has in mind, among these uneducated, the “ignorantes Curanderos.” ME.I.72. See also Martínez’s statement that: Por todos estos motivos, no solo escribí este Libro en Castellano, sino aun las autoridades communes las interpret en la misma lengua, por no exasperar lo corriente del estilo, poniendo las citas al pie de la plana, para los curiosos; no obstante reservo en Latin las de Sacra Escritura, ó algun Santo Padre, á quienes por veneración se las debe esta prerrogativa, y tambien algunas otras; ó porque es imposible darlas aquella alma, que tienen en su idioma, ó porque en neustra lengua no serían tan bien sonantes, ó por la hermosura del mero. ME.I.76.

Figure 2: Publications involving the Works and Polemics of M. Martínez, 1716-1811*¹⁹⁹

*Unless otherwise noted, all of the publications were printed in Madrid.

- 1716 Martínez, *Noches Anatomicas, o Anatomia compendiosa*
- 1722 Martínez, *Medicina sceptica y cirugia moderna, con un tratado de operaciones chirurgicas*, Volume I
- 1723 Martínez, *Discurso físico sobre si las víboras deben reputarse por carne o pescado en el sentido en que nuestra madre la Iglesia nos veda las carnes en días de abstinencia*
 Martínez, *Observatio rara de corde in monstroso infantido ubi obiter et noviter de motu cordis et sanguinis agitur*
- 1724 Lesaca, *Colyrio Philosophico Aristotelico Thomistico*
- 1725 Martínez, *Medicina sceptica, tomo segundo. Primera parte: apologema en favor de los medicos scepticos. Segunda parte: apomathema, contra los médicos dogmáticos, en que se contiene todo el acto de fiebres.*
 Araujo y Ascarraga, *Centinela Medico-Aristotelica Contra Scepticos: en la qual se declara ser mas segura, y firme la Doctrina que se enseña en las Universidades Españolas, y los graves inconvenientes que se siguen de la Secta Sceptica, o Pyrrhonica*
 Martínez, *Examen nuevo de cirugia moderna*
- 1726 Martínez, *Carta defensiva, que sobre el primer tomo del Theatro crítico universal, que dió a luz el Rmo. P. Mro. Fr. Benito Feijoo...*
- 1727 Martínez, *Juicio Final de la Astrología, en defensa del Teatro Crítico Universal, dividido en tres Discursos* (Reprinted, s.a. in Seville)
 Torres Villarroel, *Entierro del Juicio Final, y vivificación de la Astrología, herida con tres Llagas, en lo Natural, Moral, y Político; y curada con tres Parches.*
 Suarez de Ribera, *Escuela Medica Convincente Triumphante, Sceptica Dogmatica, Hija Legitima de la Experiencia, y Razon*
- 1728 Martínez, *Carta defensiva*, reprinted in Volume II of Feijóo's *Teatro Crítico*
 Martínez, *Anatomia completa del hombre, con todos los hallazgos, nuevas doctrinas y observaciones raras hasta el tiempo presente, y muchas advertencias necesarias para la cirugia según el método con que se explica en nuestro teatro de Madrid*
- 1729 Lesaca, *Apologia Escolastica en defensa de la Universidad de Alcalá, y demás universidades de España, contra la medicina sceptica del doctor Martinez*
 Gil Sanz, *El Triumpho vindicado de la calunnia, impostura, e ignorancia contra la medicina sceptica y sus favtores [sic]*
- 1730 Martínez, *Philosophia Escéptica: extracto de la physica antiqua, y moderna, recopilada en dialogos, entre un Aristotelico, Cartesiano, Gasendista, y Sceptico, para instruccion de la curiosidad española*
- 1743 [est.] Flandes, *El Antiguo Academico, contra el modern sceptico, ó dudoso, rigido, ó moderado: defensa de las ciencias, y especialmente de la physica pytagorica, y medica en el conocimiento, y practica de los médicos sabios*
- 1745 Second edition of *Anatomia completa*
 [Posthumous] Zapata, *Ocaso de las Forma Aristotelicas que pretendio ilustrar a la luz de la Razon*
- 1748 Reprinting of the *Medicina Sceptica* [3rd or 4th ed.?)
- 1750 Second edition of *Noches Anatomicas*
 Reprinting of *Philosophia Escéptica*
- 1764 Third edition of *Anatomia Completa*
- 1768 Third printing of *Philosophia Escéptica*
- 1775 Fourth edition of *Anatomia Completa*
- 1788 Fifth edition of *Anatomia Completa*
 Reprinting of *Examen Nuevo* with emendations
- 1811 Reprinting of *Examen Nuevo* with emendations (Valencia)

¹⁹⁹ More bibliographical information can be found in DHEE, DHFE, filosofia.org, and A. Dechambre, and eds., *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales Deuxième Série, Tome Cinquième (Mar-Méd)* (Paris : Place de L'École-de-Médecine, 1874), 162-163.

Critics of Martínez and The Mutability of Escepticismo

Ivy McClelland is correct in arguing in “The False Alarm of Skepticism,” that there was considerable debate as to the appropriate use and scope of the word *escéptica* within Martínez’s work.²⁰⁰ McClelland convincingly demonstrates, for example, that Father Master Fr. Juan Interián de Ayala clearly predicted that the use of *escéptica* would confuse readers of the work, writing in his *aprobación*,

...in this book is given the term *Skeptic*, which to many, I fear, suggests something more novel than what meaning the term actually carries; for it signifies nothing more than indeterminacy, irresolution, and consideration. And these qualities, if one considers them well, ought to be had in all human science and natural philosophy; if not in all, or at least in many parts and speculations [of them].²⁰¹

Interián de Ayala argues that Martínez’s use of the word, while problematic, is strictly limited to a scientific application, and is therefore orthodox and legitimate. McClelland blames Martínez’s use of *skepticism* as the unfortunate happenstance of a man who was not as rhetorically skilled as Feijóo, Mayans y Siscár, or Jovellanos. It may rather be, however, that Martínez’s use of the term was deliberately aware of the religious and moral implications of employing *escéptica*, and consciously chose a jarring and confusing term. Indeed, one of Martínez’s principal critics, Bernardo López de Araujo y Ascárraga, wrote in his antithetical work, *Centinela medico-aristotélica contra Scépticos*, that Martínez wanted “to enter through the roof...breaking all the tiles and causing leaks...”²⁰² McClelland, similarly knowing that “for Spain in particular the Word ‘sceptical’ had alarmingly religious connotations,” proceeds somewhat naively by ignoring

²⁰⁰ McClelland, “The False Alarm of ‘Scepticism’,” 11-13.

²⁰¹ ...en este Libro se le da de *Sceptica*, que a muchos temo haga mas novedad de la que trae configo el termino, el qual nada significa mas, que inderterminada, irresoluta, y considerativa. Y estas calidades, si se considera bien, las debe tener toda humana ciencia, y natural Filosofia; sino en todas, a lo menos en muchas de sus partes, y especulaciones. ME.I.17, “Aprobacion del Rmo. P. M. Fr. Juan Interian de Ayala”

²⁰² Araujo, *Centinela*, 322. “y á la Dialectica la comparan a la llave de la tal puerta; porque assi como no se puede entrar a lo interior de la casa sin llave, que abra la puerta....que acaso se entre por el texado, como el Doctor Martinez quiere, rompiendo texas, y hacienda goteras.”

the associated ideas and meanings attached to skepticism (almost feigning surprise that *casticistas* and conservative reactionaries could misinterpret what Martínez stated).²⁰³ If it was indeed Martínez's motive to create metaphorical "leaks" in the understanding of knowledge, he succeeded.

Between the publication of Martínez's first volume of *Medicina Escéptica* in 1722 and the second volume in 1725, numerous Galenists (as well as some non-affiliated intellectuals) responded to Martínez's charge for a new praxis and a new episteme of science. Most significant among these early challenges were two works: Bernardo Araujo's *Centinela Medico-Aristotélica* (Madrid, 1725), and Juan Martín Lesaca's *Apología Escolástica en Defensa de la Universidad de Alcalá, y demás universidades de España, contra la medicina scéptica del doctor Martínez* (Madrid, 1729).²⁰⁴ Araujo, who was a physician of the *Reales Hospitales Generales* (Royal General Hospitals) leveled many charges against Martínez's use of skepticism and Epoché. First, he argued, Martínez failed to offer a satisfactory definition of either term, expounding upon all possible applications. "Epoché," Araujo stated, "Is a state of mind in which one suspends assent; and neither does one determine nor depreciate some opinion" according to the Skeptics.²⁰⁵ Questioning the very sustainability of this premise, Araujo asked about this previous statement,

²⁰³ McClelland, 12.

²⁰⁴ Bernardo López de Araujo y Ascárraga, *Centinela medico-aristotelica contra scepticos: en la cual se declara ser mas segura y firme la doctrina que se enseña en las universidades españolas* (Madrid, 1725) [The Medical-Aristotelian Sentinel Against the Sceptics: In Which it is Declared that That which is taught in the Spanish Universities is more Secure and Firm Doctrine] ; Juan Martín Lesaca, *Apología escolastica en defense de la Universidad de Alcalá, y demás universidades de España, contra la medicina sceptica del doctor Martínez: respuesta al discurso de la medicina del Teatro Crítico Universal* (Madrid: en la imprenta de Juan de Ariztia, 1729). [Scholastic Apology in Defense of the University of Alcalá, and Other Universities of Spain, Against the Skeptical Medicine of Doctor Martinez, A Response to the Discourse on Medicine in the *Teatro Critico Universal*] Both Works are available *gratis* via Hathi Digital Trust.

²⁰⁵ Araujo, *Centinela*, 10. "Es un estado de la mente, en que se suspende el assenso; y ni se determina, ni se desprecia opinion alguna..."

Is it true, or false? If you say it is true, then you already have something certain and true and consequently give assent to it, because you cannot hold something to be true without giving it [your] assent. If you say this is false, then why do you hold on to it? Ergo, in all ways is Doctor Martínez convicted by his own words.²⁰⁶

Araujo's confusion over the extent of skepticism, or how the limits of skepticism could be imposed was shared by many prominent intellectuals of the time. Reviewing Martínez's arguments, Lesaca noted that the author explained only a certain amount of his mind, "and the rest was confusion."²⁰⁷ As previously mentioned, many readers (including the less-educate "vulgo" for whom Martínez had deliberately written in the vernacular) assumed less analytical responses, quickly associating Martínez's *escepticismo* with the heretical skepticism of Descartes, Locke, Sydenham, Boyle, or Gassendi. Because Martínez employed philosophical terms with an immense historical precedence such as *skepsis* and *epoché*, these terms came with vast connotations which inherently created confusion and allowed for critics of Martínez to either genuinely misinterpret his text, deliberately undermine his work by destabilizing his vocabulary, or to issue legitimate concerns about his interpretation of skepticism and its dependence on an epistemic demarcation between science and religion. As Araujo, Lesaca, and many others noted, it was difficult to contain skepticism in one field of knowledge from becoming the dominant narrative in *all* fields of knowledge.

²⁰⁶ "...Es verdadera, ó falsa? Si dize, que es verdadera: luego yá ay cosa cierta, y verdadera, y consiguientemente dá assenso á ella, porque no se puede tener una cosa por verdadera sin darla assenso. Si dize que es falsa, para qué la trae? Luego de todos modos es convencido el Doctor Martinez en sus propias palabras." Araujo, *Centinela*, 10. Note Araujo's assumption of knowledge as justified true belief, a classic tenet of epistemology.

²⁰⁷ "...sigue la mente del author que explica; lo demás fuera confusion." Lesaca, *Apologia escolástica*, 47.

The Demarcation Crisis of the Spanish Enlightenment

As McClelland describes it, there was “undeniable justification” that “scepticism in one sphere leads to scepticism in others.”²⁰⁸ Both Araujo and Lesaca saw that unless it was better explained, Martínez’s partition between science and religion would deteriorate. They particularly critiqued the arbitrariness and vagaries of Martínez’s “prudent skepticism” – which truths or principles constituted such obvious knowledge that scientists were allowed to accept them? When was reason and logical deduction legitimately allowed? How much empirical evidence was needed before one could start establishing patterns? In his efforts to move away from the inutility of the inane conversations of the Dogmatists, Martínez often failed to provide a systematic philosophy of his science, particularly in the two volumes of *Medicina Escéptica*. Araujo, for example, commented on the essential link between theory and science, decrying Martínez’s depreciation of them by stating:

The cause precedes the effect; the father is the cause of the son; therefore the father comes before the son... [Martínez] wants to call these principles precarious, or supposed... a thing outside of all reason.... The principles do not demonstrate, but rather serve to demonstrate and engender sciences with the light and efficacy of understanding. There is no science without principles; because the fundamentals of the sciences are the principles...²⁰⁹

The assertion that science could only exist upon the foundation of principles was not limited to the Galenic school of thought. Martínez’s hyperbolic description of the hidden secrets of nature was a severe deviation from previous works which sought to employ empirical observation to

²⁰⁸ McClelland, 22. Other historians have described Martínez’s conception as “anti-systematic.” See Alvar Martinez Vidal, “Los Supuestos Conceptuales del Pensamiento Medico de Martin Martinez (1684-1734): La Actitud Antisistemática,” *LLULL* 90 (1986), 127-152.

²⁰⁹ Araujo, *Centinela*, 51-52. “*La causa es primero que su efecto: el padre es causa del hijo; luego el padre es primero que el hijo. Si a estos principios quiere llamarlos precarios, o supuestos... una cosa agena de toda razón... Porque los principios no se demuestran, sino que sirven para demostrar, y engendrar ciencias con la luz, y eficacia de el entendimiento. Ciencia sin principios no ay; porque los fundamentos de las ciencias son los principios...*”

“unlocking” these secrets.²¹⁰ And for many intellectuals in eighteenth-century Spain, the lack of underlying laws negated the whole existence of science; without discoverable order, observation was merely the compilation of phenomena without any pattern. Lesaca espoused that Martínez was necessarily inconsistent with his own beliefs. “Those that follow this course [of *epoché*], those are the true Skeptics,” Lesaca describes, “but neither the Doctor Martínez nor Saint Augustine (although Doctor Martínez supposes it) follow this course...”²¹¹ Whereas Martínez or Feijóo described this merely as the difference between rigid and prudent skepticism, Lesaca argues that this difference is arbitrarily positioned unless a justification can be given.

Whether or not Martínez was earnest and intellectually rigorous in his demarcation, others who followed him would not abide by his rigid boundaries. The very titles of publications that followed after Martínez’s death and throughout the eighteenth century demonstrate the close connection that the majority of Spanish intellectuals saw between religious and scientific topics.²¹² Even Feijóo, whose *aprobación* added to the second edition of Martínez’s *Medicina Escéptica* greatly increased the popularity and success of the work, deviated wildly from Martínez’s epistemological platform. Feijóo delighted in applying the knowledge gained from the natural sciences towards debunking superstitions, testing miracles, evaluating claims of

²¹⁰ In this sense, Martínez’s epistemology is radically different from that of Isaac Newton.

²¹¹ Lesaca, *Apologia escolastica*, 19.

²¹² See, for example, Antonio Joseph Rodriguez’s *Nuevo Aspecto de Theologia Medico-Moral, y Ambos Derechos, o Paradoxas Physico-Theologico Legales* (Madrid, Segunda Edición 1763), D. Joaquin Castellot’s *Embriologia Sagrada, ó Tratado de la Obligacion que tienen los Curas, Confesores, Médicos, Comadres, y otras personas, de cooperar á la salvacion de los Niños que aun no han nacido, de los que nacen al parecer muertos, de los abortivos, de los monstruos, &c.* (Madrid, 1774), Josef Antonio Viader’s *Discurso Medico-Moral de la Informacion del Feto por el Alma desde su Concepcion; i Adminstracion de su Bautismo. Obra Util a Parrocos, Medicos, Comadrones, i Parteras* (Gerona, 1785), Andrés Piquer’s *Lógica moderna* (1747) and *Filosofía moral para la juventud española* (1755), Francisco Palanco o Polanco’s *Cursus philosophicus pars tertia continens duos libros de questione elementis ac meteoris, unum de coelo, tres de anima et metaphysica* (Madrid 1697), and his *Dialogus Physico-Theologicus contra Philosophiae novatores, sive tomista contra atomistas: cursus phiosophici tomus quartus* (Madrid, 1714), or Diego Mateo Zapata’s *Dissertación médico-teológica, que consagra a la serenísima señora princesa del Brasil* (Madrid, 1733).

possession, defining the relationship between the supernatural and natural, and constructing a “natural theology” that could speculate about the nature of reality (*metaphysics*).

Over the course of the eighteenth century in Spain, three discernible historical narratives emerge as responses to the question of the relationship between science and religion in the Spanish Enlightenment. First, a distinct minority of Spanish intellectuals adopted a position of secularization, that is to say, that the explanatory power of religion is diminished as scientific methodologies become the dominant epistemic norms and as naturalism grows to encourage materialism and atheism. As institutions that were once “legitimated by religious symbols” cease to become so, they become “secularized.”²¹³ This narrative has been traditionally popular among sociologists of religion, but has in recent years been sufficiently qualified. Certainly, in the textual record of eighteenth-century Spain, very few works exist that advocate such a position.²¹⁴

The second description of the relationship between religion and science is the historical use of “eclecticism” as a description of the mentality of Catholic enlightenment individuals, a historical term used by some of the thinkers in question.²¹⁵ Eclecticism was “an attitude which [sought] to free itself from sectarian doctrines and to achieve a more objective position above all

²¹³ John H. Evans and Michael S. Evans, “Religion and Science: Beyond the Epistemological Conflict Narrative,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 34 (2008), pp. 87-105. (92). See also Charles Lemert, “Science, Religion and Secularization,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 20, No. 4 (Autumn, 1979), 445-461.

²¹⁴ For the original perpetrators of secularization, see James Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (1890); Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912); Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (1948); and Max Weber *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905). For challenges to this theory, see: Jeffrey K. Hadden “Toward Desacralizing Secularization Theory,” *Social Forces* 65, No. 3 (1987), 587-611. For a rebuttal to these challenges, see: Frank J. Lechner, “The Case Against Secularization: A Rebuttal,” *Social Forces* 69, No. 4 (1991), 1103-1119.

²¹⁵ Eclecticism is also used to describe the “running compromise between neoclassicism and romanticism” that occurred in Spanish literature and aesthetics during the first half of the eighteenth century. See pg. 108 of Philip W. Silver, “Cernuda and Spanish Romanticism: Prolegomena to a Genealogy,” *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, Año 43, No. 1 (Jun., 1990), 107-113. Interestingly, “eclecticism” or “methodological eclecticism” is still used presently to describe research methods which fail to adhere to certain defined “conceptual frameworks.” See Stephen C. Yancher and David D. Williams, “Reconsidering the Compatibility Thesis and Eclecticism: Five Proposed Guidelines for Method Use,” *Educational Researcher* 35, No. 9 (Dec., 2006), 3-12.

such groups.”²¹⁶ Eclectics did this, essentially, by cherry-picking their favorite ideas in various philosophical frameworks and amalgamating them into a new system; each eclecticism is therefore particular to the eclectic developing it. Diderot commented in *l'Encyclopédie* that eclectic philosophers “recognize no master,” disregarding authority and tradition, so that “all philosophies are analyzed without regard and without partiality.”²¹⁷ Donald Kelley comments on this particularism, noting that “Eclecticism was hardly a school, still less a tradition.”²¹⁸ Victor Cousin further described in 1829 that eclecticism sought to “disengage what is true in each of these systems, and thus construct a philosophy superior to all systems.”²¹⁹ It is interesting to note that neither Pagden nor McClelland employ this term (although the term itself entered the historiographical scene rather late).²²⁰ Scholar Martin Mulsow explains how eclecticism was the de facto emergent philosophical position by many intellectuals during the early Enlightenment, noting that:

The programmatic term “eclectic,” indestructible and apparently indispensable in the early Enlightenment, was thus over-strained and ambiguous. Its skeptical potential for independence and anti-dogmatism stands against the tendency to take historicization, important for selection, as the criteria for determining an *originally correct* truth... For in a “multi-option society” eclecticism is a virtue which is necessary for life. The early modern period, characterized as it was by a confusion of competing ideas brought about by printing, by increasing confessionalisation, and by the rapid development and obsolescence of scientific theories, gave rise to eclectic thinking...²²¹

²¹⁶ Martin Mulsow, “Eclecticism or Skepticism? A Problem of the Early Enlightenment,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58, No. 3 (Jul., 1997), 456-477; 465.

²¹⁷ Diderot et d’Alembert, “Eclectisme,” *Encyclopédie*, Tome 5, “un home qui ne reconnoît point de maître...,” “et de toutes les philosophies qu’il a analysées sans égard et sans partialité...” Accessed through online transcription – find a scan of the original article.

²¹⁸ Donald R. Kelley, “Eclecticism and the History of Ideas,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62, No. 4 (Oct., 2001), 577-592; 580.

²¹⁹ Kelley, “Eclecticism,” 577.

²²⁰ See Beatriz Helena Domingues, “The role of eclecticism in the introduction of modern philosophy in eighteenth-century Spain,” *Iberoamerican* (2001-), Nueva época, Año 8, No. 29 (Marzo de 2008), 41-61.

²²¹ Martin Mulsow, “Eclecticism or Skepticism?,” 476.

Perhaps, then, the all-encompassing and sometimes-contradictory nature of eclecticism is not solely a historiographical problem, but is an accurate reflection and record of historical epistemic anxiety – what Paul Hazard has labeled the “crisis of conscience” of late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century Europe. Still, eclecticism rests upon an epistemic assumption about the universality of truth – an assumption which itself must be explained and cannot be avoided by intellectual historians. Although the historical use and application of eclecticism makes it an attractive term to employ, the definitional instability and the fact that many particular *novatores* did *not* describe themselves as eclecticists makes this term less than favorable. Martínez, for example, never described his own method as eclectic, nor did Araujo or Lesaca.

Lastly, the larger dissertation to which this chapter belongs argues that a third narrative of “Catholic Rationalism” existed in eighteenth-century Spain, especially among the more institutional aspects of Spanish Catholicism. Catholic rationalism is the process by which the Spanish Catholic Church, broadly conceived, coopted contemporary intellectual trends (in this case, new scientific, empirical, and medical advances) to strengthen the existing epistemological structure of Catholicism. Similarly, “medical fideism” signifies the increasing reliance of Spanish clergy upon medicine and medical discourse to discern between true and false cases of superstition during the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²²²

The questions that Martínez raised about the relationship between religion and science, the employment of skepticism, the idea of distinct epistemologies, and the association of natural philosophy with naturalism impacted and is connected with a variety of intellectual developments throughout the broader Spanish Enlightenment. In the trial settings of the Inquisition during the eighteenth century, for example, new standards of evidence and evaluation

²²² Medical Fideism as a term was first used by Andrew Keitt, “Religious Enthusiasm, the Spanish inquisition, and the Disenchantment of the World,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65.2 (2004), 231-250.

of testimony were considered as an empirical epistemology gained greater authority. A distinct hermeneutical shift occurred in biblical exegesis, as a “historical biblical criticism” became more popular over traditional authoritative narratives. These questions even impact institutional reforms, particularly during the second half of the eighteenth century. The call for disciplinary demarcation may also be related to broader questions about the interaction between state and academic institutions in Bourbon Spain. One of Martínez’s main points in *Medicina Escéptica* is to carve out a legitimate forum for scientists and medical practitioners to practice medical skepticism, to advocate for a separation of medical practices from direct theological oversight, and to provide for a defensible position from which *médicos* could offer critique of the existing status quo. McClelland has labeled this Martínez’s call for “mental independence.”²²³ This is remarkably similar to Kant’s delineation in the late-eighteenth century of the private and public realms of discussion: the private, or specific contextual applications of obedience and practice, and the public – a “realm of argument, of free debate, [that] must be separated from the realm of obedience.”²²⁴ In this sense, Martínez contributed to the notion of the public realm of science in the Spanish Enlightenment. Thus, the particular issue of how Martínez and other *ilustrados* thought about the relationship between science and religion had very real impacts in almost every dimension of enlightened thought.

Conclusion

In his introduction to a documentary study on Galileo’s trial before the Roman Inquisition, Thomas Mayer explains that many have avoided an actual examination of the textual record, including historians. He writes of these culpable individuals, noting “They thought they

²²³ McClelland, *Ideological Hesitancy*, 11.

²²⁴ Samuel Fleischacker, *What is Enlightenment?* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 15.

could safely ignore [Galileo's trial] since they knew how it ended and the myth already told them what it meant."²²⁵ Too often, this has been the historiographical record of the Spanish enlightenment, or more broadly, the story of the relationship between science and religion during the age of enlightenment. The warfare trope of science and religion, particularly infamous in Andrew Dickson White's two-volume *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, paired with the long-standing association of the Enlightenment with secularization has resulted in a historiography dominated by the story of progressive science combating a backwards Catholic Spain—a myth that was even perpetuated among nineteenth-century Spaniards.²²⁶ The example of Martínez, of Araujo, and of Lesaca provide one small case study that show that for the eighteenth-century mind in Spain, although the relationship between science and religion was debated, it was far from hostile.

In current research on the theoretical relationship between science and religion, many scholars have demonstrated the need to carefully define both individual fields *before* posing questions about the nature of their interaction. In "Reconceptualizing Religion, Magic, and Science," for example, sociologist Rodney Stark argues that these categories "are so poorly and inconsistently defined as to preclude coherent discussion."²²⁷ Stark supplies a systematic evaluation of these categories through ten different categories and concludes with his own definition of these fields which limits science to the empirical world and grants religion the only position of ascribing meaning and morality. This is a position of demarcation that the historian

²²⁵ Thomas F. Mayer, ed. *The Trial of Galileo (1612-1633)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 1.

²²⁶ Andrew Dickson White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*. Vol. II (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1896). See also: Ruth MacKay, "Lazy, Improvident People:" *Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 120; Jean Sarrailh, *La España Ilustrada de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985), 182.

²²⁷ Rodney Stark, "Reconceptualizing Religion, Magic, and Science," *Review of Religious Research* 43, No. 2 (Dec., 2001), pg. 101-120. (1). In the search for a historical definition of these categories, it is interesting to note that the majority of Martínez's comparisons are not between science and religion (*religión*), but between science and theology.

Brad Gregory has likewise supported; that conflict between the two fields cannot occur because science is prohibited from making moral pronouncements.²²⁸ Similarly, Alvin Plantinga has argued that there exists a “deep concord” between theism and science, and that conflicts that do occur are superficial or misinterpretations.²²⁹ Spanish *ilustrados* were likely closer to this opinion than the modern scholar, and yet significant concerns about potential conflict are a regular feature in the archival record. The conflict between Martínez and his critics show that both sides affirmed the existence of a “deep concord” or fundamental compatibility between science and religion, but that the precise way in which this concord would be reconciled was subject for debate.

Also concerned about the classification of these terms, Ronald L. Numbers has argued that the majority of historical surveys of the relationship between Religion and Science have concluded in the “warfare thesis” because of a lack of definition.²³⁰ These questions of definition become even more difficult to answer when attempting to consider what the meaning of a word was in a particular historical context. Nicholas Jardine, for example, has argued that “no Renaissance category even remotely corresponds to “the sciences” or “the natural sciences”

²²⁸ See, for example, Brad H. Gregory’s lecture “Science vs. Religion: The Compatibility and Complementary Flourishing of Catholicism and the Natural Sciences.” This is rather different from Stephen Jay Gould’s now-popular idea of “non-overlapping magisterial” in which the fields are entirely separate and speak to different aspects of reality. Both Stark and Gregory (and Martínez, as well) would argue that the epistemic demarcation does not prevent dialogue. See also Gary Ferngren, ed. *Science and Religion: A Historical Introduction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Elaine Howard Ecklund, Katherine L. Sorrell, and Jerry Z. Park, “Scientists Negotiate Boundaries Between Religion and Science,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50, No. 3 (2011), 552-569.

²²⁹ See Alvin Plantinga, *Where the Conflict Really Lies: Science, Religion, and Naturalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), particularly chapter ten, “Deep Concord: Christian Theism and the Deep Roots of Science.” See also: Dirk Evers, Antje Jackelén, and Taede A. Smedes, eds., *How Do We Know? Understanding in Science and Theology* (London: T&T Clark International, 2010); Peter Harrison, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Science and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Alister McGrath, *The Foundations of Dialogue in Science & Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

²³⁰ Ronald L. Numbers, “Science and Religion,” *Osiris* 2nd Series, Vol. 1 (1985), 59-80.

in our sense of the terms.”²³¹ Peter Harrison more strikingly states that “so inextricably connected were the dual concerns of God and nature that it is misleading to attempt to identify various kinds of relationships between science and religion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. “Science” and “Religion,” argues Harrison, “were not independent entities...to identify such connections is to project back in time a set of concerns that are typically those of our own age.”²³²

These ahistorical projections become particularly clear when the historian is confronted with what appears to be a paradox: how could, for example, Martínez believe in the totality and corporate unity of truth from a divine origin, and yet affirm that not all knowledge was created equally, indeed, that a specialized and distinct epistemology was needed in science that only applied to science? In such a circumstance the problem most likely lies in the textual analysis of the historian. Cognizant of Harrison’s warnings about imposing an analysis of the relationship between science and religion, this chapter yet suggests that in eighteenth-century Spain, contrary to Harrison’s assertion, individuals were at least beginning to conceive of the independence of science and religion and to hypothesize about the ways that the broader epistemological concerns of a philosophy of science and a philosophy of religion interacted.²³³

²³¹ Nicolas Jardine, “Epistemology of the Sciences,” in Schmitt and Skinner, *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 685. Quoted in Peter Harrison, ““Science” and “Religion”: Constructing the Boundaries,” *The Journal of Religion* 86, No. 1 (January, 2006), 81-106. (84).

²³² Harrison, “Constructing the Boundaries,” 86.

²³³ It also seems fairly suggestive of an epistemic shift that occurred from the earlier late-Medieval, Renaissance, or Baroque paradigms. For example, the following characterization of Scholastic thinking by sociologist of religion Rodney Stark: “The critical point in all of this is methodological. Centuries of meditation will produce no empirical knowledge, let alone science. But to the extent that religion inspires efforts to comprehend God’s handiwork, knowledge will be forthcoming, and science arises as “the handmaiden” of theology.” Rodney Stark, *For the Glory of God: How Monotheism led to Reformations, Science, Witch-Hunts, and the End of Slavery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 150-151.

It is also possible that Martínez was, in some ways helping to shift the definition of “ciencia” from the all-encompassing definition of causes and principles, which included “Theologia, Philosophy, Jurisprudence, Medicine, and others...from the latin *Scientia*, which signifies the same...” (“ciencia,” *Diccionario de Autoridades* – Tomo II (1729)). This seems unlikely, as the distinction between science as natural philosophy and science as human knowledge appears to have been a commonly understood difference. Martínez, for example, employed within the

Whether the dominant narrative of the relationship between science and religion in Enlightenment Spain was one of conflict, concord, or coexistence, or whether a dominant narrative even exists, remains to be established. What seems clear from the evidence at hand is that the fideist skepticism and epistemic demarcation proposed by Martínez in his works during the early-enlightenment was either rejected or broken by subsequent Spanish thinkers and their writings in eighteenth-century Spain. For the rest, one may have to suspend both doubt and assent.

same paragraph the terms “ciencia, y natural Filosofia” and comparatively, “toda humana ciencia, y natural Filosofia.” (ME.I.17) The shared etymological origin should, however, remind historians that even Martínez’s conception of “natural philosophy” as a science was far from the methodologies of the modern sciences. Moreover, the shared definition in exploring causes and principals helps to explain why there were many points of contestation between two alternative systems of explanation.

CHAPTER TWO:

**“A Priest who ventured out of his Science:” the Disillusioning Work of Padre Feijóo and
the Catholic Enlightenment, 1726-1760**

“Age of transition...of a fight of conflicting interests...
[and] this new Prometheus, doubting everything except God and his soul...
A thousand times over you are wise, you who respected the man of conscience
And without defoliating a belief, guided him by the hand to the temple of science...
A thousand times over you are wise. The divine power explains all that has to do with Faith...
Speak, Feijóo! Science is the way, but God is the goal.”
-Emilia Pardo Bazán, “Ode to the Philosopher Feijóo” (1876)²³⁴

“The professed Design of the Author is to explode vulgar Errors, which he does with a Freedom
surprising in a *Spaniard*, and with a Decency peculiar to true Wit and good Sense. Of his
universal Learning the Reader will form a judgment, when he considers, that the Subject of this
Tract was foreign to his own Profession. It was too interesting to pass unanswered, and dull Men
had a fine Opportunity for Raillery at a Priest who ventured out of his Science...[he answered
one] whose Absurdities he diverted himself with.”
-Introduction to Feijóo’s *An Exposition of the Uncertainties in the Practice of Physic* (1751)²³⁵

In 1729, in the third volume of his *Teatro crítico universal*, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo recounted the story of a miraculous crucifix once housed at the town of Agreda.²³⁶ Left for the Virgin Mother by a local magistrate in memory of his nephew, the presbyter Don Francisco Coronel, the crucifix soon amazed the town when the figurine Christ began to sweat blood at various times. The local congregation was enthralled and visitors flocked to Agreda to witness the miracle. “In fact,” wrote Feijóo, “having crowded many different times to see it, they

²³⁴ “Edad de transición...de lucha de encontrados intereses...cual nuevo Prometeo, dudando hasta de Dios y de su alma... ¡Mil veces sabio tú, que respetaste del hombre la conciencia, y que, sin deshojar una creencia, asido de la mano le guiaste al templo de la ciencia!...¡Sabio mil veces! El poder divino lo explica todo al que la fe respeta... ¡Habla, Feijóo! La Ciencia es el camino; pero Dios es la meta.” Emilia Pardo Bazán, “Oda al Insigne Filósofo Feijóo,” in *Certamen Literario en Conmemoración del Segundo Centenario del Nacimiento de Fray Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, autor del Teatro Crítico Universal* (Madrid: Tipografía y Estereotipia Perojo, 1877), 172-173.

²³⁵ Unknown author of an introduction to an early English edition of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, *An Exposition of the Uncertainties in the Practice of Physic*. Written originally in Spanish by Benito Geronimo Feijoo, Master General of the Order of S. Benedict. Translated from the Seventh Edition. Trans. s.n. [Peirce Dod?]. (London: J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, 1751), iii-iv.

²³⁶ TCU III.6.13.

acknowledged [that] the face [was] somewhat dyed with blood, and although there was no way that it could be sweaty [with blood], already the image was to be placed in somber [observance].” Not only were the commoners fascinated with the crucifix, but notables too. Feijóo noted that there was a prominent increase in prayers, processions, vows, and almsgiving, but he does not end his story with this inspired, albeit misguided, piety. Feijóo wrote, “Only a clerk, a cautious and wise man, suspected some hidden deceit in that which all had judged an indubitable prodigy.” To detect the truth behind the matter, the clerk hid himself in the cell where the crucifix was kept. “There he saw,” detailed Feijóo, “how [an] old woman...came to the site and taking blood from [her] nostrils, dyed with it as it pleased her on the face of the Image.” As was later discovered, the woman was a servant of the priest who had discussed “that it could result in some usefulness” if it was rumored among the village (*pueblo*) that the image had the miraculous ability to sweat blood. Feijóo closed the account with the concluding justice administered to the falsifiers, that the magistrate, “a man of solid piety, had to give two hundred lashes to the old woman, which were so well deserved...”²³⁷

Such accounts of false miracles abound in Feijóo’s works. Feijóo lamented, “With this the common people are led to believe when one talks of miracles in the Catholic Church, it is deemed a lie and a falsity. Thus the obstinacy is augmented, the error wins, and the truth suffers.”²³⁸ Feijóo constantly sought to curb the insidious effects of feigned miracles by exposing the ludicrous nature of superstitious practices and naive beliefs made especially refutable by recent advancements in science and learning. Hailed by many historians as the precursor of the Spanish Enlightenment, Feijóo is often interpreted as the beginning of the end of Catholic tradition in Spain, the “Spanish Voltaire” who used science and deduction to illuminate

²³⁷ TCU III.6.13.

²³⁸ TCU III.6.1.

the irrational customs of the past.²³⁹ Yet to view Feijóo's contributions to the history of science and his reliance on the contemporary intellectual of his trends without contextualizing him fully in his historical background is to ignore a fundamental part of his motivation for campaigning against superstition in early modern Spain. The narrative of the bleeding crucifix from the village of Agreda is featured in a *discurso* entitled "Milagros Supuestos" (*Alleged Miracles*) in which Feijóo wrote, "The true miracles are the strongest proof of our Holy Faith, but feigned miracles serve as a pretext to the unfaithful to not believe the truth."²⁴⁰ It is a point Feijóo reiterated many times – the true miracles that do exist for the promulgation of Christianity are weakened by the spread of superstitious credulity.

This chapter examines Feijóo's discourses on the nature of miracles, and more broadly, his writings on overlapping occurrences of the supernatural and natural (demonic possession, magic, etc.). In doing so, it explores how Feijóo's work serves as an example of the way in which the intellectual debates of the eighteenth century played out in a particular setting. The new philosophies of skepticism, Cartesianism, and atomism had, despite Martínez's attempts to limit it, introduced an incipient methodological materialism. This approach, which discounted divine activity and supernatural causality, meant the nonexistence of miracles, witchcraft, angels, and demons. As necessary overlapping sites of the natural and the supernatural, the existence of miracles became contested territory for theology, philosophy, and the physical sciences, as leading intellectuals in each field rushed to define the "truly" miraculous. Feijóo's qualified avowal of the continuation of miracles and his cautiously skeptical acceptance and investigation into reports of them is symbolic of the *via media* charted by the Spanish Enlightenment. This is

²³⁹ "el Voltaire español," Pardo Bazán, "Oda al Insigne Filósofo Feijóo," 14.

²⁴⁰ TCU III.6.1.

likewise true for his approach to other occurrences of the supernatural and preternatural, such as witchcraft and demonic possession.

Disenchantment: A Useful Term?

Presently, the historiographical consensus in the study of the intersections of magic, science, and religion of the late-medieval and early modern periods has considerably distanced itself from “disenchantment theory.” First espoused by Max Weber in his 1918 lecture, “Science as a Vocation,” the *entzauberung der welt* – disenchantment of the world – was a byproduct of modernity, a process of positivist rationalization that gradually eliminated the operations of the supernatural and the removal of magic until, at last, it was that there were “no mysterious, incalculable powers at work, but rather that one could in principle master everything through calculation.”²⁴¹ Importantly, disenchantment was not necessarily the removal of the supernatural, but the removal of mystery.²⁴² This disenchantment was particularly achieved through scientific progress, intellectualization, and technology, and resulted in a decline of magic and erasure of spirits until “lofty rationalism....dethroned this polytheism.”²⁴³ Weber’s thesis of disenchantment was popularly revived and brought to scholarly attention in 1971 with the publication of Keith Thomas’s seminal work, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*. In the context of late-medieval and early modern England, Thomas viewed magic and supernaturalism as a

²⁴¹ Max Weber, “Science as a Vocation,” trans. by Michael John, in *Max Weber’s ‘Science As a Vocation,’* Peter Lassman and Irving Velody, with Herminio Martins, eds. (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 13. *Entzauberung* is translated in this essay as ‘disenchantment’ given that this is the term commonly used in historical studies. It is elsewhere translated as de-magification or de-divinization – indeed, Bruce Robbins has noted that Weber borrowed the term from Friedrich Schiller, but that Schiller’s original use of the term in his 1778 poem “The Gods of Freece” was not *entzauberung*, but *entgötterung* – the removal of the gods, in the phrase “die engötterte Natur” (the nature from which the gods have been removed). See Bruce Robbins, “Enchantment? No, Thank You,” in *The Joy of Secularism*, George Levine, ed., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 2.

²⁴² See Willam H. Swatos, “Disenchantment.” *Encyclopedia of Religion and Society*. London: Sage Publications, 1998, opposed to Jonathan Skolnik, Jonathan and Peter Eli Gordon, “Editor’s Introduction: Secularization and Disenchantment,” *New German Critique*, No. 94, Secularization and Disenchantment (Winter, 2005), 4.

²⁴³ Weber, “Science as a Vocation,” 23.

matter of pre-Reformation against post-Reformation beliefs, and credited the spread of Protestantism with the removal of magic from English society. In the last forty years since Thomas's publication, historians have complicated Weber's theory of disenchantment with a variety of methodological objections and with mixed success.

Several prominent medievalists have demonstrated, for example, that the medieval Catholic Church was both highly rational and part of a longer "trajectory of disenchantment" in which elements of rationalization and the decline of magic and superstition occurred in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries.²⁴⁴ Other historians have pointed to the continuation of "superstition" and "magic" well through the nineteenth century, stating that *if* such a process of disenchantment occurred, it was a long and gradual process. Many scholars have likewise demonstrated that a prominent concern of the Catholic Church during the Counter Reformation was the systematic evaluation, regulation, and elimination of superstition, folklore magic, and popular misconceptions of religion – an "antisuperstitious campaign" of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church.²⁴⁵

A further testament to the Catholic regulation of magic and superstition is the wealth of Inquisition documents related to the persecution of magic, witchcraft, and superstitious belief. As part of the Tridentine Catholic Church's efforts to extirpate magic, the Inquisition

²⁴⁴ "Trajectory of Disenchantment" is a phrase used by Michael D. Bailey in his article, "The Disenchantment of Magic: Spells, Charms, and Superstition in Early European Witchcraft Literature," *The American Historical Review* 111, No. 2 (April 2006), 383-404. Periodization, a prominent part of Weberian disenchantment has been fundamentally challenged by medieval historians extending disenchantment into the later Middle Ages, by Reformation historians advocating a "long Protestant Reformation," and by eighteenth-century historians who view the extension of earlier magical beliefs well into the early-nineteenth century.

²⁴⁵ Fabián Alejandro Campagne, *Homo Catholicus, Homo Superstitiosus. El discurso antisupersticioso en la España de los siglos XV a XVIII* (Madrid: Miño y Dávila, 2002). Campagne provides a detailed account of the Catholic Church's attempts within Spain to eradicate superstitious activity, particularly through the publication history of numerous religious treatises and conciliar pronouncements. These documents suggest that the Catholic Church of the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was just as concerned with the rationalization of religion as Protestant denominations were.

(particularly the Spanish and the Roman Inquisitions) worked vehemently to investigate and prosecute practitioners of magic, thus contributing to the notion of Catholic disenchantment. In his article, “Religious Enthusiasm, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Disenchantment of the World,” Andrew Keitt has argued that the Catholic Church was especially effective at organizing rational, disenchanting clerical instruction, particularly through the activity of the Spanish Inquisition. Rather than the anemic and supernaturally-burdened caricature of reformed Catholicism portrayed by Weber, Keitt states that,

... Spanish ecclesiastical authorities and intellectual elites made a concerted effort to scrutinize claims of direct, unmediated divine inspiration more closely, to subject prophesies, apparitions, miracles, revelations, and other such examples of supposedly supernatural religious phenomena to stricter control and more thorough verification...the category of the natural expanded to encompass a wide range of purportedly miraculous events, and religious enthusiasm was increasingly described in medical terms, or as a psychological disorder, or dismissed as deliberate fraud.²⁴⁶

This seriously undermines Weber’s argument that disenchantment belonged to Protestantism and Calvinism alone or particularly. Rather than a disenchantment which eliminated magic, some historians posit the “folklorization of magic” – the relegation of magic to the popular level.²⁴⁷ This contradicts Weber’s notions that disenchantment would be accompanied by an erasure of magic from quotidian culture. With the definitional instability of these terms, it is understandable that Weberian disenchantment has been markedly challenged, with many skeptical scholars calling for an abandonment of the term completely.²⁴⁸ At stake are crucial questions: how to understand the way in which people negotiated with nature, understood the

²⁴⁶ Andrew Keitt, “Religious Enthusiasm, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Disenchantment of the World,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65, No. 2 (Apr., 2004), 233-234.

²⁴⁷ Peter Eisenstadt, “Almanacs and the Disenchantment of Early America,” *Pennsylvania History* 65, No. 2 (Spring 1998), 144.

²⁴⁸ See, for example, Owen Chadwick’s suggestion that *entzauberung* is functionally the definition of the subjective. Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 258.

relationship between reason and religion, articulated the basis of truth, and how all of these issues changed over time.

This chapter questions the applicability of disenchantment by situating it among the work of Feijóo to investigate the validity of miracles. By doing so, it demonstrates Feijóo's position of upholding the validity of divine action while limiting the sphere of legitimate supernatural activity from the influence of the new sciences. This position is considered typical of the Spanish Catholic Enlightenment. The same analysis is then extended, briefly, to Feijóo's discourses on exorcism and demonic possession, and then applied to two cases from the Spanish Inquisition during the late-eighteenth century, one of demonic possession and the other of supposed witchcraft. Certainly, the negotiation of Catholic epistemologies evinced in both the theological and intellectual treatises of eighteenth-century Spain as well as in the record of Inquisition cases challenges disenchantment. It points to an ecclesiastical *modus operandi* of Catholic rationalism which was regularly disenchanting for centuries while simultaneously uncovering an eighteenth-century intellectual climate which was far from decidedly-disenchanted. In the texts of Feijóo and other religious intellectuals of 'enlightened' Spain, both the impulse to advance the probability of natural causality and the desire to reaffirm the realm of legitimate supernatural and preternatural activity were present. In cases of the Inquisition, jurists and theologians daily negotiated this tension.

While this complicates the traditional notion of "disenchantment," this chapter argues that the term remains a useful touchstone for discussing the relation between magic, religion, and science. This is doubly true for research on individuals such as Feijóo and other early-eighteenth century *ilustrados*, because they themselves employed the term *desengaño* (disillusionment) to describe the work that they were doing. Importantly, enlighteners such as Feijóo never

conceived of disillusionment or disenchantment as antithetical to Catholicism, a position which sets the Hispanic enlightenment experience apart.

Introducing Feijóo

Benito Jerónimo Feijóo was born October 8, 1676 in Casademiro, in the province of Orense, Galicia. At the age of twelve, he entered the Benedictine Monastery of San Julián de Samos, Galicia, and in 1690 received the Benedictine habit. After pursuing advanced education, in 1709 Feijóo began teaching theology at the Monastery of San Vicente, Oviedo, Asturias. From 1710-1721, he held the Theology Chair of Santo Tomás at the University of Oviedo, in 1724, was granted the *Vísperas* Chair, and in 1739, granted the Prima Chair of Theology (the progression in chairs marked seniority, prestige, and academic prowess). While he was advancing at the university, Feijóo was a prolific writer. From 1726-1740, he published his most famous work, *Teatro crítico universal* (*The Universal Theater of Criticism*) in nine volumes. Moreover, he became well-known for his contributions to both religious and scientific thought. While teaching at the University of Oviedo, he was twice elected the abbot of his monastery, and made an honorary member of the Royal Society of Medicine in Sevilla in 1727. He retired in 1739 after his appointment to the Prima Chair of Theology due to his steadily failing health, dedicating the rest of his life to writing. It was during this time that he published his second major work, *Cartas eruditas y curiosas* (*Intellectual Letters*) in five volumes from 1742-1760. He died in 1764 at the age of ninety-seven at his home monastery of San Vicente in Oviedo.²⁴⁹

The *Teatro crítico universal*, Feijóo's first work, is a collection of discourses and speeches in eight volumes. The supplemental ninth volume was released in 1740 and largely

²⁴⁹ See I.L. McClelland, *Benito Jerónimo Feijóo* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969), .ix-x, as well as TCU and CE.

serves as an apologetic to remarks made against the *Teatro crítico universal*. The topics of the discourses vary greatly and reflect Feijóo's diverse breadth of study in philosophy, natural sciences, religion and theology, history, and political events of contemporary Spain and Europe. This is true for the subjects of Feijóo's second work, the epistolary collection of *Cartas eruditas y curiosas*. Feijóo's works were able to influence both the professional scholar and lay academic. Feijóo wrote in a didactic and explanatory fashion, but uses a conversational tone and punctuates many of his letters with humorous witticisms that make his writings more enjoyable to read. Feijóo was also one of the few Spanish authors of the eighteenth century for whom there is ample documentary evidence showing his translation and appropriation to other nations. It is clear that his work was being read and studied in the Spanish colonies, for example, but his works were also translated and published in London, Paris, and Bavaria.

Although Feijóo is well-known to Spanish historians, his achievements and works are uncommon and scarcely read by English-speaking scholarship. Additionally, translations of his works are practically nonexistent – a few publications of selected discourses and letters from his works are available. Previous secondary sources on Feijóo, whether they be in Spanish or English, are almost entirely concentrated on Feijóo's academic contributions to the fields of science. The selections of Feijóo used form a predictable canon of his more groundbreaking or prophetically advanced scientific discourses, for example, “Medicina” (*Medicine*)²⁵⁰ or “Respuesta a algunas Cuestiones sobre los cuatro Elementos” (*Response to some questions on the four Elements*).²⁵¹ In recent years, the growth of interest in the history of science and the history of medicine has increased historians' awareness of Feijóo, but only in the limited context

²⁵⁰ TCU I.5.

²⁵¹ CE I.1.

of his scientific research and experiments.²⁵² One of the most famous works on Feijóo, Gregorio Marañón's *Las Ideas Biológicas del Padre Feijóo*, is almost exclusively devoted to such ideas.²⁵³ Occasionally, attention is directed towards Feijóo's more political discourses, for example, "Voz del Pueblo" (*Voice of the People*),²⁵⁴ "Antipatía de Franceses y Españoles" (*Hostility between the French and the Spanish*),²⁵⁵ or "Glorias de España" (*The Glories of Spain*).²⁵⁶ In such studies, the polemics that followed both the *Teatro crítico universal* and *Cartas eruditas y curiosas* are of paramount importance.

Feijóo often appears in histories of the Enlightenment as a footnote, citing him as an important figure in the introduction of Enlightenment thought to Spain. Stanley G. Payne, in his seminal work *A History of Spain and Portugal* describes Feijóo as "the precursor of the Spanish enlightenment," his writings as "the turning point that marked the official beginning of the Spanish enlightenment," and even labels him "father of the Spanish enlightenment."²⁵⁷ Unsurprisingly, Feijóo's religious characteristics and contributions are often misinterpreted by those who would portray Feijóo as the Father of the Spanish Enlightenment. I.L. McClelland, in her bibliographic study *Benito Jerónimo Feijóo*, makes the mistake of minimizing Feijóo's religious background and beliefs, arguing that: "there is no indication in his work that his interior religious life was very highly developed."²⁵⁸ However, from the age of twelve until his death eighty-five years later, Feijóo had sought to be part of a religious community, although as the

²⁵² See, for example, Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, *Medicine and Religion in Enlightenment Europe: The History of Medicine in Context* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007); Rebecca Haidt, *Embodying Enlightenment: Knowing the Body in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Literature and Culture*, 1st ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

²⁵³ Gregorio Marañón, *Las Ideas Biológicas Del Padre Feijóo*, 4th ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1962).

²⁵⁴ TCU I.1.

²⁵⁵ TCU II.9.

²⁵⁶ TCU IV.13,14

²⁵⁷ Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, 2 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), vol. 2, 368, 377.

²⁵⁸ McClelland, *Benito Jerónimo Feijóo*, 7.

eldest son of ten children, the church would not have been the traditional route. Nearly every existent analysis on Feijóo exalts an exclusively scientific reading of his life and works, either simply omitting religion from the historical context or worse, advocating a reading of Feijóo that stresses that religion and science must be seen as naturally polarized combatants. Feijóo, priest and natural philosopher as he is, is subsequently designated as confused, inconsistent, or bound by the rules of the society in which he lived.²⁵⁹

This chapter analyzes Feijóo's writings on the supernatural, and specifically the miraculous. In doing so, it attempts to show that Feijóo's standards of discernment and skepticism towards accounts of miracles were largely motivated by a desire to distinguish those miracles Feijóo deemed true for the strengthening of Catholicism; moreover, much of his methodology and reasoning is deeply rooted in the traditions of the Catholic Church. It will therefore suggest that Feijóo must be read as man of greater complexity than previously treated, a scientific priest who, while instrumental in the advancement of experimental science in 18th century Spain and in the modernization of analytical thinking, was fundamentally influenced and guided by Catholic theology and religious figures of his day. His scientific and religious works are therefore inextricably interwoven, and must be read as such.

By looking at the life and work of this Benedictine priest-philosopher, a religious man well-educated in science and philosophy at the beginning of the eighteenth-century, important theoretical implications can be made. First, Feijóo invites a closer study of the role of reform in early modern Catholicism, especially in Spain. Feijóo's efforts to eradicate superstition and incorporate reason in theological evaluation of miracles are, I have argued, indicative of the Catholic Church's *modus operandi* at his time. I assert that Feijóo was largely motivated by a

²⁵⁹ See, for example, Lehner and Printy, *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*.

sense of Catholic Rationalism – the Catholic Church’s longstanding attempt to incorporate contemporary intellectual trends and encourage reason, empiricism, and textual criticism. This supports John W. O’Malley’s arguments for a reform within the Catholic Church that stretched from the late medieval period until the French Revolution in 1789; but more importantly, it suggests one way to understand the unique, mediated character of the Catholic Enlightenment in Spain.²⁶⁰ Feijóo’s approach to the investigation of the supernatural is illustrative of the Catholic enlightenment impulse to chart a middle course between tradition and modernity, preserving the doctrines of the church and seeking to adopt and adapt new methods of knowledge and advancements made in secular knowledge.

It is easy to understand why many historians have failed to seriously study Feijóo’s religious influences or have mischaracterized him as antagonistic to the Catholic Church. Feijóo did not suffer fools gladly and could be especially harsh towards those religious figures who insisted on ignorance in the name of “piety.” He wrote in his letter *Causes of Spain’s Backwardness* on

the consternation with which all novelty is viewed in Spain. Many say that in the matter of doctrines, the title ‘new’ is grounds enough to condemn them. New doctrines in sacred fields of knowledge are suspicious and all those who rightly reproached doctrinal novelties have spoken of this. But to extend this disdain to anything that seems new is to indulge in a stubborn ignorance...this can be accepted among common people, and such attitudes can be tolerated among idiots, but it is insufferable in learned professors, who must be aware of the motives we have in common with other nations, especially with Catholics.²⁶¹

Feijóo critiqued religious officials for being stubborn and static, universities for rejecting philosophers without reading their work, Spaniards for being suspicious of anything not written

²⁶⁰ See John W. O’Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

²⁶¹ Jon Cowans, ed. *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003): 212-216.

by a Spaniard, and the Inquisition (what he calls “the Holy Tribunal”) for being overly zealous in their ideological purges. However, Feijóo’s own reasons for studying and applying new philosophies must be explained. In “Causes of Spain’s Backwardness,” Feijóo not only lamented Spain’s reluctance to accept novel ideas, but gave his reasons for doing so: first, that all truth is useful. Feijóo explained that “there is no kind of truth whose perception is not useful to the understanding, because all help satisfy one’s natural appetite for knowledge. This appetite came to the understanding from the Author of nature.”²⁶² Secondly, that Feijóo was confident that new philosophical ideas cannot harm religion. He stated that this

...will not happen because we have plenty of subjects who are skillful and well educated in dogma, who can distinguish what is opposed to faith from what is not...this remedy is always available to reassure us, even with respect to those philosophical opinions that come from countries infected with heresy...to assuage all reasonable fears on the second point, it is enough to note that theology and philosophy have their limits well marked out, and that no Spaniard is unaware that revealed doctrine has superior rights over human discourse, of which all the nature sciences are lacking.²⁶³

In this passage, Feijóo, like his friend Martínez, with whom he exchanged defenses for each other’s work, indicates borders of circumscribed fields of knowledge, explicitly privileging revealed truth over other forms of knowledge. Feijóo’s vitriolic sarcasm of religious institutions, of which there is plenty to be found, and his promotion of scientific discoveries and new philosophies can obfuscate the simple fact that Feijóo was a Benedictine monk, a correspondent with and active participant in the religious community, well-versed in Biblical, conciliar, papal, and theological literature, and a professing believer in Catholic Christianity who wrote theological treatises as well as on scientific discoveries.²⁶⁴

²⁶² Cowans, *Early Modern Spain*, 212-216.

²⁶³ Cowans, *Early Modern Spain*, 212-216.

²⁶⁴ See, for example, Feijóo’s letter CE V.1, “On the Persuasion of the Love of God”, as well as McClelland, *Benito Jerónimo Feijóo*, in which she writes that “Ecclesiastical history and canon law were his own specialties. He is a mine of information on the Fathers, the Saints, notably St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, the Councils, Papal encyclicals {sic}, the Orders, Biblical history, Liturgy, Dogma, heresies and related subjects” (pg. 38).

It is not a matter, therefore, of arguing for natural philosophy or Catholic religious tradition as the “true” origins of Feijóo’s skepticism and critical analysis of claims of the supernatural and of superstition. Feijóo’s work is a seamless synthesis of both of these threads of thought – one that implies that the abyssal division that some historians have charted between science and religion during the Enlightenment is artificially enhanced, a modern concept read into past texts. Feijóo argued that faith is suprarational, containing within it the truths of philosophies, and I assert that this is the view which must be considered when assessing the history of religion and science during turn-of-the-century Europe – especially in Spain.²⁶⁵ It is important to remember that Feijóo was not an outlier, but rather a well-documented representation of an epistemological trend which was common to the more progressive edge of the Catholic Enlightenment in Spain. Although Pardo Bazán described Feijóo as a “prophetic philosopher,” a lone *vox clamantis* in the barren, intellectual desert of Spain, the example of the *novatores* before him, the attention and popularity which his works received, and the evidence of contemporary thinkers, many of whom wrote to support and defend Feijóo’s works, clearly points to the fact that Feijóo was one among many rather than an unheralded harbinger.²⁶⁶ Feijóo’s work to introduce advancements made in the natural sciences to combat superstition and to better understand the boundaries of natural and supernatural are illustrative of the broader efforts of Catholic Enlighteners to make their faith understandable and adaptive to the particular demands of eighteenth-century, ‘modern’ society.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ McClelland writes that “The inviolable essentials of the faith belonged, as it were, to an upper reality of reason as self-evident and demonstrable as the lower realities of sun, earth, and creatures in visible existence. His essential Faith was invariably unstrained because he believed it to be reasonable. It was his sole principle of limitation, heartfelt as well as imposed. To him a heretic was a man of intellectual dishonesty.” *Benito Jerónimo Feijoo*, 49.

²⁶⁶ Pardo Bazán, “Oda al Insigne Filósofo Feijóo,” 170.

²⁶⁷ Ulrich Lehner, *On the Road to Vatican II*, 26.

Figure 4: Portrait of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro



Juan Bernabé Palomino, *Retrato de Benito Jerónimo Feijoo* (1733[?])²⁶⁸

²⁶⁸ Juan Bernabé Palomino, *Retrato de Benito Jerónimo Feijoo* (Madrid: por Blas Román, 1781). Available digitally through the BNE, signature 3/33636.

Feijóo's Discernment of Miracles

Key to understanding Feijóo's stance against superstitious practices and false claims of miracles is his focus on *discernimiento* (discernment). Feijóo understood discernment to mean the authentication of external realities – spiritual possession, most often, but also spiritually inspired prophecy, claims of visions, and the occurrence of supernatural events. The language of discernment that Feijóo used is radically scientific and systematic compared to, for example, that of mysticism's passivity and “no pensar nada” approach of spiritual contemplation.²⁶⁹

Discernment of Spirits is, *discretio spirituum*, according to the Bible, a *charismata* or a *gratia gratis data* - a spiritual gift given by God freely.²⁷⁰ As such, it is a notoriously difficult activity to regulate. As historian John Bossy writes, “The trouble with the Spirit, from the point of view of organised Christianity, has always been that it bloweth where it listeth...it was a difficult guest in any Church.”²⁷¹ It is clear that this was a struggle that the Catholic Church long suffered. Some have credited the rise of Protestantism as increasing the importance of personal religious experience and degrading the role of doctrine in the practice of Christianity.²⁷² Additionally, with the rise of religious heterodoxies such as Alumbrados, or Illuminists, and Jansenists, the emphasis on such spiritual liberty increased - what one modern theologian labels “the deadly enemy of discernment.”²⁷³ Recently, historian Moshe Sluhovsky has studied the incongruity of

²⁶⁹ Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit : Possession, Mysticism, & Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 101.

²⁷⁰ See I Corinthians 12; also Morton T. Kelsey, *Discernment : A Study in Ecstasy and Evil*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), 5; Sluhovsky, 169-170.

²⁷¹ John Bossy, *Christianity in the West: 1400-1700* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 108.

²⁷² Fr. Dubay points to W.J. Hill in the New Catholic Encyclopedia 5.752 “Experience”, 30. Cited in Thomas Dubay, *Authenticity : A Biblical Theology of Discernment*, 1st English ed. (Denville, N. J.: Dimension Books, 1977).

²⁷³ Dubay, *Authenticity*, 52.

the divine grace of discernment and the Catholic Church's failed attempts to systematize discernment.²⁷⁴

However, the inherent difficulty that Sluhovsky has demonstrated was less problematic to Feijóo in his assessment of miracles and superstition. The discernment of spirits, especially when concerned with visions, prophecies, and possession, operated with and interpreted naturally interior events. That the discernment of spirits was a charismatic grace is therefore understandable. As Gerson wrote in his treatise *On Distinguishing True from False Revelations*, "There is for human beings no general rule or method that can be given always and infallibly to distinguish between revelations that are true and those that are false or deceptive."²⁷⁵ The discernment of miracles, however, involved naturally external realities that could be tested by the new scientific standards of empiricism and rationalism. Miracles (*milagros*) occurred when the supernatural (God) interacted in the natural world, defying natural law or contradicting natural probabilities. It is for this reason that Feijóo was able to construct a series of general rules for the evaluation of miracles; it is also for this reason that Feijóo conceded that his rules were fallible to exceptions.

The Catholic Church had a tradition of multiple attempts to test and discern spirits and the supernatural. The Bible warned of false prophecies and visions and encouraged the testing of such phenomena.²⁷⁶ Catholic theologians worked to define guidelines for discernment. St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), for example, wrote that four characteristics of miracles must be longevity, utility, deification, and the invocation of God's name with reverence.²⁷⁷ In the

²⁷⁴ Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, 172.

²⁷⁵ Gerson is quoted in Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, 176.

²⁷⁶ For Old Testament references, see Deuteronomy 13, 18; for New Testament, 1 John 4:1, Titus 1:1,2, among others.

²⁷⁷ Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, 170.

fourteenth century, Henry of Langenstein (1325-1397) attempted to categorize spiritual influences based on somatic signs; such categorization was common in late medieval and early modern assessments of the supernatural – especially possession.²⁷⁸ Feijóo likewise endorsed a set of guidelines for evaluating claims of miraculous healing devised by Paulo Zaquias in his letter, “Sobre la continuación de Milagros en algunos Santuarios” (*On the Continuation of Miracles in some Sanctuaries*).²⁷⁹ He wrote that in order for a healing to be miraculous, it is prudent to establish four facts.²⁸⁰ First, the affliction must be *naturally* incurable or notoriously difficult to recover from. Secondly, that the disease is not in its final epidemiological stages. Thirdly, that the patient who experiences miraculous healing is fully recovered without a trace of the former illness. Lastly, the miraculous healing should be characterized by instant or sudden recovery. If not, wrote Feijóo, the healing could be contested as natural. Feijóo jested, “How many times has health returned without a miracle to the sick whom the doctors had abandoned as deplorable!”²⁸¹ Feijóo continued in his letter to use these rules (*reglas*) to discredit claims of healing from hydrophobia; both men and animals have been known to recover from this disease, Feijóo asserted, therefore it was unlikely that such a cure could be counted as a miracle. The definition of miracles here must be stressed – they are supernatural events. The use of natural means, even if orchestrated by God, is not miraculous, merely providential.

²⁷⁸ Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, 173-174.

²⁷⁹ CE I.31.

²⁸⁰ This criteria is found in CE I.31.5: “Las principales son cuatro. La primera, que la dolencia esté reputada por naturalmente incurable, o por lo menos dificultosísima de curarse; porque dice, y dice bien, que los milagros tienen por objeto las cosas arduas, no las fáciles. La segunda, que no esté la enfermedad en la última parte de su estado; porque entonces, aunque padece mucho el enfermo, y se halla constituido en gran riesgo, por la mayor fuerza de los síntomas; en muchos sucede natural, y prontamente una crisis, que los libra. La tercera, que la curación sea perfecta; de suerte, que no quede el más leve vestigio de la enfermedad. Dei perfecta sunt opera. La cuarta, que sea la mejoría subitánea, o repentina. No siéndolo, ¿de dónde puede constar, que no se debe a la naturaleza?”

²⁸¹ CE I.31.5 “¿Cuántas veces se ha visto sanar, sin milagro alguno, enfermos, que los Médicos habían abandonado por deplorados!”

Take, for example, Feijóo's constructed classification of miraculous accounts found in "Toro de S. Marcos" (*The Bull of St. Mark*).²⁸² In this *discurso*, Feijóo analyzed the credibility of a renowned and popular tale of the supernatural – that on the Eve of St. Mark in some places of the Extremadura, members of certain confraternities had the ability to select a bull from the herd, which would immediately eschew its natural ferocity and would dutifully and with full gentleness attend Vespers with the people of the village.²⁸³ Feijóo began his examination of this tale with the following,

As for the gentleness of the Bull, three inspections can be made of the fact according to three different causes that one can consider the influences of it: the first – miraculous, the second – superstitious, and the third – natural. If God, in attention to the merits of the Evangelist [St. Mark] and the prayers of his devotees, by himself alone, without the interposition of some secondary cause, domesticates the fierceness, it is successfully miraculous; if the devil does it by virtue of some implicit pact, or explicit with those involved in the deed, it is superstitious; or if by some means contained in the sphere of the natural, and provided to this effect it is achieved, it is natural.²⁸⁴

With this tripartite classification, Feijóo clearly defined important distinctions between the terms he so often used. First, that those works considered miraculous must be unaccountable according to natural explanations and void of any possible "secondary causes." The possible natural explanations must therefore be first examined and excluded as a possibility for confirming miracles. Secondly, the source of the supernatural influences must be considered in order to define an event as a miracle or a superstition. Feijóo, in this sense, used superstition to mean both false accounts of the miraculous and those supernatural occurrences achieved by unholy

²⁸² TCU VII.8

²⁸³ TCU VIII.8.1

²⁸⁴ TCU VIII.8.3 "En cuanto a la mansedumbre del Toro, tres inspecciones puede tener el hecho, según tres diferentes causas, que se pueden considerar influyen en él; la primera de milagroso, la segunda de supersticioso, la tercera de natural. Si Dios, en atención a los méritos del Evangelista, y ruegos de sus devotos por sí solo, sin interposición de alguna causa segunda, doméstica la fiera, es el suceso milagroso; si lo hace el demonio en virtud de pacto implícito, o explícito con los que intervienen en la obra, es supersticioso; si con algún medio, contenido en la esfera de la naturaleza, y proporcionado al efecto se logra éste, es natural."

means, such as the practicing of witchcraft and magic or the invocation of the powers of the Devil.²⁸⁵ With consideration to both definitions of the word, it is noteworthy that Feijóo described the Catholic faith as “the irreconcilable enemy of all superstition.”²⁸⁶

The Catholic Church had, by the time of Feijóo, already been engaged in multiple papal and conciliar efforts to establish standards of discernment and definition. In 1516, the Fifth Lateran Church Council promoted episcopal investigation of purported prophecies before allowing their dissemination to the laity. In Session XXV of the Council of Trent, held under Pius IV and recorded December 4, 1563, the Council wrote,

That these things may be the more faithfully observed, the holy council decrees that no one is permitted to erect or cause to be erected in any place or church, howsoever exempt, any unusual image unless it has been approved by the bishop; also that no new miracles be accepted and no relics recognized unless they have been investigated and approved by the same bishop, who, as soon as he has obtained any knowledge of such matters, shall, after consulting theologians and other pious men, act thereon as he shall judge consonant with truth and piety. But if any doubtful or grave abuse is to be eradicated, or if indeed any graver question concerning these matters should arise, the bishop, before he settles the controversy, shall await the decision of the metropolitan and of the bishops of the province in a provincial synod; so, however, that nothing new or anything that has not hitherto been in use in the Church, shall be decided upon without having first consulted the most holy Roman pontiff.²⁸⁷

At a meeting held in Malines in 1607, officials similarly concluded that “It is superstitious to expect any effect from anything when such an effect cannot be produced by natural causes, by divine institution or by the ordination and approval of the Church.”²⁸⁸ Feijóo was well aware of

²⁸⁵ Sociologist notes that *superstitio* was defined as early as Augustine as being both magic and those beliefs which were simply irrational and false. Alternatively, see Erasmus’s 1507 pamphlet, *Superstition*, for a definition which exclusively views superstition as irrationalism. Rodney Stark, *For the Glory of God: How Monotheism led to Reformations, Science, Witch-Hunts, and the End of Slavery* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), 228.

²⁸⁶ TCU II.3.4.

²⁸⁷ Henry Joseph Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978), 217.

²⁸⁸ Stark, *For the Glory of God*, 228. It should be noted for clarification that Malines is a civil, not ecclesiastical, council.

these ecclesiastical trends – moreover, he was in support of them. He advocated for stricter enforcement of these ecclesiastical decrees that mandated the episcopal evaluation of miraculous accounts before their promulgation to the public. Feijóo specifically cited this selection from the Council of Trent on the evaluation of miracles in his letter, “Sobre la multitud de milagros” (*On the Multitude of Miracles*).²⁸⁹ Additionally, in “Milagros Supuestos,” (*Supposed Miracles*) Feijóo argued that in cases where the intent was to feign miracles, “as it happens oft times for various motives,” the Secular Magistrate should proceed against the author of the lie, remaining in its bounds [jurisdiction], with severe penalty.”²⁹⁰ Such was the case of the old servant woman responsible for falsifying the blood of the crucifix in the village of Agreda, who, after having been discovered *in flagrante delicto*, was judicially prosecuted and whipped in the public streets (*las calles públicas*).²⁹¹

As Feijóo established in “Toro de S. Marcos,” the first step in assessing and discerning miracles was to ensure that no possible natural explanation existed for the event. Educated evaluation of sensational accounts was needed in order to establish truth, and Feijóo, among others, believed it the duty of the Church to investigate these claims with the assistance of all available resources. In the first half of eighteenth-century Spain, these resources specifically included new scientific ideas. Feijóo clearly relied on the fields of philosophy, medicine, and science. Multiple times, he cites contemporary literature in these fields, indicating that he had an awareness of the more recent advancements and work being performed.²⁹² Moreover, he often seeks scientific explanations for reported miracles before considering a supernatural

²⁸⁹ CE I.43.

²⁹⁰ TCU III.6.12.

²⁹¹ TCU III.6.13.

²⁹² CE. I:25.6.

explanation.²⁹³ When recounting the feigned miracle of the bleeding crucifix of Agreda, for example, Feijóo wrote, “...in regards to miracles, the commoner’s piety sees more with the imagination than with the eyes...”²⁹⁴ Certainly, Feijóo advocated the use of empiricism to inform judgments, and as one of the more prominent scientific minds of Spanish society, informed the public through his works about contemporary scientific advancements.

It is important to note that when Feijóo practiced such empirical investigations, the scientific resources he referenced and encouraged others to use were written not only by “other pious men,” as the Council of Trent dictated, but even by non-Catholic natural philosophers. Feijóo was not alone in this practice; he cites in “Examen de Milagros” (*Examination of Miracles*) that the consultation of non-Catholic, even atheist philosophers, was practiced by the pope, Benedict XIV. He wrote that “this discernment relies on Philosophy,” and that “Our Most Holy Father Benedict XIV...never cites theologians without philosophers, and philosophers for the larger part that haven’t studied a word of Theology, citing as legitimate authors for this test even heretic philosophers.”²⁹⁵

Benedict XIV (1740-1758), formerly Archbishop Lambertini of Bologna, was known for his unconventionally administrative and effective approach to the papacy.²⁹⁶ He oversaw numerous reforms within the Catholic Church, including a reduction in feast days and the general investigation and repression of popular superstitions. As pope, he relied on advisors and secretaries; it is not entirely surprising, therefore, that Feijóo knows of his consultation of heretic philosophers.²⁹⁷ This consultation is significant in that it demonstrates the Catholic Church’s

²⁹³ CE. I:31.6, I:31.8.

²⁹⁴ TCU III.6.13.

²⁹⁵ CE.II:11.20 and II:11.24 “este discernimiento pende de la Filosofia” “nuestro Santísimo Padre Benedicto XIV...nunca cita Teólogos, sino Filósofos, y Filósofos por la mayor parte, que no estudiaron palabra de Teología, alegando como Autores legítimos para esta prueba aun a Filósofos Herejes.”

²⁹⁶ Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 296.

²⁹⁷ Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution*, 296.

shift in approach to the discernment of truth. Expressed belief in Christianity was no longer an epistemological prerequisite for the discernment of truth in various subjects. It was, by the prevenient grace of God, possible for natural philosophers to speak authoritatively on natural truths and for these truths to be then utilized by the Catholic Church. That Feijóo prefers to cite first religious, educated men does not negate the fact that he prefers irreligious educated individuals to the unintelligent, albeit ‘pious’, *vulgo*. John Locke, of whom Feijóo calls “*Príncipe de los Metafísicos*,” wrote “Reason and judgement must be used in order to measure the degree of probability of what we are asked to believe by faith.”²⁹⁸ This increased focus on the importance of incorporating knowledge gained from empiricism, reason, and nature into Catholicism I label trends of ‘Catholic Rationalism’, using Justo L. González’s description of Rationalism as a philosophy “characterized by its interest in the world and by its confidence in the powers of reason.”²⁹⁹

Feijóo used the word *filosofía* in multiple manners. Most often, he used *filósofos* or *filosofía* to refer to philosophy in the broader and common sense, as when he discusses “*filósofos Materialistas*.” or “*la filosofía de Descartes*.”³⁰⁰ Occasionally, however, Feijóo used *filosofía* defined explicitly as natural philosophy, as when he discussed “*el Sistema Filosófico de Newton*.”³⁰¹ Context is thus necessary for defining the term every instance that Feijóo used it. The natural philosophy use of the word is the most likely definition in this selected quote from “*Examen de Milagros*;” in this letter, Feijóo discussed the benefits that modern advancements in

²⁹⁸ Justo L. González, *The Story of Christianity, Volume 2: The Reformation to the Present Day* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Prince Press, 1985), 189; See Locke’s *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695).

²⁹⁹ González, *The Story of Christianity*, 185.

³⁰⁰ CE IV.15, “materialist philosophers,” CE V.2, “the philosophy of Descartes.”

³⁰¹ CE IV.21, “the philosophical system of Newton.”

science have granted to those discerning between the spiritually supernatural and the naturally unexplained.

What becomes clear is that Feijóo was not the first to attempt to curb superstition and localized traditions of religion – a long litany of Catholic thinkers, both clergy and lay, had done so before him. Contemporary with Feijóo was a large community of the learned who, like Feijóo, attempted to discern true miracles. In his *discurso* “Toro de S. Marcos,” Feijóo wrote, “I have no news of other authors who have touched this question, other than Master Fr. Juan de Santo Tomás...Tomás Hurtado...Father Carlos Casnedi of the Society of Jesus...P. Leandro, cited by Gobat...”³⁰² Not only did Feijóo painstakingly cite those authors whom he read, but included the works and appropriate sections; moreover, Feijóo informed his readers that having discussed the case first with the Archbishop of Santiago, he was encouraged to investigate the case by the Bishop of Avila.³⁰³ Clearly, Feijóo was not alone in the religious community in his campaign against superstition and feigned miracles. What made Feijóo successful, particularly in the evaluation of natural causes, was his familiarity and incorporation of new scientific ideas and a strong reliance on natural reason – but here too, context shows that he was not alone in this practice. From his own letters, Feijóo cited other intellectuals who are conducting similar efforts and notes on multiple occasions that the recommended course of investigation for and by bishops was to employ scientific experts to evaluate the cases.³⁰⁴ The implications of this fact are immense. For many historians, the Catholic Church of the seventeenth century is anemic, desperately trying to regain authority in spiritual authentication.³⁰⁵ Moshe Sluhovsky, for example, writes that there existed

³⁰² TCU VII.8.6 “No tengo noticia de otros Autores, que hayan tocado esta cuestión, más que...”

³⁰³ TCU VII.8.6.

³⁰⁴ For example, Paulo Zaquis, the Archbishop of Paris, as well as certain Jesuit colleagues.

³⁰⁵ Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, 180.

...a climate in which individual believers sought more interiorized and passive routes for interaction with the divine. By the early decades of the sixteenth century, mystical knowledge was often even presented as equal, if not superior to, intellectual knowledge, and a theology of love, affection, and passivity overshadowed a theology of reason.³⁰⁶

At the same time, Justo González notes that, “partially as a result of all this [emphasis on state and religious toleration], and partially as a result of new scientific discoveries, rationalism took hold of Europe.”³⁰⁷ Out of this rationalism, Gonzalez asserts, rose distrust toward dogma, doctrine, and traditional Church orthodoxy and the origins of Quietism and interior spiritual movements.³⁰⁸ This may be one alternative reaction to the rise of rationalism in Europe, but Feijóo is significant because he offers a different perspective. Through Feijóo’s writings, one sees the legacy of the Catholic Church’s incorporation of rationalism into theological discernment. The Catholic Church that Feijóo was part of was dynamic, institutionally unified, and more accessible to the reception of ideas than previously caricatured.

Feijóo once charged, “Let us not wait for the enemy, the Heretics, to discover that which is error in the false piety of some Catholics.” Feijóo encouraged the Church to be as diligently self-critical as possible, rather than allowing nonbelievers to “make war on our truths with our fictions.” This, according to Feijóo, was “the way of Erasmus, [that] hidden enemy, more ingenious than Luther, [who caused] much suffering to the Church.”³⁰⁹ Feijóo conceded, however, Erasmus was at least successful in pointing to many of the superstitions held by Catholics.³¹⁰

³⁰⁶ Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, 98.

³⁰⁷ González, *The Story of Christianity*, 133.

³⁰⁸ González, *The Story of Christianity*, 133.

³⁰⁹ TCU III.6.15 “No esperemos a que la enemiga de los Herejes descubra lo que erró la falsa piedad de algunos Católicos...” haciendo guerra a nuestras verdades con nuestras ficciones. Por este camino hizo Erasmo, enemigo escondido, y más artificioso que luteró, mucho daño a la Iglesia.”

³¹⁰ TCU III.6.15.

William A. Christian, Jr., while noting the development of a more critical analysis and reception of local apparitions among the Catholic clergy in late-medieval and sixteenth-century Spain, omitted any assertion of the roots of this strict receptivity.³¹¹ This chapter has asserted that the increased skepticism of religious authorities in the discernment of miracles, including apparitions, is reflective of larger trends of Catholic Rationalism. The origins of Catholic rationalism, however, remain themselves unclear. Certainly, Feijóo placed himself as part of a longer tradition that extended to Erasmus, even if Erasmus's methods and conclusions were not agreeable to Feijóo. Similarly, Feijóo saw Catholic Rationalism present in many of his contemporaries. It would seem, however, that many of Feijóo's advocated methods are direct responses to conciliar and papal efforts during the immediately post-Tridentine period.

Feijóo's writings are marked by skepticism – so much so that he developed a reputation for his critical reception of miracles among his readers and the religious community. In letter forty-three of *Cartas eruditas y curiosas, tomo primero*, he responded to the charge that “The true Miracles are not as few as I imagine and as I assert in my Writings.”³¹² It is clear that he consistently upheld the existence of the miraculous and God's ability to work supernaturally. Feijóo wrote, for example, “The continuation of Miracles, in whichever sanctuary, and outside of it, is possible to the Omnipotent, and is a certain possibility.”³¹³ It is also repeated that Feijóo considered disbelief in miracles contrary to Christianity and inimical to believers and the Church. He wrote that “...trivial incredulity, in the case of miracles, is prejudicial to Religion.”³¹⁴ Moreover, he wrote on multiple occasions about the supernatural powers of the Devil and

³¹¹ William A Christian, Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), and *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

³¹² CE, I.43.1. “los verdaderos Milagros no son tan pocos como yo imagino, u como manifesto en mis Escritos.”

³¹³ CE, I.31.2 “La continuación de Milagros, es, en cualquier Santuario, y fuera de él, possible a la Omnipotencia, siendo la posibilidad cierta...”

³¹⁴ CE, II.11.1 “la nimia incredulidad, en orden a milagros, es perjudicial a la Religión.”

demons – which, as he had classified, were superstitious magic, not miracles.³¹⁵ Feijóo even wrote concerning the only miracle which he personally witnessed (as a seminary student).³¹⁶ Feijóo is dubious, however, of the supposed multitude of miracles, authentic relics, and reports of supernatural encounters. He wrote “For every certain miracle there are six or eight which are doubtful and seventy or eighty that are false.”³¹⁷

One of the main causes of this skepticism is Feijóo’s skeptical attitude towards the veracity of men. In almost every *carta* that challenges or analyzes miracles, Feijóo’s distrusted the testimonies given by “witnesses” of the supernatural and miraculous. This distrust is directed at both testimonies where Feijóo believed the authors are knowingly falsifying accounts, and those whom have been misled by ignorance or thoughtlessness.³¹⁸

In the first case, Feijóo devoted much of his writing on miracles to exposing those who deliberately report false miracles; this was clearly seen in Feijóo’s tale of the bleeding crucifix of Agreda. Sometimes, according to Feijóo, heretics reported such falsehoods to impugn the credibility of the true miracles of the Church. Feijóo recounted one story of a Dutch heretic who acted as a Catholic and feigned miracles. After he had aroused the suspicion of the locals and was subsequently tortured, he confessed that his ‘miracles’ were false. The consequence, Feijóo noted, was “[they] were persuaded by this example that all the miracles that are celebrated in the Catholic Church are of this ilk.”³¹⁹ Other times, such false miracles were the results of the greed of men who are involved in the trade of religious relics.³²⁰ The majority of those whom Feijóo confronted, however, were Catholics who falsely testified to witnessing miracles. Such men,

³¹⁵ On the power of the devil, CE I.12, TCU II.3.29-30

³¹⁶ On the witnessed miracle, CE II.11.7-11, which concerns the miraculous revival of an injured child.

³¹⁷ CE, II.11.12 “que para cada milagro cierto, hay seis, u ocho dudosos, y setenta, u ochenta falsos.”

³¹⁸ CE II.11.3.

³¹⁹ TCU III.6.14 “...persuadiéndolos con este ejemplo que todos los milagros que se celebran en la Iglesia Católica son de este jaez...”

³²⁰ CE I.43.8.

according to Feijóo, often committed such perjury with good intention. Some, devoted to a particular church or saint and wanting to further their glory or fame, lied from devotion.³²¹ Feijóo alternatively labeled this misguided piety, “bad faith”, or deception “clothed in a misleading spirituality.”³²² According to Feijóo, such fabrications harm, rather than aid, the Church by increasing suspicion and distrust toward the faith when such false miracles are, inevitably, found to be lies. The end, to Feijóo, does not justify the means – lying is a sin, and sins cannot be performed in hopes of achieving a moral result.³²³ Rather, Feijóo encouraged the truly pious man to follow the teaching of ecumenical councils on the strict admission standards of true miracles, writing,

...every man imbued with true piety should be interested in what the Holy Council of Trent observed. The Church, ever following the Holy Spirit, always knows what is best for the glory of God, the cult of the Saints, the edification of the Faithful, the increase of piety, and the strengthening of Religion.³²⁴

Feijóo cited the Council of Trent’s clause demanding the partnership of *veritati et pietati* (truth and piety) in the evaluation of supposed miracles – emphasizing that those who spread false miracles in order to encourage faith follow *pietati* to such an extent that they forsake her sister *veritati*.³²⁵

In the second category of false accounts of witnesses, Feijóo frequently wrote demeaning statements on the commoner’s (*el vulgo, el bruto*) inability to accurately or credibly report miracles.³²⁶ Feijóo once wrote, “It is the vulgar, properly speaking, that is the land of

³²¹ CE I.31.11.

³²² CE I.43.4,8. “fe mala...revestidos de una espiritualidad engañosa.”

³²³ CE I.43.6.

³²⁴ CE I.43.9 “todo hombre imbuído de sólida piedad, debe interesarse en que se observe el Santo Concilio de Treto. La Iglesia, dirigida siempre por el Espiritu Santo, sabe lo que conviene a la Gloria de Dios, al culto de los Santos, a la edificación de los Fieles, aumento de la piedad, y firmeza de la Religión.”

³²⁵ CE I.43.5.

³²⁶ CE I:31.9, see also CE I:43.1.

chimeras.”³²⁷ Furthermore, he stated, “With an extraordinary thing, they attribute it to a mysterious cause.”³²⁸ The commoner’s lack of education made him particularly susceptible to being deceived in miracles, whether by the guile of others or by simple misunderstanding of the natural world. Yet McClelland emphasizes the importance of the word *vulgo*, noting that it is a purposefully offensive word that fundamentally categorizes not by social distinction but by mental ability.³²⁹ The “common herd” for Feijóo were those who lacked the mental capacity or will to engage in discernment and rational thought. It is for this reason that Feijóo wrote as a maxim, “In a question whether some effect is natural or supernatural, do not make an appreciation of the opinions of the ignorant; for this subject, only resort to the learned.”³³⁰ It is also for this reason that Feijóo considered one good and honest man of insight worth more than the testimony of a million members of the masses.³³¹ The scholar William A. Christian, Jr. has effectively illustrated that the existence of the divide between the *vulgo* (popular religion) and the learned clergy was greatly augmented during the sixteenth century in his work *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*.³³² By the beginning of the eighteenth century, this difference was firmly entrenched – a fact that Feijóo worked to correct by advocating education and discretion for both the *vulgo* and the learned.

For Feijóo, the existence of true miracles, both in Scripture and in continuance, was a fundamental tenet of Catholicism. For example, Feijóo cited St. Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei*, in

³²⁷ TCU III.6.9 “Es el vulgo, hablando con propiedad, patria de las quimeras.”

³²⁸ CE I.31.9 “Como cosa extraordinaria, lo atribuirán a causa misteriosa.”

³²⁹ McClelland, *Benito Jerónimo Feijóo*, 19-20. McClelland writes that the *vulgo* describes “...men who make bad witnesses...who adopt causes out of distorted loyalties or sentimentality...self-interested politicians, third-rate scholars, clergy who believe they would do more harm to the Faith by disturbing the superstition of their simple-minded flocks than by enlightening them” (19-20).

³³⁰ CE II.11.19 “En la duda de si algún efecto es natural, o sobrenatural, no se ha de hacer algún aprecio de lo que opinan los ignorantes, siendo esta material únicamente del resorte de los doctos.”

³³¹ CE II.11.3.

³³² William A. Christian, Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 7.

which St. Augustine writes on the continuation of miracles for the furthering of belief in Christianity. Feijóo wrote, “Saint Augustine says, and we should believe thus, that not only were miracles made for the belief of the World, there were also more [miracles] after that belief.”³³³ Feijóo, like Augustine, condemned those who disbelieved in the existence of true miracles as unbelievers. Similarly, Feijóo once critiqued the writings of Abbot de Comanville, who authored a collection on the lives of various saints and martyrs “in four volumes, without reference to any miracle, outside of those contained in Sacred Scripture. Such severe parsimony is not laudable, nor can it be useful for the mystical body of the Church.”³³⁴ Such avowed rectitude or disbelief in miracles was one problematic extreme in approaching the discernment of miracles, although it was not this that Feijóo saw as the most widespread. He wrote, “to give or suspend consent to miracles falls into two extremes, both vicious: trivial credulity and perverse incredulity. Not to believe in any miracle outside of those in Sacred Scripture is reprehensible hardness; to believe all that the rumor of the commons accredits is too much frivolity.”³³⁵ It was the first of these two, trivial credulity, that Feijóo saw as a pernicious and pervasive affliction, particularly in the commoner.

Feijóo was aware that the mistaken beliefs of *el vulgo* were often unintentional or innocent. In “Milagros Supuestos,” he wrote of how false stories of miracles are usually conceived and spread amongst the common. “Not long ago,” wrote Feijóo, “in a certain province of Christendom preached a venerable old man of a truly apostolic spirit, but who in life

³³³ TCU III.6.4 – Feijóo paraphrased Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. 8, in which Augustine wrote, “...miracles were necessary before the world believed in order that it might believe...For even now miracles are wrought in the name of Christ...” See Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God*, 2 vols. Trans. Marcus Dods (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1880), 484.

³³⁴ TCU III.6.4.

³³⁵ TCU III.6.3.

did not say anything special concerning prophecies or miracles.”³³⁶ After the death of such respected men, according to Feijóo, someone would come to his grave or former church and would attribute to him predictions and miracles to “satisfy their neat little piety.”³³⁷ In the centuries that follow, those who read these attributed accounts would assume they were written authoritatively by a contemporary or witness of the said miracles, never imagining that they were invented by someone “...for the blind affection professed for that old apostle or to leave his name in the world.”³³⁸ Feijóo later detailed how such unverified and easily mutable false testimony could be absolutely absurd and yet firmly believed in his recollected account of ‘St.’ Ganelon. Feijóo described how there existed in France a church dedicated to Ganelon, after a laudatory tombstone in the area. Little did the villagers know that the marker was actually an elaborate stone that marked the grave of a loyal dog which had once saved a young child from certain death. The vulgar would have persisted in this foolish error, according to Feijóo, had it not been for “...a wise and zealous Bishop, striving, as he should, to investigate the origin of this devotion...” and who “at last found the story just recounted on an old paper preserved in the archives of the palace...”³³⁹ It is important that Feijóo emphasized that it was the responsibility of the educated Bishop to seek the truth of miraculous claims and to discern true miracles from false claims.

William A. Christian, Jr. has distinguished between “real” apparition accounts and legendary apparition accounts in his study, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance*

³³⁶ TCU III.6.7 “No ha muchos siglos que en cierta Provincia de la Cristiandad predicaba un venerable varón, y de espíritu verdaderamente apostólico, pero de quien en vida no se decía cosa especial acerca de Profecias y milagros.”

³³⁷ TCU III.6.7 “a satisfacer su piedad poco ordenada...”

³³⁸ TCU III.6.7 “...o por el afecto ciego que profesaba a aquel varón apostólico, o por dejar su nombre en el mundo.”

³³⁹ TCU III.6.11 “...un sabio, y celoso Obispo, empeñándose, como debía, en averiguar el origen de esta devoción...al fin halló la historia que acabamos de referir, en un antiguo papel que se conservaba en el Archivo del Palacio...”

Spain.³⁴⁰ The former category applies to only those reports which were written by, or more commonly, contained recorded testimony of witnesses. The second category, legendary apparition accounts, includes those narratives written using secondary evidence or hearsay tales of the supposed miracles. Feijóo, as demonstrated, clearly preferred those accounts written by eyewitnesses – *testigo ocular* – when available.³⁴¹ Whether the account was written by a contemporary or not, Feijóo insisted that the author be a credible, educated source, writing without personal motivation and only after carefully investigating the reported miracle.

“But the most common origin of these imaginary narratives,” wrote Feijóo, “is the vain appreciation that the Writers have for any common rumor.”³⁴² Feijóo attributed the various motives of publishers to “disordered love” – whether that love was for the glory of the nation, affection to a particular saint, or the desire to write stories that would be well-read, taking advantage of the curiosity that was sparked by tales of miracles. To Feijóo, regardless of the motive, the act was odiously reprehensible and merited penalty.³⁴³ That the trivial belief in miracles had spread “by way of contamination” to the learned was catastrophic.³⁴⁴ Those responsible for the discernment and promulgation of truth that would solidify Catholicism, the learned, were rather promoting vanities that invited disbelief, encouraged opponents of the Church and of Christianity in their attacks, and led wayward the malleable and impressionable *vulgo*. Feijóo used the well-known metaphor of the body politic to convey the diseased state of superstition that reigned in Spain.

The learned believe what the masses feign, and then the masses believe what the learned write: the polluted news makes in the body politic a circulation similar to

³⁴⁰ William A. Christian, Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 7.

³⁴¹ TCU III.6.

³⁴² TCU III.6.8 “Pero el más común origen de estas narraciones fabulosas es el vano aprecio que hacen los Escritores cualesquiera rumores vulgares.”

³⁴³ TCU III.6.5-6.

³⁴⁴ See TCU III.6.4 “vía de contagio a los doctos...”

that formed by vicious humors in the human body, since it is like this – the head, which is the throne of reason...the other members for their part communicate in condensed form to the head; thus in this vague manners, the vapors of the lowest rabble ascend to the learned, that is the head of the civil body, and they curd themselves there in writing, which later descends authoritatively to the masses, where it is received, as another's doctrine, the error that was part theirs.³⁴⁵

Once the falsehood is introduced into the body politic, usually by the *vulgo*, it becomes a circular malignance that is transmitted to the educated. After the rumor is distilled by the educated into writing, the error becomes powerfully authoritative to the lower and uneducated classes. The only remedy, according to Feijóo, is that those with the ability to do so seek to correct these false accounts, purging the body politic of the vicious vapors of imagined superstitions.

Apart from *el vulgo*, Feijóo marginalized certain groups of people from ever being capable of reliable testimony – principally, foreigners and heretics. When presented with the testimony of “those devout Mohammedans [Turks],” Feijóo judges their witness to be “fabled.”³⁴⁶ Similarly, Feijóo believes the curative power of the kings of France because of their adherence to Catholicism; when he is presented with the stories of the same curative power being possessed by the kings of England, he dismisses it as a ‘heretical hoax’ (*patraña heretical*). Inversely, Feijóo appears to have placed more trust in religious figures and authorities, somewhat suspending his usual skepticism in such circumstances. He cited, for example, the Jesuit Padre Benito Pereira’s work on demons as authoritative and trustworthy.³⁴⁷ He believed the accounts of Venerable Guibert of Nogent, despite the fact that the author was French.³⁴⁸ Feijóo relied on

³⁴⁵ TCU III.6.8 “Cree el docto lo que finge el vulgo, y después el vulgo cree lo que el docto escribe: hacen las noticias viciadas en el cuerpo político una circulación semejante a la que forman los humores viciosos en el cuerpo humano: pues como en éste, a la cabeza, que es trono de la razón...y después a los demás miembros para su daño se los comunica condensados la cabeza; así en aquel las especies vagas, vapores de la infirma plebe, ascienden a los doctos, que son la cabeza del cuerpo civil, y cuajándose allí en un escrito, bajan después autorizadas al vulgo, donde éste recibe, como doctrina ajena, el error que fue parto suyo.”

³⁴⁶ CE I.12.8 “aquella devotas Mahometanas,” “de fabulosa...”

³⁴⁷ CE I.12.3.

³⁴⁸ CE I.25.5.

the integrity of an author to evaluate the possible veracity of the miraculous account. He wrote, therefore, that he trusts the authoritative accounts of the Church Fathers such as St. Irenaeus and St. Augustine “without the least embarrassment.”³⁴⁹ Such *ad hominem* deductions are a necessary precondition for Feijóo to determine the validity of a statement, but by no means an inflexible standard. Despite utilizing heretic philosophers, it is important to note that because Feijóo considered Catholicism the only true religion, only Catholics had the necessary disposition to get to the complete fullness of truth when discerning miracles. Feijóo stated, for example, that “The miracles which Plutarch spoke of were parte diabolic illusion, part the invention of the vanity of Gentiles. Thus, the center that he was looking for can only be found by those who profess the Catholic Religion.”³⁵⁰ He similarly noted in his *discurso* “Artes divinatorias” (*Divinatory Arts*) that Catholics may be predisposed to discern truth that God may communicate through dreams.³⁵¹

Feijóo’s arguments are normally ordered with logical progression – many times, Feijóo actually cited axioms of logic from classical and scholastic texts.³⁵² Occasionally, however, Feijóo’s religious views dictate an argument, the Christian theology setting parameters of validity within which rationalism is allowed to operate.³⁵³ Such is the case when Feijóo considered the reports of the ability of the kings of France to cure scrofula – a disease that noticeably caused the infection and swelling of lymph nodes in the neck. Since similar reports existed concerning this ability in the kings of England, Feijóo deduced that the multitude of reports of France did not constitute enough evidence – for they could be as false as the English

³⁴⁹ CE II.11.3 “sin la menor perplejidad.”

³⁵⁰ TCU III.6.3 “Los milagros de que hablaba Plutarco, eran parte ilusión diabólica, parte invención de la vanidad Gentílica. Así, el medio que él buscaba sólo se puede hallar en los que profesamos la Religión Católica.”

³⁵¹ See TCU II.3.

³⁵² CE I.31.12, I.43.1.

³⁵³ CE I.31.5.

accounts had to be (the English kings being heretically Anglicans, and therefore barred from receiving such miraculous curative powers from God).³⁵⁴ Similarly, Catholic theology informs Feijóo's arguments when considering the ability of the Virgin of Nieva to protect inhabitants from lightning, provided pilgrims to her shrine presented a portrait to her. Such a miracle, Feijóo wrote, would only encourage Christians to live without fear during storms – rather than feeling compelled to confess their sin for fear of their own possibly imminent deaths. Feijóo reasoned that since God desired confession from his followers, it was highly unlikely that he would sanction such a miracle.³⁵⁵

“I confess,” wrote Feijóo after describing the deceit performed with the crucifix at the village of Agreda, “that I cannot tolerate piety as an excuse for lies. He does not have a well-founded faith who thinks that divine truths need the assistance of human inventions.”³⁵⁶ William A. Christian, Jr. has made the valid and important point that even false miracles can be treated as historically significant.³⁵⁷ First, the report of the fabrication uses religious language and myth that reveals much about early modern Spanish society. Secondly, false miracles produced significant responses. Though the crucifix in Agreda failed to actually sweat blood, there was a very real reaction noted in the local congregation and throughout the region. The false miracle produced, albeit by illicit means, a rededication of the people and renewed local religious fervor. Certainly, Feijóo, historically closer to these accounts, recognized the religious benefits of falsified miracles – it is, according to Feijóo, the primary motivation in cases where miracles are feigned by members of the Catholic clergy. However, Feijóo clearly stated that the detrimental

³⁵⁴ CE I.25.7.

³⁵⁵ CE I.31.13-15.

³⁵⁶ TCU II.3.15 “Confieso que no puedo tolerar que a expensas de la piedad se haga capa al embuste. No tiene bien asentada la fe quien piensa que las verdades divinas necesitan del socorro de invenciones humanas.”

³⁵⁷ See Christian's *Apparitions*.

consequences of these falsehoods outweighed any inspired piety. Feijóo did not consider the Catholic faith to be in need of falsified miracles intended to produce piety – Christianity, as he viewed it, was replete with true miracles for that very reason. “The nature of true religion is to be confirmed with true miracles, and God has worked so much to this end, more than enough to convince the most obstinate incredulity,” Feijóo wrote, adding, “It is completely against God’s intention that his truths are qualified with lies.”³⁵⁸

It is not surprising, therefore, that Feijóo, as a highly educated priest and enthusiast of the latest intellectual trends in science and empirical studies, sought to employ his natural intelligence and his experience in both theology and natural philosophy to seek to eradicate superstition and lies from belief, both of the common (*vulgo*) and among the learned (*doctos*). While it is likely true that he would not have been as successful nor as widely read had it not been for his knowledge of and contributions to the history of science, the religious motivation for discernment and the traditions of evaluation and rational discernment found in the Catholic Church were fundamental to Feijóo’s understanding of miracles.

The Counterfeit Supernatural and the Categorizing Work of the Spanish Inquisition

Feijóo was not only concerned with miracles, however, but also with reports of other supernatural occurrences, including witchcraft, popular healing practices, superstitious traditions which had crept into religious observance, and demonic possession and exorcisms. For the Inquisition as well, fakery was a common concern. Certainly, prior to this time, the Inquisition investigated numerous individuals charged with feigning (*fingadores, embustadores,*

³⁵⁸ TCU II.3.20, 43 “El carácter de la religión verdadera es estar confirmada con milagros verdaderos; y Dios ha obrado tantos a este fin, cuantos bastan a convencer la más obstinada incredulidad.” “Es totalmente contra la intención de Dios el que sus verdades se califiquen con embustes.”

estafadoras, imposturas). The majority of these cases, as well as scholarly studies, have focused on inquiries of “false sanctity.”³⁵⁹ Persons accused of false revelations, raptures, divine communion, dreams, or miracles were carefully investigated to determine if these supernatural gifts were legitimate, if they were deceiving the undiscerning populace (*el vulgo*), or if they were deceived themselves by the prince of dissimulation, the devil. These charges comprised, for example, the chief threat of *iluminismo*, and help to explain why it is that in many cases where the defendant is accused of being an *iluso*, *alumbrado*, or a *molinista*, the accusations often include the more explicit denunciations of being “a hypocrite and a liar.”³⁶⁰ The category of feigned possessions has received less attention, but being the mirrored image of false sanctity, it had the same dangerous capacity to inspire and to deceive.

Keitt has investigated cases of false sanctity in the seventeenth century, placing these cases in the larger context of the struggle for definition and epistemological authority in early modern Spain.³⁶¹ The seventeenth century, according to his research, was a time of “competing models of epistemological legitimacy,” in which “it fell to the Inquisition to distinguish between counterfeit sanctity and the genuine article...”³⁶² The majority of these epistemological questions thus took the form of what Keitt calls “boundary problems” – that is, the Inquisition, as well as the wider sphere of religious intelligentsia, were keen to define the difference between

³⁵⁹ Andrew Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), especially the introduction, “False Saints and Scandalous Impostors.”

³⁶⁰ See, for example, Archivo General de la Nación, Sección de la Inquisición, Vol. 748, Expediente 1, (1712), “El Señor Inquisidor Fiscal de este Santo Oficio contra María Mañuela Picazo, española, vecina de México, por alumbrada, hipócrita, y embustera.” Accessible at the Center for Southwest Research (University of New Mexico), MSS 769 BC, Box 1, Folder 1.

³⁶¹ The connection between the “discernment of spirits” and epistemological surety is likewise made in Nancy Caciola and Moshe Sluhovsky, “Spiritual Physiologies: The Discernment of Spirits in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,” *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 1, No. 1 (2012), 1-48, as well as in Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, & Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

³⁶² Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 2, 8.

superstition and legitimate credulity, to delineate the tripartite causality of supernatural, preternatural, and natural, and to develop a taxonomy of supernatural gifts and effects that would include symptomatic expressions, diagnostic tests, and defined characteristics for analysis.³⁶³ In this regard, false saints and fake demoniacs were the bane of those attempting to define these boundaries, for they represented individuals who – willfully or unwittingly – blurred the lines between natural, supernatural, and preternatural. They were, as Keitt describes them, “quintessential borderline entities.”³⁶⁴

If the seventeenth century was a time of epistemological uncertainty for Spain, then the eighteenth century must be described as one of a complete crisis of doubt and categorical instability. Efforts to demarcate the ruptured boundaries of the supernatural and natural had only produced new and unanswered questions. The rise of yet newer philosophies and epistemological systems at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries (through the work of the Spanish *novatores* – pre-enlightenment scientists and philosophers) created dilemmas for inquisitors and religious intellectuals that had been never before seen – particularly in the areas of modes of perception and methods of acquiring knowledge. Ascendant skepticism, empiricism, and materialism vied with the traditional, scholastic, and Tridentine understandings of the world. At the heart of all these epistemological debates, the sticky question of understanding the intersection of supernatural and natural persisted in the form of feigned possessions.

Feijóo was among the most famous of Spanish intellectuals to publically confront the “boundary problems” presented by superstitious credulity and to take up the mantle of defining

³⁶³ See, for example, Campagne; also Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

³⁶⁴ Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 9.

the supernatural and the natural. Similar to his approach with miracles, by first examining Feijóo's two discourses on feigned possessions, and then comparing these discourses to an actual Inquisition record from the end of the eighteenth century, one can see how these theorizations of the shadowy border of the natural realm were realized a quarter of a century after Feijóo's publications and following his conjectures.

Feijóo and the Investigation of Demonic Possessions (1739-1750)

Feijóo, like much of enlightened Spain, problematizes the notion of disenchantment by presenting simultaneously two impulses which most scholars view as inherently antithetical. Understanding how Feijóo, Martínez, and others reconciled these impulses – between Catholic revelation and skeptical experimentalism – is the key to unlocking the Catholic Enlightenment experience in the Spanish empire. One of the foremost experts on witchcraft and magic in Spain, Maria Tausiet, has stated about Feijóo that:

On the one hand, his critical liberty in reaction against Scholastic dogmatism and his experimental methods situate him squarely within the Enlightened current which was at that moment flowing in Europe. On the other hand, his orthodox and unshakable Catholicism, which led him to accept *revelation* as an essential part of knowledge, entrenches him deeply within the world of traditions that he was attempting to dismantle...³⁶⁵

She furthermore argues that Feijóo's ideas represent “a characteristic reflection of a type of compromising solution that constantly placed him as a gentleman between two eras.”³⁶⁶ Yet Tausiet implicitly places Feijóo as straddling the line between two camps of thought which were fundamentally divergent and incompatible, even insinuating that Feijóo's contributions to

³⁶⁵ María Tausiet, “De la ilusión al desencanto: Feijoo y los “falsos posesos” en la España del siglo XVIII,” *Historia Social* 54 (2006), 4. There is a revised, translated edition of the article available as: María Tausiet, “From illusion to disenchantment: Feijoo versus the ‘falsely possessed’ in eighteenth-century Spain,” trans. by Mary O’Sullivan, in *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe*, Owen Davies and Willem de Blécourt, eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pg. 45-60.

³⁶⁶ Tausiet, “De la ilusión,” 4.

“enlightened thought” were subconsciously subverting his “world of traditions.” However, a thorough analysis of Feijóo’s work and the application of his work to Inquisition cases rests upon taking Feijóo seriously at his own heuristic framework – and Feijóo certainly would not have considered himself a thinker who contradicted himself.

In addition to numerous discourses addressing false miracles, common superstitions of the *vulgo* (the uneducated or undiscerning), and irrational practices of credulity, Feijóo wrote two essays specifically addressing problems that he saw with demonic possessions and exorcisms in eighteenth-century Spain. The first, “*Demoniacos*,” (Demoniacs), published in 1739, is a substantial analytical essay of some 37,000 words, in which Feijóo simultaneously attacked the popular belief in the widespread occurrence of demonic possessions, while maintaining that real possessions occurred and establishing methods for differentiating between true demoniacs and fakers. It is what one historian has labeled “the most representative work of the start of the Spanish enlightenment movement.”³⁶⁷ The second work, “*Sobre los nuevos exorcismos*” (On the New Exorcisms), has received practically no scholarly attention, perhaps due to its comparative brevity and late publication date of 1750. This latter essay, however, is equally as interesting, for in it Feijóo more directly critiques the practices of contemporary exorcists. In both discourses, Feijóo works to curb the abuses of the *vulgo* by employing his knowledge of both theology and natural philosophy to separate superstition from the genuinely preternatural. In one of the more quotable sections of his work, Feijóo declared that:

The *vulgo* (in whose class is included a great multitude of indiscreet Priests) almost generally accepts as truly possessed the people who have presented such stories. Men of greater discernment know well that many are fakers...But my

³⁶⁷ Tausiet, “De la ilusión,” 4

feeling is that...among five hundred who claim to be possessed, one can actually find twenty or thirty that truly are so.³⁶⁸

The insistence upon the existence of real possessions and of a real devil becomes a refrain which sounds throughout Feijóo's essay. At some points, Feijóo's flippant tone towards both the "possessed" and their exorcists is extended to the figure of the Devil, though unlike satirists who preceded him, Feijóo maintains a clear appreciation for the very real and very horrendous persistence of diabolic activity in contemporary eighteenth-century Spain.³⁶⁹ Indeed, Feijóo attributes such power and ability to the Devil, that the only limitations which he could conceive of were those imposed upon him by the supreme power, God. With the supposedly "possessed" individuals, however, Feijóo's tone is mocking and harshly disabusing. In one of the most important assertions of the essay, Feijóo notes that, "... in proof, today, the Demonically-possessed are rare...for the majority, the main part are faked or imagined..."³⁷⁰

To Feijóo, all possessions could be labeled as real, faked, or imagined.³⁷¹ In the first category belonged those individuals whose bodies had been genuinely invaded by a legitimate

³⁶⁸ "El vulgo (en cuya clase comprendo una gran multitud de Sacerdotes indiscretos) casi generalmente acepta por verdaderos Energúmenos cuantos hacen la representación de tales. Los hombres de más advertencia reconocen, que son muchos los fingidos; pero quedando en la persuasión de que no son muy pocos los verdaderos. Pero mi sentir es, que el número de éstos es tan estrecho, tan limitado, que apenas, por lo común, entre quinientos, que hacen papel de Energúmenos, se hallarán veinte, o treinta, que verdaderamente lo sean." TCU.VIII.6 "Demoniacos," §5. Feijóo's use of *vulgo* aligns with the definition provided in this dissertation; this is made explicit in this quote, in which he includes many priests in his designation of the *vulgo*.

³⁶⁹ Long before Feijóo, Quevedo jested at exorcists and exorcisms; see Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas. "El Alguacil Endemoniado" in *Sueños y Discursos de Verdades Descubridoras de Abusos vicios y Engaños en todos los oficios y estados del mundo*, Felipe C.R. Maldonado, ed. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia), 92-93.

³⁷⁰ TCU.VIII.6.§.105, "Pero habiendo alegado arriba la experiencia, en prueba de que hoy son rarísimos los Energúmenos, hemos menester señalar, qué experiencia es esta. Por lo cual digo lo primero, que la observación hecha de haber muchísimas Energúmenas, y rarísimo Energúmeno, funda una fuertísima conjetura de que aquellas, por la mayor, y máxima parte son fingidas, o imaginadas: porque, como acabamos de probar, no hay disparidad alguna entre uno, y otro sexo para la posesión verdadera; pero la hay grandísima para la fingida, o imaginada." It is worthwhile to note that Feijóo employed both the masculine *energúmenos* and feminine *energúmenas* in his essays. The gendered dimension of possession, both divine and diabolic, has been well-noted and studied; for a clear example, consult Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003). Following the example of Keitt, however, I argue that the lens of gender and of social control and power are "necessary but not sufficient" in explaining the regulation of possession in Spain. Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 6.

³⁷¹ This point is admirably proven by María Tausiet – see Tausiet, "De la ilusión," 15. See also TCU.VIII.6.

supernatural entity, a spirit whose existence Feijóo, as a professing Catholic, affirmed and whose power afforded him nearly every ability. Feijóo wrote of the devil that, “if he wishes to be there, he will.”³⁷² In the second category were individuals who knowingly pretended to be demonically possessed. Feijóo speculated various motivations for doing so – perhaps for fame, for greed, or for social mobility or freedom. This, according to Feijóo, was why more women faked possessions.³⁷³ That fakers of possession constituted a direct threat to the order of society and the teachings of the church was a clear problem to both Feijóo and to the wider intellectual elite.

It is the third category of imagined possessions, however, which demonstrates Feijóo’s most subtle and brilliant blend of supernatural possibility and naturalistic probability. It included those cases where an individual genuinely believed himself, or more probably herself, to be possessed, but in which these “possessions” could be attributed to wholly natural causes. The majority of these errors of imagination were due to sickness, mental instability, or the power of suggestion. Importantly, Feijóo blames medical and religious authorities – the so-called popular, itinerant “exorcists” of the time – for propagating and furthering these imagined possessions. He notes, for example, that,

Extraordinary illnesses are hardly ever taken as anything but signs of either witchcraft or possession. In this, the greatest blame generally lies with the ignorant doctors; when they see symptoms which they cannot find any description of in the few books that they have read, and they cannot determine the cause, nor

³⁷² TCU.VIII.6§80, “Con que, si él quiere estarse, se estará...”

³⁷³ Tausiet, on pg. 17 of her article, points to Feijóo’s commentary on the feminine proclivity to possession in the following passage: “Son las mujeres, dicen, más ocasionadas a la ira, al terror, a la tristeza, a la desesperación, y en estas pasiones halla cierta especie de atractivo, o llamamiento el Espíritu maligno. Todo esto es hablar al aire; y lo que se dice de esta, y de aquella, que con la ocasión de padecer algún gran susto, se les introdujo el Demonio, todo es cuento. Para el Demonio no hay otra disposición, que la permisión Divina. Puesta ésta, no hay cuerpo, ni alma, los más bien templados del mundo, que le hagan la más leve resistencia.” (TCU.VIII.6.§.101). She likewise is correct in countering that these ideas were in common circulation at that time, and that Feijóo had elsewhere written an essay entitled “Defensa de las mujeres” (TCU I.16, 1726). Though Feijóo has long been thought to be unusually in favor of increased liberality of women in early-eighteenth century Spain, recent studies have called this into question; see José Pardo Tomás and Àlvar Martínez Vidal, “The Ignorance of Midwives: The Role of Clergymen in Spanish Enlightenment Debates on Birth Care,” in *Medicine and Religion in Enlightenment Europe*, Ole Peter Grell, and Andrew Cunningham, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), pg. 49-62.

the remedy, they throw the blame on the devil, and call for the weapons of the Church to aid them.³⁷⁴

By establishing these three categories of possessions, Feijóo demonstrates how the religious-intellectual elite of the early-eighteenth century sought to negotiate between traditional understandings of the way the supernatural and natural worlds worked, and emerging and developing methods that increasingly favored naturalistic explanations while carving out space for the continued existence of the supernatural.

The Case of Joaquín de Vera, Faker of Demonic Possessions (Granada, 1776)

Feijóo's categorization of possession can be seen concretely in the records of an Inquisition case which was conducted nearly forty years after Feijóo wrote "*Demoniacos*."

While far from being conclusive evidence, the following case of Joaquín de Vera does serve as

³⁷⁴ TCU.VIII.6§52. "Las enfermedades extraordinarias, apenas alguna vez dejan de tomarse por señas de maleficio, o posesión. De esto tienen la mayor culpa, por lo común, los Médicos indoctos, que cuando ven síntomas, de que no hallaron noticia en los pocos libros que leyeron, y no alcanzan la causa, ni el remedio, echan la culpa al Diablo, y llaman por auxiliares las armas de la Iglesia." This passage is likewise highlighted in Tausiet, "De la ilusión," 15. To aid in the "boundary problems" faced by the religious-intellectual elite, Feijóo attempted in "Demoniacs" to stake out some clear characteristics of the physiology of possession to aid priests in determining if an exorcism was needed, including speaking in tongues and other demonstrations of extra-natural power.

Although Feijóo was neither a professional scientist nor a doctor, it is clear from his writings that he was well versed in scientific and medical knowledge of his time. In "Demoniacos," for example, he cites as authorities the work of Francisco Vallés (1524-1592), a Renaissance doctor who had written on Epilepsy in his *De sacra philosophia* (1587); Lucas Tozzi (1638-1717), an Italian doctor from Naples and leading member of the medical academy *Accademia dei Discordanti*, who likewise researched epilepsy, convulsions, and deliriums in his work, (see Charles Edmund Simon, *A Manual of Clinical Diagnosis by Means of Microscopical and Chemical Methods* (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co., 1904), 305-306); Johann George Schenck von Grafenberg (a German physician of the early seventeenth century); as well as the Imperial Leopoldine Academy (*Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina*) in Germany and the Royal Academy of the Sciences (*Academia Real de las Ciencias*) in Madrid. Feijóo seemed particularly concerned that certain illnesses – especially epilepsy – carried symptoms that were almost indistinguishable from the actions ascribed to the traditional physiology of possession ("...la Epilepsia, y otros males, cuyos síntomas toman erradamente por efectos de posesión..." *Demoniacos*, 75. In this, Feijóo's words are strikingly similar to Voltaire's in his article "Démoniaques," in which he described the possessed as *Les vaporeux, les épileptiques, les femmes travaillées des esprits malins, des démons malfesants, des vengeances des dieux*. Nous avons vu que ce mal s'appelait le mal sacré, et que les prêtres de l'antiquité s'emparèrent partout de ces maladies, attendu que le médecins étaient de grands ignorants." (Voltaire, *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire*. Tome Septième, Dictionnaire Philosophique, I (Paris: Chez Furne, 1835), 412). For more on this traditional physiology, see Nancy Caciola, "Mystics, Demoniacs, and the Physiology of Spirit Possession in Medieval Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, No. 2 (Apr., 2000), 268-306. It is important to note that Feijóo, armed with the latest medical knowledge and amid the incipient naturalization of enlightenment philosophy, yet carved out a legitimate sphere for preternatural activity.

an elaboration of the work that Feijóo began. Investigations of witchcraft and of demonic possession became increasingly rarer throughout the eighteenth-century, and this particular examination provides an unusual record of motivations, speculations, and actions of the persons involved. In July of 1775, Joaquín de Vera had come before the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Granada, under investigation for having faked his own possession.³⁷⁵ The initial folios of the case summary adumbrate the biographical information and previous inquisitional investigation into Joaquín de Vera. Vera was a member of the Order of Minims - a mendicant order originally founded by St. Francis of Paola in Italy in 1435, with a particular emphasis on penitence, preaching, and public teaching.³⁷⁶ The order's first monastery in Spain began in Málaga, in region of Granada, in 1493, where Vera resided, and quickly expanded to include a secondary order for women and to produce numerous notable religious figures.³⁷⁷ By the 1770s, when Vera was brought before the Inquisition, the Minims had expanded to become a prominent religious order and well-known throughout Spain, particularly in the province of Granada, where they retained their largest presence.³⁷⁸

Vera had been accused three years before, in 1772, for having pretended to be possessed by demons. After an investigation by his own order, Vera had been stripped of his powers of prelate and placed in confinement within the monastery of Santo Domingo as a remanded

³⁷⁵ Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Sección de la Inquisición.3735.Expediente 241. Alegación fiscal del proceso de fe de Fray Joaquín Vera, originario de Málaga, seguido en el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Granada, por fingirse endemoniado. (1777) Imágen 1. "...echa a la causa de F. Joaquín Vera, relig.ro minimo, r y como de malaga..."

³⁷⁶ F.M. Rodríguez, "Minimos o Sagrada Orden de los Minimos" in *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiastica de España* (DHEE), Vol. III (Man-Ru). Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomas Marín Martínez, and José Vives Gatella, eds. (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), 1973), 1491. The Minimi also notably followed the rule of *vita quadragesimalis* ("the perpetual Lenten life"): a lifelong adherence to the dietary restrictions of Lent (which entailed abstaining from meat and dairy except in medically dire circumstances).

³⁷⁷ DHEE, 1491. AHN.Inq.3735.Exp.241, imágen 1. "...echa a la causa de F. Joaquín vera, relig.ro minimo, r y como de malaga..."

³⁷⁸ DHEE, 1491. Based on statistical information from the time, Rodriguez estimates 1,650 active Minims in Spain in the year 1770, 450 of which were located in Granada.

prisoner by the order of the Vicar-General of the Minims.³⁷⁹ Vera, however, was adamant that he was innocent of such calumnious charges and insistent that those who had accused him of possession and particularly of committing sacrileges such as spitting on the Gospels, were lying.³⁸⁰ After applying for and receiving special permission from the Vicar-General, Vera took his case as a plea to the Inquisition Tribunal in Granada, where he “begged two or three times that [the Tribunal] would hear him...and the council learned of [his] aggravated request [and] served to grant him an Audience...”³⁸¹

Thus it was that for two days in July of 1775, Vera, dissatisfied with the previous inquest, presented himself to the Inquisition to request a review of his situation. He recited for the Tribunal further reasons why his possession may have been real, or more importantly, why he was right to believe that it may have been real. Numerous other friars and priests in Vera’s community were questioned and offered a variety of interesting (albeit not wholly orthodox) demonological perspectives.³⁸² Only a brief, eight-page case summary of this investigation exists, offering tantalizing glimpses into these perspectives; but by piecing together the testimonies of over a dozen witnesses, a reconstructed narrative emerges. The facts were these: Vera had fallen seriously ill and soon after began acting strangely. After some time of suffering under this illness which manifested itself in tremors and strange gestures, Vera and others in his community suspected that his infirmity may not have been all-natural, but caused by either

³⁷⁹ AHN.Inq.3735.Exp.241.Fol.7, “...recluso por orden del Provisor de su obispado en el Convento de Santo Domingo...”

³⁸⁰ AHN.Inq.3735.Exp.241.Fol.1, “...el motiva de esta ficcion”

³⁸¹ AHN.Inq.3735.Exp.241.Fol.1, “...suplico dos y tres veces que se le oire, lo que us tuvo efecto pore star ya determinado, el particular y entiendo se agravado pide al consejo se sirva concederle Audience en un punto en que estiba su honor...”

³⁸² For example, Vera offers as a reason why the Inquisitors ought to believe him the fact that he has expressed nothing but contempt for the Devil, noting that he had earlier “assigned to the head of the demons the ridiculous name of *Goat-Droppings*” (AHN.Inq.3735.Exp.241.Fol.2)

witchcraft or by demonic possession.³⁸³ Vera subsequently underwent two exorcisms performed by priests within his monastery. Sometime after these exorcisms, Vera's maladies dissipated, and he was able to return to some position of authority within the religious community.³⁸⁴

Vera's case offers a unique perspective on the intersection of competing or complementary frameworks of understanding and explaining an unusual occurrence – an alleged possession – in late-eighteenth century Spain – what some would call an “enlightened” Spain, and what others would argue was an intellectually compartmentalized and incurious context. The judicial setting of an Inquisition tribunal highlights the struggle to find an authoritative epistemology that occurred with the influx of ‘enlightenment thought’ to Catholic Spain, particularly emphasizing the growing influence of naturalism and medicalization. Moreover, by comparing this investigation of the Inquisition into Vera's appeal with the essays of Feijóo,

³⁸³ The Inquisition in Spain had multiple terms to designate the various charges which in English fall under “magic” or “witchcraft.” In the broadest category of superstitious activity, there existed both *hechicería* and *brujería* – most commonly translated as “sorcery” and “witchcraft,” respectively. Although there was slippage in the usage of these terms, especially outside of peninsular tribunals, the general consensus is that motivation or intent was a key determinant in the distinction between *hechicería* and *brujería*. *Brujas* had made explicit pacts with the devil (*pactos con el demonio*) with the malevolent intent of harming another individual, whereas *hechiceras* became a catch-all category of diviners, healers, and makers of love potions. Varying points of definition can be found in Julio Caro Baroja, *Vidas mágicas e Inquisición* (Madrid: Taurus, 1967), two volumes; Stacey Schlauf, *Gendered Crime and Punishment: Women and/in the Hispanic Inquisitions* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); María Asunción Herrera Sotillo, *Ortodoxia y control social en México en el siglo XVII: El Tribunal del Santo Oficio* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Departamento de Historia de América, 1982); and John F. Chuchiak IV, *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536-1820* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

Vera is supposed, however, to be *maleficiado* – the victim of *maleficio*. *Maleficio* is more specific than “evil,” but rather references *maleficium* – a term developed during the late-medieval and early modern period to refer to those practices of witchcraft which were specifically the result of making diabolic pacts in exchange for harmful powers. Waite argues in *Heresy, Magic, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* that this connection became explicit following the late-fifteenth-century publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. See Gary K. Waite, *Heresy, Magic, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 44. The Inquisitional record of Vera's case thus sidesteps the use of both *hechicería* and *brujería*, referring to the specific evil of diabolic witchcraft.

³⁸⁴ This chapter is not at all concerned with the efficacy of the exorcistic rituals performed or for accounting for their methodologies. To do so risks an alarmingly presentist attitude that, more than often not, obscures the historical truth of the situation by converting the past experience into modern methods of interpretation and meaning. It is interesting to note that two different words for “exorcism” are employed in the inquisitional record – *exorcizar* is used each time except for one occurrence of *conjurar*. Technically, *conjurar* is a word with wider meaning more akin to warding adjurations – however, it appears that these words are used in the record synonymously, with the participle *conjurando* used to emphasize the actual actions made by Padre Yiola during the exorcism.

historians can examine how theoretical discussions of the religio-intellectual elite were realized in actual investigations. The case study of Vera's supposedly-faked demonic possession suggests that theoretical essays by Feijóo in 1739 and in 1750 which emphasized skepticism and urged a cautious discernment in investigations of possessions were neither abnormal nor ignored in early eighteenth-century Spain, but rather represented an unusually prescient articulation of theological-intellectual trends of the period. Taken together, Feijóo's essays and the investigation of Joaquín de Vera argue for an image of eighteenth-century Spain that is characterized by a preoccupation with the desire to extirpate superstitions and misconceptions (*desengañar*), while maintaining a distinct and legitimate sphere for supernatural activity. Catholic Spain in the eighteenth century was therefore part of a long-standing tradition of disillusioning and disenchanting – although far more complicated than the standard, unidirectional definition that Weber's definition of disenchantment provided.

Disenchantment or Disillusionment?

Given the role of naturalization, medical discourse, and a considerable amount of skepticism in these texts, it is tempting to read both Vera's case and Feijóo's essays against unquestioning credulity and superstition as part of the disenchantment of Spain and of the Inquisition during the 'Age of Enlightenment.' Indeed, the supreme concern of the Inquisition in Vera's case to determine if he was guilty of faking possession (*fingido endemoniado*) or if he himself was deceived by illness or by the devil can be readily applied to a theme of early modern Spain, particularly during the eighteenth century. This was the concept of *desengañar* – the disillusionment of an individual or society, the act of opening someone to the truth of a circumstance. Feijóo and his contemporaries frequently described their objectives using this term. For example, the famous enlightenment writer Gregorio de Mayans y Siscar wrote to

Feijóo in 1728, encouraging him to continue his work despite negative reception by some, exhorting him to “Disillusion the world (*desengañar al mundo*), and above all disillusion Spain...without interrupting the course of your most lucid works, despite the protesting of the inopportune multitude of some idiots.”³⁸⁵ Similarly, Feijóo wrote approvingly of Mayáns y Siscar’s work *Il mondo ingannato da falsi medici* (*The World Deceived*) published in Spain the following year.³⁸⁶ While a flat equation of *desengañador* (“disabuser”) and *desencantador* (“disenchanter”) would indulge in ahistorical definitional flexibility, the terms are comparable and should certainly be likened to one another.³⁸⁷

Disillusionment may be the name of the historiographical game for eighteenth-century Spain, seen pervasively at all levels, from the ridiculing *Caprichos* of Francisco Goya to the complex, prolonged, and voluminous debates of the religio-intellectual elite. It is less evident, however, that this sets the eighteenth century apart in the history of the Spanish empire. It is not demonstrably clear that the presence of medical fideism or naturalization in eighteenth-century inquisition cases necessarily reflects the growing importance of enlightenment ideas or the “new philosophies.” Spain, like the rest of early modern Europe, had a long “trajectory of disillusionment” from the early-sixteenth century anti-superstition treatises of Martín de

³⁸⁵ Letter from Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar to B.J. Feijóo, dated August 18, 1728, available in Antonio Mestre, *El Mundo Intelectual de Mayáns* (Oliva: Publicaciones del Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 1978), 172, “...que continúe en desengañar al mundo, y singularmente a España, con la discreta libertad que hasta ahora, y sin interrumpir el curso de sus lucidísimos trabajos, por más que ladre la multitud importuna de algunos necios...”

³⁸⁶ Joseph Gazola (Gregorio Mayáns y Siscár), *El Mundo engañado de los falsos médicos* (Valladolid, Valencia: por Antonio Bordazar, a costa de Christoval Branchat, mercader de libros, 1729). Biblioteca Nacional de España: R/25454. María Tausiet, Jean Sarrailh, and others have noted the existence of a Veronese doctor named Joseph Gazola, but there is evidence to suggest that Gazola was a pseudonym created by Mayáns y Siscár. Other titular works of *desengaño* include Vicente Fernández Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos, Que en Obsequio de la Verdad, de la Religión, y de la Patria* (Madrid: Don Blas Roman, Impresor de la Real Academia de Derecho Español, 1787); Juan de Nájera, *Desengaños filosóficos* (Sevilla: Impresor de la Siete Revueltas, 1737); Cristóbal Lozano, *Soledades de la vida, y desengaños del mundo* (Madrid: Manuel Román, 1713), among others.

³⁸⁷ See, for example, Richard G. Anderson, “Benito Feijóo: Medical Disenchanter of Spain,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 55, No. 1 (January 2000), 67-79. Though Anderson’s objective is to argue that Feijóo actually retarded the ‘progress’ of medicine in Spain, he yet employs the language of *disenchantment*.

Castañega (“Treatise on Superstitions and Witchcraft,” 1529) and Pedro Ciruelo (“Reprobation of Superstitions and Witchcraft,” 1530) through Bernardo Monteagudo’s similar statements voiced in his “Satirical Work Against the State of Ignorance and Superstition in which the Nation was at the end of the past century...” (1814).³⁸⁸ The work of historians such as Keitt, Tausiet, and Fabián Alejandro Campagne has firmly established that despite the persistence of caricatured versions of a hermetic, superstitious Spain, the religious intellectuals and the work of the Inquisition was actively working to navigate between the proper boundaries of superstition and legitimate supernaturalism.

Nor was the concept of *desengañar* born in the eighteenth century. Certainly, the culture of Baroque Spain during the seventeenth century was concerned with the idea of illusion and disillusion. Jeremy Robbins writes of this period about the “Baroque obsession with knowledge: *engaño* [deceived], *desengaño* [disillusioned], *ser* [to be] and *parecer* [to seem].”³⁸⁹ Recent studies on the *novatores* of Spain – “pre-Enlightenment” scientists and philosophers whose principal work occurred between 1687 and 1725 – bridge the divide between the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries even further, and Fejióo becomes, rather than the precursor or father of the Spanish Enlightenment, a descendant in a long, intellectual tradition of disillusionment in Spain. What made the *siglo de las luces* distinct, and what can be argued as a constitutive break comes from the growing appeal of skepticism and materialism in the universities and learned societies

³⁸⁸ Martín de Castañega, *Tratado de las supersticiones y hechicerías* [1529] (Madrid, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1946); Pedro Ciruelo, *Reprobación de las supersticiones y hechizerías* [first ed 1530 (¿)] Rev. ed. (Salamanca, Pedro de Castro, 1541). An edition was printed in the Colección Joyas Bibliográficas, Madrid, 1952; Bernardo Monteagudo, *Oración apologética que en defensa del estado floreciente de España, dixo en la Plaza de Toros de Madrid...obra satírica contra el estado de ignorancia, y superstición en que estaba la Nación á fines del siglo pasado y el despotismo de su gobierno* (Buenos-Ayres: Imprenta de Niños Expósitos, 1814), available through the Biblioteca Nacional de España, VE/1506/3.

³⁸⁹ Jeremy Robbins, *The Epistemological Mentality of the Spanish Baroque, 1580-1720* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 225.

of Spain, and the gradual (and contested) abandonment of the Scholastic epistemologies of the past.³⁹⁰

In essence, the goal of disillusionment was not at all new to eighteenth Spain and the Spanish Inquisition, only the particulars of the debates and the methods used to disillusion. Feijóo's arguments in "*Demoniacs*," for example, are not theories which are articulated in a Scholastic method nor based on constructions of Thomistic paradigms, but on the far more eighteenth-century insistence upon empirical evidence and first-hand observation.

Advancements in the sciences, in particular, had new epistemological effects that had not previously been contended. He wrote, "...in these recent times, in which the Philosophers, starting to open their eyes, have found in experience the singular path of Physical...that without the intervention of some preternatural cause all of which we have spoken occurs."³⁹¹ With this in mind, the field of inquiry is wide open for historians to reconsider the role of disillusionment in the shifting nature of Catholic epistemologies in eighteenth-century Europe, adding them to the "plain and clear treatment" which will aid in understanding the supernatural and natural during the Enlightenment.³⁹²

Circumscribing Causalities: Feijóo's Supernaturalism and the Broader Enlightenment

What bearing can the peculiar investigations of one amateur scientist and clergyman have on the interpretation of the epistemological debates of the Spanish enlightenment? First, it is

³⁹⁰ This epistemological marker is likewise supported by Robbins.

³⁹¹ TCU.VIII.6§62, "Mas ya en estos últimos tiempos, en que los Filósofos, empezando a abrir los ojos, en la experiencia hallaron la única senda de la Física, se ha reconocido, que sin intervención de causa alguna preternatural sucede lo que hemos dicho."

³⁹² From Covarrubias's circular definition of "Desengañar", in which he writes, "...sacar de engaño al que está en el. Hablar claro, porque no conciban una cosa por otra. Desengañarse, caer en la cuenta, de que era engaño lo que tenia por cierto. Desengaño, el trato llano y claro, con que desengañamos, o la misma verdad que nos desengaña Desengañado." Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, (Madrid: por Luis Sanchez, 1611), 656.

important to emphasize that the concern over “boundary” disputes was widespread, not only in Spain but throughout the continental enlightenment. Miracles, in particular, were a popular subject of study. In Spain, in addition to Feijóo, Antonio José Rodríguez, Juan Oloriz, Andrés Piquer, and countless others wrote concerning miracles, while the theme was taken up elsewhere famously by both Voltaire and Hume. Indeed, since the latter two dismissed the possibility of miracles out of hand, the Spanish example provides a richer debate of intellectual rigor and scrutiny than the radical enlightenment experience. Spiritual possessions, magic, and miracles were all instances in which the overlapping realms of the supernatural (or preternatural) and natural allowed for contestation over the cause and the principles of such events. In both the articulation of the definitions of supernatural activity and in the methodology for discerning true cases of supernatural occurrences, a noticeable shift in the epistemology of enlightenment Spain is evident.

Fundamentally, enlightened Spanish Catholics uniformly asserted as their position on divine action the following: that it was possible, that it existed, and that it was extraordinarily rare. Echoing Feijóo, Piquer stated about miracles that “their existence is certain, but they are not so common as the *vulgo* think.”³⁹³ Following the traditional line of scholasticism, these *ilustrados* were inclined to advocate methodological, but not philosophical, skepticism and naturalism when it came to investigating the natural world. This, in turn, prompted a subtle shift towards increasing reliance upon the explanatory power of science, rather than theology and philosophy. At the same time, however, these same intellectuals continually reaffirmed primacy of theology and revelation, both as a mode of knowledge and in value of the subject. Enlightened Catholics in Spain saw no contradiction between these two beliefs.

³⁹³ Andres Piquer, *Logica de D. Andres Piquer*, third edition (Madrid: 1781), 101.

Methodologically, the investigations into miracles, paradoxes, and the supernatural suggest a variety of ways which supported the aforementioned epistemological shift, including quantification, methodological naturalism, medical fideism, and a general evolution in the axiology of authorities.

Quantification

By examining legal history, Lorraine Daston has indicated that while earlier theories of jurisprudence included a “hierarchy of proofs” which favored some evidence more favorably than others, the evaluation of these evidences was unique to an almost case-by-case basis.³⁹⁴ She highlights the description by jurist Jean Domat at the end of the seventeenth century, who wrote that “The use and application of all of these rules, according to the quality of the facts and circumstances, depends upon the prudence of the Judge.”³⁹⁵ Inversely, the increased, ‘objectified’ weight of each individual piece of evidence and rules of probability created a scenario where quantification of evidence and testimony became increasingly important.³⁹⁶ This is certainly true for investigations of miracles and the supernatural in eighteenth-century Spain. In the *proceso de fe* of Joaquín de Vera, for example, Vera often argues for his by emphasizing the *number* of witnesses or reasons that he is able to summon in his defense.

*Methodological Naturalism*³⁹⁷:

³⁹⁴ Lorraine Daston, “Testimony and the Probability of Miracles,” in *Classical Probability in the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 306-341.

³⁹⁵ Jean Domat’s *Les lois civiles dans leur ordre naturel* (1689-94), cited in Daston, “Testimony and the Probability of Miracles,” 306.

³⁹⁶ Daston, “Testimony and the Probability of Miracles,” 306.

³⁹⁷ See David Papineau, “Naturalism”, in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2009 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2009/entries/naturalism/>; also C. Dubray, “Naturalism,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911).

An examination of early modern attempts to define and classify superstitions clearly demonstrates that the discussion of the theological tripartite order of being – natural, preternatural, and supernatural – was essential to forming opinions about superstitions. Following Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, many theologians posited that if one observed an event for which no natural explanation exists, then it was most probable to posit a supernatural explanation.³⁹⁸ This involves what the historian Fabián Alejandro Campagne has called “the triple order of causalities of traditional Christian cosmology:” the natural, the preternatural, and the supernatural.³⁹⁹ All activity was defined as belonging to one of these three orders of activity.⁴⁰⁰ The first order was reserved for the activity of God. These actions, which often occurred outside of the realm of natural law, could be classified as miracles divine activity. This was the supernatural order. The second, middle order belonged to the actions of supernatural agents (angels and demons) that operated within the natural order. Because the knowledge of these demons and agents was believed to be extensive to an almost infinite level, the devil could manipulate natural events while appearing to be supernatural. The famous sixteenth-century theologian Pedro Ciruelo wrote, for example, “The devil knows the total contemporary situation everywhere in the world, no matter how concealed or disguised it may be, except for the thoughts that reside in the heart of man,” and that the devil had access to “three kinds of hidden things: namely, the past, the present, and the future.”⁴⁰¹ Similarly, in 1739, Feijóo wrote that “The Devil, as a pure Spirit, does not need some disposition in a body in order to introduce

³⁹⁸ See Andrew Gregory, *The Presocratics and the Supernatural: Magic, Philosophy, and Science in Early Greece* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

³⁹⁹ Fabian Alejandro Campagne, “Witchcraft and the Sense-of-the-Impossible in Early Modern Spain: Some Reflections Based on the Literature of Superstition (ca. 1500-1800).” *The Harvard Theological Review* Vol. 96, No. 1 (Jan., 2003): 25-62; 31. See also Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons*.

⁴⁰⁰ Campagne, “Witchcraft and the Sense-of-the-Impossible,” 30-31.

⁴⁰¹ Pedro Ciruelo, *Pedro Ciruelo’s A Treatise Reproving All Superstitions and Forms of Witchcraft: Very Necessary and Useful for All Good Christians Zealous for Their Salvation*. Translated by Eugene A. Maio and D’Orsay W. Pearson, (London: Associated University Presses, 1977), 171.

himself in it and to work in it, nor is there any disposition that facilitates or hinders his entrance. In all the bodies of whatever temperament, specie, or condition that there is, he is able to penetrate, because he is unconditional, and general penetrability is essential to all pure spirits; and this is more clear than the light of day.”⁴⁰² It was also for this reason, for example that foreseers, soothsayers, and some astrologers were able to predict the future accurately (through diabolic empowerment). This was the preternatural order. Lastly, the third order consisted of an event which operated within the bounds of natural law and was explained by natural causes. This was the natural order.

Both Fabián Alejandro Campagne and Andrew Keitt have noted an inherent definitional instability in the triple causal categories of natural, preternatural, and supernatural.⁴⁰³ All of these debates are best summarized in Keitt’s analysis of attempts to define superstition in the seventeenth century:

The perceived need to safeguard a miraculous supernatural sphere, reserved for God alone, resulted in an increasing tendency to subsume the preternatural within the expanded realm of the natural...The processes of naturalization and demonization were actually two sides of the same coin, since demons, although not material beings themselves, could only function according to causal principle operative in the physical world....⁴⁰⁴

Research suggests that the processes of naturalization and demonization of superstition has a long trajectory, as early as the late-fifteenth century and certainly established by the Council of

⁴⁰² TCU.VIII.6 “El Demonio, como espíritu puro, no necesita de disposición alguna en el cuerpo para introducirse, y obrar en él, ni hay disposición alguna, que le facilite, o dificulte la entrada. En todos los cuerpos de cualquiera temperie, especie, o condición que sean, se puede penetrar, porque esta absoluta, y general penetrabilidad es esencial a todo espíritu puro; y esto es más claro que la luz del día.”

⁴⁰³ Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 84-85, see also Fabián Alejandro Campagne, *Homo Catholicus, Homo Superstitiosus. El discurso antisupersticioso en la España de los siglos XV a XVIII* (Madrid: Miño y Dávila, 2002),

⁴⁰⁴ Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 84-85.

Trent, but methodological naturalism and naturalization of the “boundaries” is even more markedly noticeable in the eighteenth century.⁴⁰⁵

Still, if the historiography which postulates a sweeping epistemological change in eighteenth-century Spain due to scientific revolutions and new philosophical rationalism and empiricism is correct, an increased readiness to attribute natural causes and an overall “naturalized” process and explanatory framework should be seen as being adopted by Inquisition officials. Often, this may simply take the form of an increased amount of speculation, of doubt, or of uncertainty. More and more, the default position was to assume that an event was a natural occurrence, belonged to the realm of natural philosophy, and could be explained by using the methodologies of the sciences independently of philosophy or theology.

Medical Fideism

Medicine was the concomitant methodological arm of naturalism, particularly in cases of possession, exorcisms, witchcraft, and miraculous healings. Since the sixteenth-century, there was a clear attempt by theologians to defend natural activity and medicine as a legitimate recourse, one that was only superstitious when falsely claimed as supernatural activity. Rather than a dichotomy between religious orthodoxy and natural philosophy, theological treatises and inquisitorial manuals reflect the attempt by Catholic thinkers to coopt science and medicine as a working partner with religion. This estimation coincides with the pattern that Keitt has noticed in the evaluation of spiritual visionaries during Golden Age Spain.⁴⁰⁶ In his article, “The Miraculous Body of Evidence: Visionary Experience, Medical Discourse, and the Inquisition in

⁴⁰⁵ See, for example, Fabián Alejandro Campagne, *Homo catholicus. Homo superstitiosus. El discurso antisupersticioso en la España de los siglos XV a XVIII*.

⁴⁰⁶ Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 77.

Seventeenth-Century Spain,” Keitt argues that Catholic officials increasingly used new physiological studies and a reliance on medical knowledge to evaluate claims of possession and visions, especially in post-Tridentine Spain.⁴⁰⁷

Keitt labels this trend “medical fideism,” by which he means the use of medical knowledge and writings to support orthodox theology for the end goal of decreasing superstition and increasing control.⁴⁰⁸ Keitt cites Gerónimo Planes’s 1634 confessor’s manual, *Tratado del examen de revelaciones verdaderas y falsas y de los raptos*, as a prime example of a religious treatise that suggests that the clergy seek the help of a medical professional during their evaluations. He could equally have selected Martín Castañega’s *Tratado de las supersticiones*, published over a century earlier; Castañega not only employs new medical knowledge to demonstrate the natural virtue of many superstitions, but devotes the entire fifteenth chapter, “*Cuáles Empéricas de los médicos no son supersticiones ni hechizos*” to defending those who study medicine.⁴⁰⁹

It became increasingly common in the seventeenth century, according to Keitt, for inquisitors and theologians to employ this tactic to help draw the divisionary line between supernatural, preternatural and natural.⁴¹⁰ The apex of medical fideism, therefore, according to both Keitt’s trajectory and to the more common enlightenment narrative, should be the eighteenth-century. Thus, an emphasis on the role of medical evidence, the particular worthiness

⁴⁰⁷ Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 77.

⁴⁰⁸ Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 77.

⁴⁰⁹ “Empirical Studies of Doctors are neither Superstitions nor Witchcraft.” Martín de Castañega, *Tratado de las supersticiones y hechicerías [1529]* (Madrid, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1946), chapter five and pg. xv.

⁴¹⁰ Keitt also highlights Hernando de Camargo y Salgado’s *Luz Clara de la Noche Oscura* (Madrid, 1650), Juan Francisco Villava’s *Empresas espirituales y morales* (Baeza, 1613), Thomas Murillo’s *Secretos sagrados y naturales* (1673), Gaspar Navarro’s *Tribunal de supersticion ladina* (Huesca, 1631), and Martín Del Río’s *Investigations into Magic* (Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 88). See also original research of the AHN.Inq.Libro 1226, “*Práctica, e interrogatorio judicial para el examen de revelaciones, visiones, luces, e ilustraciones interiores, y apariciones exteriores, raptos, éxtasis, mociones internas, y externas,*” which Keitt also believes to exhibit medical fideism.

of medicine and of medical advice, the reliance on medical professionals (curiously absent from Joaquín de Vera's case), and the recourse to medical explanations (abounding in de Vera's case) is evident.

Evolving Epistemic Authority

Though this is clearer in theological treatises than in Inquisition records, the amount of weight given to either revelatory, authority, empirical, or deductionistic rationalist statements will be important. In the seventeenth-century Libro 1226 of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, for example, the *calificación* of various visions and raptures relies heavily on biblical citations and references to patristic writings or well-established and traditionally orthodox works (Aquinas, Anselm, etc.). As the first-hand, empirical, and matter-of-fact became increasingly important, such references decreased. The historian Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has argued that during the eighteenth century, a “new art of reading” began in Spain and in Spanish America that dismissed the primacy of eyewitness narratives and stressed ‘internal consistency’ and coherence.⁴¹¹ In his work, *How to Write the History of the New World*, Cañizares-Esguerra studies this textual criticism specifically within the context of historiography and the writing of natural and geographic histories of the Spanish New World. He notes however, that this “new art of reading” both influenced and was influenced by similar discussions of spiritual discernment and religio-intellectual verification. He writes that, “[U]nlike Renaissance arts of reading, this new art did not privilege eyewitnesses. As part of larger scholarly debates about the probability of

⁴¹¹ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 6.

miracles, some authors began to argue that testimonies needed to be judged by their internal consistency, not by the social standing or learning of the witnesses.”⁴¹²

This was part of wider debates being held across the Spanish empire, and indeed, throughout early modern Europe, about epistemology at this time. Cañizares-Esguerra rightly relies upon the work of Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, who have studied the impact that scientific and technical advances had in carving out an epistemological niche for the factual and the ‘matter of fact.’⁴¹³ The work of botanical expeditions, geographic histories, and natural discourse that dominated Spanish and Spanish American intellectuals during the eighteenth century are indicative of this factual, natural approach to epistemology.⁴¹⁴ The ‘matter of fact’ impulse of scientific, technical, and medical discourse did not only impact the writing of history and the revisionism experienced by Spanish, and even more so, *criollo* intellectuals examining stories of the encounter. It also affected theologians, inquisitors, and religious intellectuals concerned with discouraging superstition, discerning orthodoxy from heterodoxy, and establishing what Cañizares-Esguerra has labeled “emerging evolutionary scales of credibility.”⁴¹⁵ These later changes were particularly important in the trial settings of the Inquisition, where authoritative standards of ascertaining credibility and testimony were a necessity.

⁴¹² Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 6.

⁴¹³ Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 16.

⁴¹⁴ See, for example, Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

⁴¹⁵ Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 7.

Conclusion

In her ode to Feijóo, written to commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth in 1876, Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán wrote that for Feijóo, “Science [was] the way, but God [was] the goal.”⁴¹⁶ Feijóo, representative of the more progressive edge of the Catholic Enlightenment, saw science not only as reconcilable to religion, but an aid to the faith. He sought to incorporate new philosophies and methodologies of sciences, introduced to Spain by individuals like his friend Martínez, in order to strengthen the Spanish understanding of natural philosophy. The four methodological changes – quantification, methodological naturalism and skepticism, medical fideism, and changes to the valuation of epistemic authorities – both shaped and were shaped by the new philosophies of sciences practiced by the *novatores* and by foreign thinkers. Their practice and introduction to the Spanish empire did not go unnoticed.

As has been shown in both the examples of Martínez and Feijóo, both *ilustrados* were aware that their work made claims which altered the epistemological atmosphere of eighteenth-century Spain. In the case of Martínez, his avocation of methodological skepticism embroiled him in a debate which lasted two decades. Feijóo, far more popular and accessible than Martínez, was the subject of an even greater and more protracted firestorm of publications, which was only abated by the specific protection of Ferdinand VI. The following chapter examines this debate to elucidate the counter-enlightenment response to Feijóo, and in chapter four, a late, middle-of-the-road Catholic Enlightenment response to the changing methodology, the typical epistemological stance in Spain at the end of the century, is analyzed in detail.

⁴¹⁶ Emilia Pardo Bazán, “Oda al Insigne Filósofo Feijóo,” 173.

CHAPTER THREE:

*La Verdad Católica vs. La Falsa Filosofía:***the Anti-Teatrista Polemics of Salvador Josef Mañer and the Counter-Enlightenment****Response in the Early-Eighteenth Century, 1728-1749**

...Learned Feijóo, your opinions
 Convince, and although the expiring breaths sing
 And cede to such an Alcides⁴¹⁷ their breaths -
 The Vulgo are susceptible to such invasions.
 But hear that Salvador has fought
 Against the Teatro Crítico; Your victory
 Has been confounded with your own ruin.
 In fame you establish your memory,
 Great Mañer, for your pen has pursued
 To make vulgar the glory of the Crítico.
 - Don Leopoldo Geronymo Puche, "Sonnet"⁴¹⁸

With this satirical poem, readers in 1729 were introduced to the *Anti-Theatro Crítico*, a work by the publisher and public intellectual Don Salvador Joseph Mañer. The polyglot Benedictine Benito Jerónimo Feijóo had published the first volume of his *Theatro Crítico Universal*, following it with a second volume in 1728. Much of his work was greatly acclaimed, and to this day, Feijóo dominates studies of eighteenth-century *ilustrado* literature, far more than either Martín Martínez, or Andrés Piquer. Feijóo considered himself to be working for the enlightenment of the populace of Spain. Yet in this poem, written by Puche, a presbyter and

⁴¹⁷ A Latinic name for Hercules, particularly popular in France and Italy.

⁴¹⁸ "Erudito Feijóo, sus opiniones/redarguye, y aun canta vencimientos cedia a tanto Alcides sus alientos/débil el vulgo a tales invasiones./Mas oy que Salvador ha combatido/al Critico Theatro, su victoria/entre su propia ruina ha confudido:/En la fama estableces tu memoria,/Gran Mañer, pues tu pluma ha conseguido/hacer vulgar del Critico la gloria." *Soneto de Don Leopoldo Geronymo Puche, Presbytero, y Beneficiado de la Iglesia Parroquial del Pino de la Ciudad de Barcelona, en alabanza del Autor, su intimo amigo*, in Don Salvador Joseph Mañer, *Anti-Teatro Crítico sobre el primero, y Segundo tomo del Teatro Crítico Universal del Rmo. P.M. Fr. Benito Feijoo, Maestro General de la Religión de S. Benito, y Catedrático de Vesperas de Teología de la Universidad de Oviedo; en que se impugnan veinte y seis Discursos, y se le notan setenta descuidos* (Madrid: la casa de Juan de Moya, 1729). [Critical Anti-Theater about the first and second volumes of the Universal Critical Theater of the Most Reverend Father Master Friar Benito Feijoo, Master General of the Religion of Saint Benedict, and the Vespers Chair of Theology at the University of Oviedo; in which Twenty-Six Discourses are impugned, and seventy errors are noted.]

benefice at a parish church of Barcelona for his “close friend,” Don Mañer, Feijóo is unequivocally cast as the antagonist of the Spanish people.⁴¹⁹ Mañer’s work, revealingly titled the *Anti-Theatro*, worked to correct what Mañer saw as the errors and oversights of Feijóo that were actually leading his readers astray. Mañer’s work is by no means irregular or unaccompanied in the publication record of eighteenth-century Spain. Many other intellectuals wrote decrying Feijóo’s works and, more broadly, the advancement of the *ilustración* – the enlightenment. Yet the question as to why many religious intellectuals in eighteenth-century objected to the introduction of enlightenment philosophy, how they argued against it, and what alternatives they proposed remains unsatisfactorily answered by historians.

In this third chapter, the work of individuals who critiqued the “new philosophy” is analyzed in an attempt to answer these questions. Previously, this dissertation has assessed the introduction and adoption of the “new philosophy” and “new science” in early eighteenth-century Spain. Specifically, these chapters showed how many Catholic thinkers found much of these currents of thought helpful and reconcilable with their religious framework, leading to what some scholars have labeled the *eclecticism* of eighteenth-century Spain, or of the ‘Catholic Enlightenments’ of the Iberian Peninsula. This chapter examines intellectuals in Spain who reacted against the introduction of enlightenment modes of thought, analyzing their reasons for critiquing the New Philosophy and their suggestions for alternative epistemologies. This school of thinkers, often labeled anti-*ilustrados* (anti-enlightened) or *tradicionalista* (traditionalist) has been particularly maligned in the historiographical record of this period, which has portrayed these individuals as dogmatic, irrational, and one-dimensional figures.⁴²⁰ This chapter examines

⁴¹⁹ “intimo amigo”, *Soneto de Don Leopoldo Geronymo Puche* in Mañer, *Anti-Theatro Critico*, frontmatter.

⁴²⁰ This paper hesitantly employs anti-*ilustrado* as the term given to those writing against enlightenment authors, publications, and ideas. It does so for several reasons: first, that the parallel French term anti-*philosophe* is already in circulation; second, that the ubiquitous use of *ilustrado* and *ilustración* makes anti-*ilustrado* readily perspicuous.

why these anti-*ilustrados* argued against a “Catholic Enlightenment” of eighteenth-century Spain, what their specific objections were, and how these objections were rationalized and seen as legitimate arguments at the time.

The literature of anti-*ilustrado* included a vast spectrum of works written by scientists, medical professionals, Spanish religious, university professors, theologians, and public intellectuals, and therefore reflected a wide variety of growing concerns about what these individuals perceived as “enlightened” thought. Many of the initial objections of anti-*ilustrado* literature engaged the works of the “new science” on a medical, scientific, and logical level, arguing against axiomatic inconsistencies, philosophical presuppositions, and technical objections (though grounded in a thoroughly Catholic understanding).⁴²¹ Other, often later, anti-*ilustrado* works argued on a more-explicitly (and often exclusively) religious basis. The majority of these anti-*ilustrados* objected to Enlightenment philosophies based on what they saw as a direct relationship of causality between New Philosophy and such dangers as atheism, materialism, or deism.

This chapter analyzes the works of those early critics of enlightenment thought in Spain, particularly highlighting the efforts of two anti-*theatristas* (individuals who wrote against Feijóo’s *Teatro Crítico*): Salvador José Mañer (1676-1751), a public intellectual and periodicalist, and Ignacio de Armesto y Ossorio (s. XVIII), a Spanish religious. Both Mañer and Armesto y Ossorio’s works belong to Ivy McClelland’s designation of “comprehensive polemics,” in that they engage Feijóo’s work systematically, discourse by discourse, and advance

See, for example, P. José Gumilla, S.J., *El Orinoco Ilustrado, y Defendido, Historia natural, Civil, y Geographica de este Gran Rio, y de sus Caudalosas Vertientes...* (Madrid: por Manuel Fernandez, Impresor de el Supremo Consejo de la Inquisicion, 1745); Francisco Javier Lampillas, *Ensayo historico-apologetico de la literatura Española contra las opiniones preocupadas de algunos escritores modernos italianos* (Zaragoza: en la oficina de Blas Miedes..., 1784); and the work of Félix Amat de Palou y Pont (1750-1824).

⁴²¹ This included the works of Araujo and Lesaca previously analyzed in chapter one, as well as works by Mañer, Don Ignacio Armesto y Ossorio, Fray Luis de Flandes, and Don Juan Gil.

their arguments largely based on logical errors committed by Feijóo, oversights in his essays, or contrary scientific and experimental evidence to Feijóo's conclusions. This is distinct from the objections made by other *anti-ilustrados* to the *nueva filosofía* on religious grounds or on the accusation of guilt by association with French philosophy, atheism, or materialism. Indeed, this chapter demonstrates that far from being merely broadsides railing against the importation of new ideas, counter-enlightenment thinkers offered serious and valid objections to the new philosophies and new sciences of the enlightenment.

By examining the publications of these critics, this chapter argues for three central characterizations of early anti-enlightenment thought in Spain. First, that the critique of the new philosophy was characterized by a hesitancy to adopt new philosophical systems such as empiricism, rationalism, and skepticism, particularly manifested in the sciences. Second, that *anti-ilustrados* therefore argued for a reaffirmation of traditional sources of knowledge and for the supremacy of Biblical and patristic authority. Thus, lastly, this chapter argues that critics of enlightenment thought believed in a unified conception of truth that did not allow for the demarcation between matters of religion, philosophy, and the natural sciences. These beliefs, though nuanced by each *anti-ilustrado* are representative of what this research terms the “conservative epistemology” of the early Spanish counter-enlightenment, and are distinct from later anti-enlightenment and anti-revolutionary movements in Spain.

The Curious Neglect of the Counter-Enlightenment

I have already stated that the Spanish enlightenment, as a whole, tends to be reduced to matters of public policy, political and economical platforms, issues of social justice, theories of natural law and rights, scientific innovation, and particularly in the realm of religion – regalist

policies. In the final chapter, I demonstrate how this reductionism is undermined by the textual evidence, even in the case of the Jansenist debates and the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish empire. Here, it is worth noting that the historiographical abuse which the Spanish *ilustrados* have suffered pales in comparison to the neglect, and in some cases, the contempt with which counter-enlightenment individuals have been held.

Mañer, Armesto y Ossorio, and the Anti-Theatrista Polemics

This chapter describes the conservative epistemology of the Spanish anti-*ilustrados* by examining two of the earliest works of the Spanish anti-*ilustración* by Mañer and Armesto y Ossorio, both anti-*theatristas* writing at the end of the 1720s in Madrid.⁴²² Mañer's *Anti-teatro crítico sobre el primero, y Segundo tomo del Teatro crítico*, written in 1729 against Feijóo's first and second volumes of the *Teatro Crítico Universal* (1726 and 1728, respectively) is examined, as well as Armesto y Ossorio's *Theatro anti-crítico universal sobre las obras del R.P.M. Feijóo del P.M Sarmiento, y de Don Salvador Mañer (libro tercero)*, written in 1737 in response to Feijóo's third volume (1729).⁴²³ These works, critical of Feijóo's publications, and read in conjunction with early denunciations of Martínez's medical and philosophical skepticism, may be considered the first generation of anti-*ilustrado* thought in early eighteenth-century Spain.

Mañer was born in Cádiz in 1676. After having traveled to Caracas and spending several years in the colonies, he returned to Spain and became the author and editor of many works, as

⁴²² An excellent and exhaustive overview of the controversies surrounding Feijóo's publications can be found in the anonymous *Noticia* which prefaces the 1773 reprinting of Feijóo's *TCU*, Tomo Primero (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, Acosta de la Real Compañía de Impresores y Libreros, 1773). The notice, which is forty pages long, gives clear bibliographic information regarding some of Feijóo's most popular opponents, including Mañer and Soto y Marne.

⁴²³ Mañer, *Anti-Teatro Crítico*; Igancio de Armesto y Ossorio, *Theatro anti-crítico universal, sobre las obras del muy R.P. maestro Feijoo, de el padre maestro, Sarmiento, y Don Salvador Mañer* (Madrid: en la oficina de Francisco Martinez Abad, 1735-1737). [Anti-Critical Universal Theater, about the works of the very Reverend Father Master Feijoo, of the Father Master Sarmiento, and Don Salvador Mañer.]

well as the founder of the widely-read periodical, the *Mercurio histórico y político* (1738). One of the earliest of Mañer's contributions became an intellectual debate which dominated the entire span of his career as a public intellectual, ceasing only with his death in 1751.⁴²⁴ After the publication of the first two volumes of Feijóo's *Teatro Crítico Universal*, a collection of essays informed by the reception of the "new philosophy" of science, Mañer authored several argumentative responses that corresponded in title to the original essays of Feijóo. Indeed, as the author of perhaps the first critique ever to be leveled against Feijóo and his *Teatro Crítico Universal*, Mañer spent the next twenty years and four additional volumes debating with Feijóo in the public sphere.⁴²⁵ For example, later in the year 1729, Feijóo responded to Mañer's critiques, and others, by issuing the *Ilustración apologética al primero, y Segundo tomo del Teatro Crítico*.⁴²⁶ Two years later, in 1731, Mañer responded to Feijóo's *Ilustración apologética* with his own *Réplica Satisfactoria a la Ilustración Apologética del Padre Feyjoo, Benedictino*.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁴ For more information on the press in early-eighteenth century Spain and the foundation of the *Mercurio*, see Christian von Tschilschke, *Identität der Aufklärung/Aufklärung der Identität: Literatur und Identitätsdiskurs im Spanien des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Vervuert Verlag, 2009), 153; also Jaume Guillamet, *História del Periodisme: Notícies, Periodistes, I Mitjans de Comunicació* (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2003), 46. For biographical information, consult Verdes *Memorias para la Biografía* or D. Joseph del Campillo y Cossio's *Diario de los literatos de España*, tomo 7, página 234 (Madrid, 1742)

⁴²⁵ D. Nicolas Maria de Cambiaso y Verdes, *Memorias para la Biografía y para la Bibliografía de la Isla de Cadiz, Diccionario de Personas Célebres de Cadiz*, Tomo Primero, Desde A Hasta J Antes de O, (Madrid: En la Imprenta de D. Leon Amarita, 1829), 193-198. Verdes writes that "De todas las impugnaciones que sufrió el "Teatro Crítico" tiene el primer lugar el "Antiteatro Crítico", que empezó á salir en principios del año de 1729, tres años años después que se publicó el primer tomo del "Teatro." (194) While it is likely so, there is no evidence to discount that Ciscodexa's *Antiteatro Delphico* was not published first.

⁴²⁶ Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, *Ilustración apologética al primero, y segundo tomo del Teatro Crítico donde se notan más de cuatrocientos descuidos al Autor del Anti-Teatro; y de los setenta, que éste imputa al Autor del Teatro Crítico, se rebajan los sesenta y nueve y medio. Escrita por el por el muy ilustre señor D. Fr. Benito Jerónimo Feijoo y Montengero, Maestro General del Orden de San Benito* (del Consejo de S.M. &c. Madrid, Francisco del Hierro, 1729). [Apologetic Enlightenment to the First and Second Volumes of the *Teatro Crítico*, in which it is noted more than four hundred errors of the author of the *Anti-Teatro*; and of the seventy which he imputed to the author of the *Teatro Crítico*, sixty-nine and a half are rebuffed.]

⁴²⁷ Don Salvador José Mañer, *Replica Satisfactoria a la Ilustracion Apologetica del Padre Feyjoo, Benedictino*. (En Madrid: En la Oficina de Juan de Zuñiga. S.A.-1731?). [Satisfactory Reply to the Apologetic Enlightenment of Father Feijóo, Benedictine]

Mañer's work has suffered much abuse at the hands of historians of the Spanish Enlightenment who, regarding Feijóo in such literate esteem, often completely ignore Mañer's work. This is a methodological mistake, as Mañer's work is certainly responsible in shaping the way that Feijóo authored his later volumes of the *Teatro Crítico* and other works. If historians have read Mañer, their analysis tends to denigrate his essays as stubbornly dogmatic, blindly traditional, or naively irrational. The scholar Américo Castro (1885-1972), for example, characterized him as the "obtuse antagonist" of Feijóo, attributing to him the "inane vacuity" of the literature of the eighteenth-century anti-*ilustrados*.⁴²⁸ Other scholars, implicitly adopting a progressive view of history, denounce Mañer's critiques of Feijóo, assuming that they must be closer related to illogical passion and custom rather than rational argumentation.⁴²⁹

In Mañer's time, however, his influence was considerable, with a wide readership and with a substantial voice that *ilustrados* such as Feijóo were obligated to answer, even if they were dismissive of his charges. In 1742, for instance, the *Diario de los literatos* wrote under the entry of the anonymously published *Mercurio Histórico* that,

...The thin veil with which this work has dissimulated its author's name, *Don Salvador Joseph Mañer*, nobody has heard any doubt that he is its true Author, because of what other circumstances have occurred with him in public notoriety...⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ Américo Castro, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History*, trans. Willard F. King and Selma Margaretten (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), 368.

⁴²⁹ See, for example, Theresa Ann Smith's *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), pg. 35, commenting on Mañer's arguments against Feijóo's famous discourse on the rights of women. Similarly, Ivy McClelland includes Mañer in her analysis of "the *vulgo*-conception of scientific evidence," commenting on Mañer's opportunist, and in McClelland's opinion, misinformed use of science (neglecting to observe that although Mañer had no formal scientific or medical training, neither did Feijóo); see McClelland, *Ideological Hesitancy in Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), 63. Indeed, one of the few works which analyzes the dialogue between Feijóo and Mañer is Bernadette Bideau's *Analyse der Polemik um Benito Jerónimo Feijoos "discurso Voz del pueblo" aus dem "Teatro crítico universal" (1726-1739)* (Norderstedt: Auflage, 2006), pg. 10 and following.

⁴³⁰ "El ligero disfraz con que para esta traducción ha dissimulado su apellido Don Salvador Joseph Mañer, á nadie tiene oy en la duda de que de ella es su verdadero Autor, para lo que también concurren otras circunstancias de publica notoriedad." D. Joseph del Campillo y Cossio's *Diario de los literatos de España*, tomo 7, página 234 (Madrid, 1742).

The “public notoriety” that the *Diario* alludes to is most certainly the debates between Mañer and Feijóo, which by 1742 were already beginning to wane. Though the entry as a whole is critical of the *Mercurio* and of Mañer’s ability to translate from French to Spanish in particular, it yet evinces a serious estimation of Mañer’s influence and followers.⁴³¹

Moreover, Mañer’s work had a clear impact on other thinkers. Friar Luis de Flandes, a Capuchin lecturer of theology and *calificador* (external theological evaluator) for the Inquisition, dedicated his work, *The Ancient Academic Against the Modern Skeptic*, to Mañer.⁴³² In this dedication, Flandes wrote of Mañer’s *Anti-Theatro* (by then, having five volumes), that,

So much truth is inspected in your printed works that [my] discourse stammers, doubting if the more admirable thing is the History, or the Mathematics, or the Philosophy, or the Theology, for I find them all integrated together in the classification of doctrine.⁴³³

To many anti-*ilustrados* such as Flandes, then, Mañer’s work was a faultless representation of counter-enlightenment thought. The historian Ivy McClelland describes Mañer’s *Anti-Theatro* as “the most conspicuous and extensive polemics in which Feijóo engaged.”⁴³⁴ Comprehensive is the proper description due to Mañer’s work. The *Anti-Theatro* is structured to be read

⁴³¹ The article continued to comment about the existence of “the passionate enthusiasts of Sr. Mañer (and we are given to understand that they are many and refined).” “Los apasionados del Sr. Mañer (que tenemos entendido son muchos, y muy finos)...” Campillo y Cossio, *Diario*, Art. XII, 235.

⁴³² Luis de Flandes, *El Antiguo Academico, Contra el Moderno Sceptico, o Dudoso, Rigido, O Moderado. Defesna de las Ciencias y especialmente de la Physica Pytagorica, y Medica en el conocimiento, y practica de los Medicos Sabios*. (Madrid: En la Imprenta del Reyno, 1743[?]). [The Ancient Academic against the Modern Skeptic, or Doubter – Rigid or Moderate. A Defense of the Sciences, Especially of Pythagorean Physics and Medicine in Knowledge and Practice of Medical Sages]

⁴³³ “Tanta verdad reconozco en las obras impressas de Vmd. que titubea el discurso, dudando si lo mas admirable, es lo Historico, o lo Mathematico, la Phylsophia, o la Theologia; pues las hallo cabalísimas en todo linaje de doctrina.” Flandes, *El Antiguo Academico*, 3.

⁴³⁴ I.L. McClelland, *Benito Jerónimo Feijóo* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1969), 117. In her study of Feijóo and his commentators, historian Ivy McClelland divides the polemics that were raised against Feijóo into three dominant strains – medical attacks, to which I would add scientific objections, comprehensive polemicists, and religious opposition, to which I would include broader philosophical and epistemological apprehensions. See McClelland, *Feijóo*, Chapter 6: “Feijóo in Polemic,” 107.

comparatively alongside the *Teatro Crítico*; it follows each discourse in turn, noting both minor and major errors and lapses (*errores y descuidos*). The title of the initial volume promises that over seventy significant errors are deduced in the twenty-six discourses of the work.⁴³⁵

A similar endeavor was undertaken only a few years later by Ignacio de Armesto y Ossorio. Armesto y Ossorio was most likely the pseudonym of the doctor of theology, José Quiroga Somoza y Losada.⁴³⁶ It is known that he lived in Madrid, where he published his *Theatro anti-crítico universal*, but his only other remaining historical record occurs through his writings.⁴³⁷ Secondary sources have had mixed opinions on the value of Armesto y Ossorio's publications. Menéndez Pelayo, for example, stated that Armesto y Ossorio's work was "from

⁴³⁵ Mañer, "en que se impugnan veinte y seis Discursos, y se le notan setenta descuidos" title of the work. It is worth noting that Feijóo *Ilustración Apologetica* promises four hundred errors in Mañer's work, as well as refuting sixty-nine and a half of his supposed mistakes.

⁴³⁶ Somoza y Losada was the author of the *Breve exposición o informe que haze al Consejo el Dr. D---- de las razones y fundamentos legales que asisten a su Colegio de San Clemente, de Santiago, sobre la retención de la Cédula de mayoría concedida al Colegio de mayoría concedida al Colegio de Santiago Alfeo, de la misma Ciudad*. This position is advocated by Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII: N-Q*, Tomo VI (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983), 532-533; Atanasio López, *La imprenta en Galicia: Siglos XV-XVIII* (Madrid[¿]: Biblioteca Nacional, 1953), pg. 172; and Iris M. Zavala, *Clandestinidad y Libertinaje Erudito en los Albores del Siglo XVIII* (Barcelona: Ed. Ariel, 1978), 402.

Pseudonymic writing was common in academic publications during this time period as a means of hiding one's identity from colleagues or, more probably, from the investigation of the censors of the Holy Office of the Inquisition (which, though in decline during the eighteenth century, was still prohibiting the publication of selected works - for example, Feijóo's eighth volume of the *Teatro Crítico Universal*). Mañer, for example, also authored some of his works under the French pseudonym "Monsieur Le Margne." These works seem to have had a mixed reception outside of Spain. In an introduction to a set of political biographies in 1814, author George Moore noted that, "I received from Spain a translation of a Life of Ripperda which appeared in Holland...the name of Mr. Le Margne in the title-page is, I am informed, fictitious. His real name was [v] Don Salvador Maner [sic]...under one or the other, I believe he is equally a stranger to the English Reader." George Moore, *Lives of Cardinal Alberoni, the Duke of Ripperda, and Marquis of Pombal: Three Distinguished Political Adventurers of the Last Century exhibiting A View of the Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal during A considerable Portion of that Period*, Second Edition (London: J. Brettell, Printer, 1814), iv-v.

For information on censorship practices in early modern Spain, consult: Virgilio Pinto Crespo, *Inquisición y control ideológico en la España del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Taurus, 1983); and Patricia Manning, *Voicing dissent in seventeenth-century Spain: Inquisition, social criticism and theology in the case of El Crítico* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). Carlos IV (1788-1808) would later ban the use of pseudonyms during the early 1790s as a counter-measure to the influx of French revolutionary ideas. Censorship was also revitalized, and only two periodicals were granted the right to publish their works. See Anthony McFarlane, "Science and Sedition in Spanish America: New Granada in the Age of Revolution, 1776-1810," in *Enlightenment and Emancipation*, edited by Susan Manning and Peter France (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont Publishing and Printing Corp., 2006), 100.

⁴³⁷ "Su autor D. Ignacio de Armesto y Ossorio, residente en la villa de Madrid." Don Dionisio, *Boletín Bibliográfico Español*, Tomo IV (Madrid: Imprenta de las Escuelas Pias, 1863), 69.

its birth condemned to perpetual obscurity and oblivion.”⁴³⁸ Contrasted against the genius of Feijóo, the majority of historians have ceased to examine the arguments made by Armesto y Ossorio against Feijóo’s work, the *Teatro Crítico Universal*. Yet Armesto y Ossorio’s work, though written after Mañer’s and long after the initial publications of Feijóo’s *Teatro Crítico*, is yet one of the most substantive and important *anti-ilustrado* works of the first-half of eighteenth-century Spain.

Carefully constructed, cautious in its conclusions, and systematically argued, Armesto y Ossorio’s *Theatro Anti-Critico Universal* is the condensed synthesis of all of the works of Feijóo, his ardent apologist Martín Sarmiento, and of his great critic Mañer through 1737, the year of the publication. Armesto y Ossorio describes his format in his prologue to the reader, noting that “in the first paragraph the reader will find all of the substantial [material] for each discourse of the *Theatro Crítico*...,” and that following this, “...in the second paragraph one can see aired out and defined with indifference to the disputes, that which Don Salvador has moved against the two Most Reverend Fathers.”⁴³⁹ In both title and stated aim, Armesto y Ossorio’s intention was to analyze all three works and to “distribute Justice among the three *theatristas*.”⁴⁴⁰ Yet Armesto y Ossorio also made his conclusions of this analysis evident in the very title of his work, noting that “it is convinced [that] the Truth is contrary to the principal assumption and other opinions of the *Theatro*, for the relief of common errors.”⁴⁴¹ Armesto y Ossorio further

⁴³⁸ “Tales fueron don Salvador Joseph mañer y don Ignacio Armesto y Ossorio, autor el primero de un *Anti-Theatro*, y el oro de un *Theatro anti-crítico univerval*, libros condenados desde su nacimiento a perpetua oscuridad y olvido. Lo que alcanzaban estos hombres en materia de educación estética...” Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. *Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España*, Vol. I. Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993. Pg. 1595

⁴³⁹ “...en que hallará el Lector en el párrafo primero de cada Discurso todo lo substancial del *Theatro Crítico*... En el segundo párrafo verá ventiladas, y definidas con indiferencia las disputas, que movió Don Salvador Mañer contra los dos PP.MM.” Don Ignacio de Armesto y Ossorio, *Theatro Anti-Critico Universal Sobre Las Obras del R.P.M. Feyjoo, del P.M. Sarmiento, y de Don Salvador Mañer...*, “Prologo al Lector.” (1737)

⁴⁴⁰ “Se Reparte la Justicia Entre Los Tres Theatristas,” Armesto y Ossorio, *Theatro Anti-Critico Universal*, titlepage.

⁴⁴¹ “Se convence la Verdad contra los Principales Assumptos y otras opiniones del Theatro Para Desagravio de Errores comunes.” Armesto y Ossorio, *Theatro Anti-Critico Universal*, titlepage.

explains that the delay in his work was to grant him the time needed for such an analytical work to be written and suitably published, “not only for the solid disillusionment to the truth, but also for the benefit of reading [his] writings with more pleasure.”⁴⁴²

These publications ought to be read as a dialogue – a back and forth transmission of ideas by intellectuals who were well aware of the claims and arguments of their opposition and who often wrote with their specific antagonists in mind. Spanish critiques of the “new philosophy” (*Filosofía nueva*) and of the “new science” (*Ciencia nueva*) began immediately and far earlier than in other countries. Concomitant with the initial publications of the *novatores*, responsorial works that voiced the concerns of a conservative academic and religious platform were published. As has been examined in chapter one, this was the case with the early publications of Martín Martínez. In the three years between the publication of the two volumes of Martínez’s *Medicina scéptica y cirugía moderna* in 1722-1725, Martínez had such a plethora of letters and works written against him that he devoted the entire first half of his second volume to responding to these comments.⁴⁴³

Moreover, the authors of both *ilustrado* and *anti-ilustrado* works enlisted the aid of their colleagues in writing introductory material to their publications. Each treatise contained numerous approbations (*aprobaciones*), publication licensures (*licencias del ordinario*), defensive prefaces (*aprobaciones apologéticas, apologias*), and open letters (*cartas*) written by

⁴⁴² “no solo el desengaño sólido de la verdad, sino también el beneficio de leer con mas gusto mis Escritos.” Armesto y Ossorio, *Theatro Anti-Critico Universal*, “Prologo al Lector,” 1737.

⁴⁴³ In 1725, for example, Bernardo López de Araujo, who had worked at the Hospital General prior to Martínez’s positioning there, authored the *Centinela medico-aristotelica contra scepticos: en la cual se declara ser mas segura y firme la doctrina que se enseña en las universidades españolas* against Martínez’s first volumen in 1725. Martínez’s preface in his second volume responded to all of his critics, particularly engaging Araujo in his *apologema* of the second volume. He wryly commented that if Araujo were to continue to critique him so thoroughly (the *Centinela* covered only nine of Martínez’s discourses), that he would need “God to give him the life in order to see the nineteen volumes which he [Araujo] would offer us against the *Medicina Sceptica*.” (Martín Martínez, *ME*.II.2 “Digo, que he visto el libro Nuevo: quiera Dios darme vida, para ver los diez y nueve Tomos, que nos ofrece contra la Medicina Sceptica, que son los que corresponden a lomo por cada nueve hojas...”).

well-known scholars and religious figures to lend credence, establish orthodoxy, and add authoritative weight to each work. The introductory material of each work often is close to one hundred pages in length, and both sides of the epistemological debate here examined employed such appeals. What becomes clear, therefore, is that these works form a dialogue between *ilustrados* and anti-*ilustrados* that was worked out in the published sphere. The challenges and delays of eighteenth-century publication and misinterpretations often created scenarios where these figures spoke past each other rather than addressing a central concern, yet in order to understand either side's assertions, they must be read in the wider context of published intellectual debate.

This dialectical methodology is especially important for any textual analysis of Feijóo's work and that of his critics. Because Feijóo authored both of his significant works in multiple installments over a wide period of time (the *Teatro Crítico Universal* was written in nine volumes between 1726-1740, and his *Cartas Eruditas y Curiosas* in five volumes between 1742-1760), one must read his works in the context of the constant dialogue between Feijóo his supporters and defenders, and his critics and opponents.⁴⁴⁴ Doing so allows key themes of the conservative epistemology of the anti-*ilustrados* to be highlighted topically across multiple publications.

⁴⁴⁴ For anti-*theatristas* (the term which I am using to encompass all authors who wrote against Feijóo or his publications), see Don Geminiano Zafra *Ciscodexa Antitheatro Delphico Judicial Jocosario, Al Teatro Critico Universal del Reverendissimo Padre Maestro Fray Benito Feijóo, Benedictino, Cathedratico de Visperas de Theologia de la Universidad de Oviedo, &c.* (Madrid, 1727); Soto y Marne, *Reflexiones crítico-apologéticas sobre las obras de...Feijóo* (Salamanca, S.A.); Fray Alonso Rubiños, *Teatro de la Verdad...* (Madrid, 1747); For a supporter, see Martin Sarmiento *Demonstracion Critico-Apologetica del Teatro Critico Universal que dio a luz el R.P.M. Fr. Benito Geronymo Feijoo, Benedictino...* (En Madrid, 1739). Further information on Feijóo's polemic can be found in I.L. McClelland, *Benito Jerónimo Feijóo* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1969).

Figure 2: Feijóian, Teatrística, and Anti-Teatrística Publications, 1725-1783*⁴⁴⁵

*Unless otherwise noted, all of the publications were printed in Madrid. This does not include reprints of publications.

- 1725 Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, *Apología del escepticismo médico* (Oviedo), defending M. Martínez
- 1726 Feijóo, *Teatro Critico Universal [TCU]*, Vol. I
Martín Martínez, *Carta defensiva sobre el primer tomo del Teatro crítico universal*
- 1727 Feijóo, *Satisfacción al Escrupuloso* [s.a, unknown location]
Anonymous, *Respuesta a la carta que dictó el RPM Fr. Benito Jerónimo Feijóo*
Feijóo, *Respuesta al discurso fisiológico-médico* (Oviedo)
Diego de Torres Villarroel, *Entierro del Juicio Final*
Anonymous, *La Razón con desinterés fundada, y la Verdad cortesantemente vestida*
Geminiano Zafra Ciscodexa, *Antitheatro Delphico Judicial Jocoserio*
- 1728 Feijóo, *TCU*, Vol. II
- 1729 Salvador José Mañer, *Anti-teatro crítico sobre el primero, y segundo tomo del Teatro crítico*
Feijóo, *TCU*, Vol. III
Antonio Heredia y Ampuero, *El estudiante preguntón*
Feijóo, *Ilustración apologética al primero, y segundo tomo del Teatro Crítico*
Mañer, *Belerofonte literario y respuesta apologética*
- 1730 Feijóo, *TCU*, Vol. IV
- 1731 Mañer, *Anti-theatro critico, sobre el tomo tercero del Theatro Critico*
Mañer, *Replica satisfactoria a la Ilustracion Apologética*, Vol. I and II [s.a]
Carlos de Montoya y Uzueta, *Critico y cortes castigo de pluma contra los engaños...*
- 1732 Martín Sarmiento, *Demostración crítico-apologética del Teatro Crítico Universal*
- 1733 Feijóo, *TCU*, Vol. V
- 1734 Feijóo, *TCU*, Vol. VI
Mañer, *Crisol Critico...del Theatro Critico*, Vol. I and II (contra Feijóo and Sarmiento)
Manuel Mariano Ballester y de la Torre, *Combate Intelectual* [estimated year]
Antonio de Monrava y Roca, *Feijoo Defendido y Ribera Convencido*
- 1735 Ignacio de Armesto y Ossorio, *Theatro anti-crítico universal*, Vol. I [s.a.]
Armesto y Ossorio, *Theatro anti-crítico universal*, Vol. II
- 1736 Feijóo, *TCU*, Vol. VII
- 1737 Armesto y Ossorio, *Theatro anti-crítico universal*, Vol. III
- 1739 Feijóo, *TCU*, Vol. VIII
- 1740 Feijóo, *Suplemento de el Teatro Crítico*
- 1742 Feijóo, *Cartas Eruditas y Curiosas [CE]*, Volume I
Francisco de Soto y Marne, *Reflexiones Critico-Apologeticas*
- 1745 Feijóo, *CE*, Vol. II
- 1747 Feijóo's *TCU*, Vol. VIII, is placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* for Spain
- 1749 Feijóo, *Justa repulsa de inicuas acusaciones*
- 1750 Soto y Marne, *Advertencia contra las publicaciones de Feijoo*
Fernando VI prohibits any future condemnations of Feijóo's works⁴⁴⁶
Feijóo, *CE*, Vol. III
- 1753 Feijóo, *CE*, Vol. IV
Miguel Pereira de Castro Padraõ, *Propugnación de la racionalidad de los brutos* (Lisbon)
- 1760 Feijóo, *CE*, Vol. V
Cigala, *Carta Segunda a Feijóo* [s.a]
- 1783 Feijóo, *Adiciones*

⁴⁴⁵ Digitally available through the Biblioteca Feijoniana, from the Proyecto Filosofía en español project online (<http://www.filosofia.org/fejoo.htm>). See also the catalog of works provided in the 1765 reprinting of the first volume of the *Teatro Critico*: Feijóo, *Teatro Critico Universal* (Madrid: En la Imprenta Real de la Gaceta, 1765).

⁴⁴⁶ Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler, eds, *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 733; also, Germán Bleiberg, Maureen Ihrle, and Janet Pérez, eds., *Dictionary of the Literature of the Iberian Peninsula (A-K)* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993), 375.

Though a few studies of anti-*ilustrados* and anti-*theatristas* exist, these works almost uniformly side in relegating them to a dogmatic, irrational, and culturally irrelevant position. This charge is not new – it was, in fact, a claim made by *ilustrados* during the eighteenth century. In the 1720s, a physician in Cordoba, Doctor Gonzalo Antonio Serrano, published a paper attacking Mañer, which he titled the “Trifles of Mañer.” Serrano believed that many of the critiques Mañer was making were inconsequential or tangential to the real claims made by works of the *novatores*.⁴⁴⁷ Similarly, the modern day scholar Ivy McClelland has argued that “apart from a rare inaccuracy...[Feijóo] was largely being attacked...because he was being misinterpreted; because his statements were being used misleadingly out of their context...”⁴⁴⁸ No examples are given. It is true that Feijóo complained that his critics were misapplying his work and misunderstanding his terminology (similar to Martínez’s lament over the misunderstanding of “skepticism”).⁴⁴⁹ Similarly, McClelland argues that Mañer’s comments were unsubstantial and nitpicky, finding “reasoning on minor points of logic” and “pettifogging logic.”⁴⁵⁰ In this way, McClelland aligns herself wholly with Feijóo’s critiques of Mañer’s review of his work. In the prologue of his *Ilustración Apologética* (1729), Feijóo wrote that,

...the *Anti-Teatro* is nothing more than the stage rigging of a theater, a chimera of criticism, a comedy of eight farces, a naïve person’s illusion, an infant’s boogeyman, a castle in the air, without base, truth, or reason...I could save many

⁴⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the *Fruslerias de Mañer* by Serrano does not appear to have survived to the present day. The only remaining knowledge of it comes from Mañer’s response to it. See Salvador Joseph Mañer, *Belerofonte literario y respuesta apologetic a el papel intitulado: Fruslerias de Mañer, hecho por el Doct. D. Gonzalo Antonio Serrano, Philomatematico, y Medico de Cordova* (Madrid: se hallará en casa de Juan de Moya, 1729), BNE: VE/1447/5. Available digitally through Biblioteca Digital Hispánica.

⁴⁴⁸ McClelland, Feijóo, 117. To be fair, Mañer wrote so much that it would be unreasonable to expect complete perfection. Even Armesto y Ossorio points out the occasional flaw in Mañer’s volumes. For example, in his analysis of “Antipatia de Franceses & de Españoles,” Armesto y Ossorio writes about “a stupid trifle on the part of the Anti-Theatro.” “...una friolera tonta de parte del Anti-Theatro.” Armesto y Ossorio, *Anti-Theatro*, Lib.III. Discurso XXV, 203.

⁴⁴⁹ See, for example, Feijóo’s *Ilustración Apologética* or Martínez’s *Philosophía Scéptica*.

⁴⁵⁰ McClelland, *Feijóo*, 117-118.

the money that it costs to buy his Writings and the consumption of time that it takes to read them.⁴⁵¹

Elsewhere, Feijóo describes his contempt for the sophistry of eighteenth-century counter-enlighteners. He wrote that it was “born from a poor study of the dialectic of our Schools,” and was an “abuse of verbal disputes.”⁴⁵² Scholars studying the anti-ilustrados and anti-theatristas have accepted Feijóo’s condemnation of Mañer as true. This chapter challenges this acceptance, asserting that the anti-*ilustrado* platform was neither irrational nor illogical, but rather operated from a different, conservative epistemological axiology that promoted cautiousness in adopting new methods of inquiry and promoted traditional sources of authority.⁴⁵³

Anti-Ilustrados and Epistemological Cautiousness

The first marker of this conservative epistemology was a hesitancy to adopt the methods of the “new philosophy,” specifically, empiricism, skepticism, and rationalism. The period of the *novatores* (1687-1725) had inundated Spain with a variety of new concepts, and the novelty of these ideas made them suspect to many anti-*ilustrados*. Indeed, the very word *novedad* signifies in Spanish both “novelty” and “mishap.”⁴⁵⁴ “Various wits moved themselves against

⁴⁵¹ “... el Anti-Teatro no es más que una tramoya de Teatro, una quimera crítica, una Comedia de ocho ingenios, una ilusión de inocentes, un coco de párvulos, una fábrica en el aire, sin fundamento, verdad, ni razón...con este desengaño les ahorraré a muchos el gasto de dinero en comprar sus Escritos, y el consumo de tiempo en leerlos...” Feijóo, *Ilustración Apologética*, Prólogo al Lector, 1729. Feijóo makes a wordplay between the title of his work as a *Teatro* – a theater in the sense of a field of operations or a place for action to occur – and the rigging and falseness of stage scenery of a dramatic theater. Decrying an opponent’s work as a chimera was a popular means of discrediting them as irrational and nonsensical. The eight comedies is a reference to Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s popular work, *Ocho Comedias y Ocho Entremeses Nuevos, Nunca Representados* (1615).

⁴⁵² From the 1765 version of Feijóo’s TCU.I, pg. viii.

⁴⁵³ Particularly in the case of “misunderstanding” terminology and concepts, this paper argues that anti-*ilustrados* deliberately destabilized certain concepts to assert a weakness in the theory behind each.

⁴⁵⁴ In Covarrubias’s 1611 *Tesoro*, he defines “novedad” as “a new and unaccustomed thing. Usually [thought] to be dangerous by bringing with it change from ancient use.” (“Novedad:: cosa nueva y no acostumbrada. Suele ser peligrosa por traer consigo mudança de uso antiguo.” Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, 1168). This has been noted by John

the new work,” Mañer wrote, and “the Presses sweated under a multitude of witty writings.”⁴⁵⁵

Mañer sought to distinguish his critiques, writing, “...in short, novelty always arrives dressed in the foreign, and looked upon with strangeness...”⁴⁵⁶ Feijóo himself would later comment on the way in which all innovation was subject to suspicion in Spain. In the second volume of his *Cartas Eruditas y Curiosas*, Feijóo echoed Mañer’s statements, describing

...the preoccupation that is in the kingdom of Spain against all novelty. Many say that when it comes to doctrines, the title of “the new” is enough needed to censure them; because the novelties in the field of doctrine are suspicious...the new doctrines in the Sacred Sciences are suspect, and all those with this judgment have censured the doctrinal novelties, of these they have spoken.⁴⁵⁷

Mañer’s comments against newness underscore the fact that he, like many anti-*ilustrados*, did not seek to reject the “new philosophy” out of hand entirely. Rather, Mañer advocated that discerning and intellectually responsible individuals would analyze these new ideas slowly and carefully. Fray Francisco de Soto y Marne, a Franciscan anti-*ilustrado* emphasized the connection between novelty and falsehood in his *Alphabetical Index of Notable Things*, stating that novelty “...is extremely risky. It hides the poison of falsehood which harasses geniuses, by means of exquisite attractiveness it captivates minds. It is the daughter of the levities of discourse, the sister of assented superstitions, and the mother of reckless judgments.”⁴⁵⁸

Browning, “Fray Benito Jerónimo de Feijóo & the Sciences in 18th-Century Spain,” in *The Varied Pattern: Studies in the 18th Century*, ed. Peter Hughes and David Williams (Toronto: A.M. Hakkert, Ltd., 1971), 353.

⁴⁵⁵“Varios ingenios se conmovieron contra la nueva obra...sudaron con la Prensas una multitud de ingenios...” Mañer, *Anti-Theatro Crítico sobre el Primero y Segundo Tomo del Theatro Crítico Universal...*, Prologo al Lector,” [1727?] Given that Mañer’s work is one of the earliest printed books available by anti-*theatristas*, it is most likely that the works to which Mañer refers were short essays, sermons, pamphlets, or periodical pieces that have since been lost.

⁴⁵⁶ “...o porque en fin, siempre la novedad viene vestida de estrangera, y mirada con extrañeza...” Mañer, *Anti-Theatro Crítico sobre el Primero y Segundo Tomo del Theatro Crítico Universal...*, Prologo al Lector,” [1727?]

⁴⁵⁷ “...La segunda causa es la preocupación, que reina en España contra toda novedad. Dicen muchos, que basta en las doctrinas el título de nuevas para reprobárlas, porque las novedades en punto de doctrina son sospechosas...Las doctrinas nuevas en las Ciencias Sagradas son sospechosas, y todos lo que con juicio han reprobado las novedades doctrinales, de estas han hablado.” CE.II.16§6-7, “Causas del atraso que se padece en España en orden a las Ciencias Naturales,” 1745.

⁴⁵⁸ “*Novedad*. En materias de Literatura, i Doctrina, es sumamente arriesgada...oculta la venenosa falsedad con que atosiga los ingenios, entre aquel exquisito atractivo, con que embelesa los animos...Es hija de las levedades del

Similarly, Armesto y Ossorio compared his task of analyzing Feijóo and Martín Sarmiento to that of a ship's pilot, constantly referencing the maps and charts that had been drawn by earlier navigators. "Because in navigation," he writes, "what comes of always looking at the nautical rules is that one frees himself from many rocks upon which others have shipwrecked incautiously. At least up to now my maxims have run without contradiction."⁴⁵⁹ Armesto y Ossorio's nautical metaphor perfectly emphasizes the circumspect which scientifically-informed thinkers urged in response to the *nueva filosofía*. Restraint in assent was needed until methods could be verified, findings double-checked, and philosophical presuppositions reconciled with earlier authorities.

A cautious epistemological attitude towards novelty resulted in a hesitancy to quickly adopt empirical methods or philosophies that, in the view of the anti-*ilustrados*, had only recently been established and which had not yet suffered enough scrutiny to be blindly trusted as scientific doctrine. In his review of Feijóo's discourse on medicine, for example, he notes that "In this present Discourse, I feel that your Reverence [has made] an error, which consists in the excessive confidence which he makes in Medicine...."⁴⁶⁰ Mañer prudently notes the use and benefit of medicine as a source of knowledge, as well as the progress which had been recently made in that field. In his initial critique of Feijóo, Mañer was keen to thank the Benedictine for the contributions which he had made towards the correction of errors in Spain. "[The] remedy," he wrote in his prologue to the reader, "and general purging [of common errors] was taken out of

discurso; hermana de las supersticiones del assenso; i madre de las temeridades del juicio..." *Indice Alfabético de las Cosas Notable contenidas en este primero Tomo* in Soto y Marne, Fray Francisco de, *Reflexiones Critico-Apologeticas sobre las Obras del RR. P. Maestro Fr. Benito Geronimo Fejoo...* (Salamanca: por Eugenio Garcio de Honorato i S. Miguel, 1749).

⁴⁵⁹ "...porque el navegante, que lleva siempre à la vista las reglas de la Nautica, se liberta de mucho escollos, en que otros han naufragado incautos." Armesto y Ossorio, *Anti-Theatro*, Lib.III.Prologo.ii.

⁴⁶⁰ En el presente Discurso sienta su Reverendísima un *error*, que consiste en la *nimia confianza, que se hace de la Medicina...*" Don José Salvador Mañer, "Medicina, Discurso Quinto," in *Anti-Theatro Critico, Sobre el Primero y Segundo Tomo del Theatro Critico Universal* (1729), 52-53.

the public light this past year of 1727 in the first volume of his *Theatro Crítico Universal*.⁴⁶¹ His praise is effuse and poetic, noting that “with his grand scholarship washed our eyes of our blindness, removing the cataracts of our deceit in the common errors which has appeared to us.”⁴⁶²

With a particular care for how an overreliance on things medical and empirical could influence individuals, particularly the *vulgo*, Mañer sought to curtail Feijóo’s endorsement of the medical field. He wrote, “For there are many, and I know not a small number, that if the confidence which one has in medicine is good, when it is too much, it can have by mistake the common defect of excess, and this is what one finds in the *vulgo*, just as your Reverence wants...”⁴⁶³ For Mañer, and for many anti-*ilustrados*, scientific and medical advancements had yet to earn the trust granted by the test of time. *Ilustrados* such as Feijóo, according to Mañer, had placed “*nimia confianza*” – excessive confidence – in the new philosophy and science of the *novatores*.

A common critique voiced by Feijóo and his supporters and supported by the historiography is that many of the anti-*theatristas* lacked the appropriate scientific and medical

⁴⁶¹ “De esta suma felicidad no experimento la física iguales ventajas, que como parte menos noble, y mas pegada a lo tereno, quedó solo sostenida de las débiles fuerzas de lo humano, con las que arrastrando el hombre sus deseos por el dilatado giro de tantos transcurros, ha ido de un tiempo en otro logrando en la naturaleza algunos hallazgos, y con ellos ilustrando por los pasados los siglos subsecuentes, se ha arribado a el presente, en que admirándonos de los yerros de los antiguos, podamos dejar por sucesión los nuestros; para que los venideros hagan lo mismo, según la sentencia de Seneca al cap. 33. Nat. Quaest. Con esta, en fin, insipiencia dilatada, se han ido extendiendo los errores hasta llegar a ser comunes, para cuyo remedio, y general expulsión, sacó a la publica luz el año [] pasado de 1727 el primer Tomo de su *Theatro Crítico Universal* el Reverendisimo Padre Maestro Fray Benito Feijóo, Maestro General a la Religion de San Benito, Cathedratico de Visperas de Theologia en la Universidad de Oviedo,” Mañer, *Anti-Theatro Critico* Vol. 1,2, “Prologo al Lector”

⁴⁶² “en el que con su grande erudición puso el colirio de nuestra ceguedad, desterrando las cataratas de nuestro engaño en los comunes errores que padecíamos.” Mañer, *Anti-Theatro Critico* Vol. 1,2, “Prologo al Lector”

⁴⁶³ “Pues muchos hay, y yo conozco no pocos: con que si bien *la confianza que se hace de la medicina*, cuando es *demasiada*, tenga por *error* el defecto común de los excesos, y este se halle en el *vulgo*, como su Reverendísima quiere...” Mañer, “Medicina, Discurso Quinto,” in *Anti-Theatro Critico, Sobre el Primero y Segundo Tomo del Theatro Critico Universal* (1729), 52-53.

backgrounds to intelligently oppose the position of the *novatores*. For this reason, the anti-*ilustrados* had to content themselves with pointing out minor logical flaws or mistakes, oversights, or to destabilize a work by engaging in semantic devolution.⁴⁶⁴ This position has been strenuously argued against in chapter one of this dissertation, in which it was demonstrated that critics of Martínez such as Araujo and Lesaca were scientifically trained and informed, and often wrote their anti-*ilustrado* works with the backing of scientific organizations and university faculties. Similarly Mañer wrote extensively in the introductory material of his first critique attempting to demonstrate his qualifications, distinguish himself from uninformed critics of Feijóo, and to compliment Feijóo on the good work which he *had* accomplished in disabusing many errors. He writes describing the “weak argument of shallow wits” that ensued after Feijóo’s initial writings, specifying that “not all of these were comprehending in the same sentiment...” and “...nobody doubts that [there is an] abundant number of idiots.”⁴⁶⁵ Mañer notes that *he*, unlike other anti-*theatristas*, had carefully read Feijóo, had delayed his publication to ensure that he was cautious in his reviews, and that his comments were critiques of oversights and errors that he submitted to the authority of *sabios* as evidence of their doubtless veracity. This is very similar to Luis de Flandes, who expressed in the prologue to his *Antiguo Académico Contra el Moderno Scéptico*, in which he writes, “The aim of my work is to dispute with bad

⁴⁶⁴ Both Crujeiras Lustres and McClelland argue this position, labeling it a “*vulgo* conception of science.” See the chapter under this title in McClelland, *Ideological Hesitancy in Spain*; see also McClelland, *Feijóo*, 118; also, María José Crujeiras Lustres, “La filósofa rancia: un pensamiento ignorado,” *Anales del Seminario de Historia de la Filosofía* 10, 45-55, Editorial Complutense, Madrid, 1993, pg. 45-46.

⁴⁶⁵ “...pero en lo general era la común queja el destierro *universal* que se les había intimado: sobre lo que exclamaban era audacia muy destemplada, y demasiada satisfacción propia presumir el Autor de aquella obra, ser mas sabio que el resto de los demás hombres, no siendo capaz de que errasen todos, y fuese único en el acierto. Argumento débil de ingenios superficiales: pues ni todos estaban comprendidos en unos mismos sentimientos, ni su Reverendísima era tan único en mucha parte de los suyos, que no se hallasen otros ser de su propio dictamen; que aunque no fuesen tantos como los del sentir contrario, nadie duda ser dilatadísimo el numero de los necios. El diluvio de papeles que salieron como llovidos, aunque no todos mojados, hubo de llegar a serenidad, sin embargo el que de tiempos en tiempos goteaban, con lo que al año siguiente, que contamos en el pasado, continuando el mismo Autor la obra de su *Theatro*, sacó su segundo...” Mañer, *Anti-Theatro (Primero y Segundo)*, “Prólogo al Lector”

Critics, or bad correctors of Philosophy...all of the sages have used and use the rays of the sciences...”⁴⁶⁶ Flandes and Mañer and many anti-*ilustrados* sought to discern between useful and harmful application of the new science to Catholic Spain.

Armesto y Ossorio, in his colorful prose, wrote in his analysis of “Apparent Wisdom” on the distinction between helpful and harmful scientists and medical professionals that “Science has her hypocrites, just as Virtue does: and not a small number of the *Vulgo* is deceived by them...”⁴⁶⁷ These “hypocrites of Science” feigned positions of authority and prestige and were able to persuade many to their position. Armesto y Ossorio insinuates that many of these figures occupied prominent positions – perhaps university professors or members of academic societies. He wrote that “The unlearned are many, [and they] walk among the plaza of the *sabios*. [They are] very dexterous men, making their papers in the reserved place of the Theatre of the World, in which they add tincture to their letters to serve as color, for to simulate high doctrines.”⁴⁶⁸ It is ironic, perhaps, that while the general history of the period has portrayed the anti-*ilustrados* as intransigent and rigid, they themselves laid the same claim of dogmatism against the followers of enlightenment and scientific “doctrine.”

Armesto y Ossorio, Mañer, and many anti-*ilustrados*, were particularly alarmed at the potential that the new philosophy, as well as its misconstructions, could have upon a largely undiscerning and lay public, known in Spain as the *vulgo* (the common reader). Historians have noted that many of the *ilustrados* were concerned to portray themselves as disillusioning the superstitious *vulgo* of Spain’s populace. Feijóo, for example, stated that if the “...deceived will

⁴⁶⁶ Flandes, *Antiguo Academico*, second page of prologue. “Mi trabajo se encamina à disputar con malos Criticos, ò malos correctores de la Filosofia....Todos los Sabios han usado, y usan de las raizes de las ciencias...”

⁴⁶⁷ “Tiene la Ciencia sus hypocritas, como la Virtud: y no menos es engañado el Vulgo por aquellos, que por estos...” Armesto y Ossorio, *Anti-Theatro* Lib.III. “Sabiduria Aparente,” 180.

⁴⁶⁸ “Son muchos los indoctos, que pasan plaza de sabios. Ay hombres muy diestros, en hacer el papel de cotos en el Theatro del Mundo, en quienes la leve tintura de las letras sirve de color, para figurar altas doctrinas. “Armesto y Ossorio, *Anti-Theatro* Lib.III. “Sabiduria Aparente,” 180.

not be disabused of error, I will not rest from my responses, neither to Señor Mañer nor to the other.”⁴⁶⁹ Yet anti-*ilustrados* also wrote concerning the *vulgo*. Armesto y Ossorio, specifically noted that the hypocrites of science promoted false “doctrines” that could fool the majority of Spaniards. “If what [the hypocrite] paints is [as good as] Zeuxis⁴⁷⁰, the little birds will fly without caution to the painted grapes as if they were true ones.”⁴⁷¹ Again, Armesto y Ossorio emphasizes the danger of rash adoption of empirical practices – “flying without caution” and without a careful examination of the material represented to anti-*ilustrados* a lack of prudence and irresponsible academic virtue. Like the earlier critiques against Martínez, anti-*theatristas* and advocates of the conservative epistemology resented the fact that new and unproved knowledge was being disseminated widely, often in the vernacular, and poorly to a readership who agitated Spanish society in their confusion. Critics of enlightenment therefore sought to counter the uncertainty of new concepts with the reliability of familiar sources.

The Reaffirmation of Traditional Sources of Authority

The second marker of the conservative epistemology of the early anti-*ilustrados* was therefore the reaffirmation of traditional sources of authority. For individuals such as Mañer and Armesto y Ossorio, this included ancient figures such as Aristotle or Galen, as well as Biblical

⁴⁶⁹ En esta Apología se verá, que el Anti-Teatro no es más que una tramoya de Teatro, una quimera crítica, una Comedia de ocho ingenios, una ilusión de inocentes, un coco de párvulos, una fábrica en el aire, sin fundamento, verdad, ni razón. Y siendo cierto, que el Sr. Mañer con todos sus asociados no podrá escribir de aquí adelante, sino como escribió hasta aquí, con este desengaño les ahorrará a muchos el gasto de dinero en comprar sus Escritos, y el consumo de tiempo en leerlos. Mas si el Sr. Mañer prosiguere, y los engañados no se desengañaren, no me cansaré en más respuestas, ni al Sr. Mañer, ni a otro alguno. Continuaré mi Obra, sin cuidar de satisfacer a objeciones de trampantojo, o ya mis contrarios lo canten como triunfo, o ya lo lloren como desprecio.” Feijóo, *Ilustración Apologética*, Prólogo al Lector, 1729.

⁴⁷⁰ Zeuxis was a Greek painter renowned for his illusionism and ability to create life-like paintings, described in an anecdote about birds trying to eat grapes he painted. Although none of his works have survived, he is referenced in several ancient Greek texts.

⁴⁷¹ “Si el que pinta es un Zeuxis, volarán las avecillas incautas a las uvas pintadas, como a las verdaderas.” Armesto y Ossorio, *Anti-Theatro* Lib.III. “Sabiduria Aparente,” 180.

and patristic writers. *Anti-ilustrado* discourse did not solely consist of denials and inversions of enlightenment thought – they advocated, in its place, the mental framework which had girded their institutions and their society for fifteen hundred years. Traditional sources of authority, including scriptural and patristic authors, conciliar and papal pronouncements, and the works of established writers such as Aristotle and Galen were all reasserted as the *sabios* to whom all work had to at least be consulted and compared before promulgated. In this exaltation of traditional authority, the anti-*ilustrados* emphasized the newness of the *filosofía* often. In the introduction of his half-mocking, half-serious critique *AntiTheatro Dèlphico Judicial Jocoseroío*, Don Geminiano Zafra Ciscodexa jested that:

This scholarly man [Feijóo],
 With notable scholarship,
 Gives rules, but they aren't
 Like those of Saint Benedict.⁴⁷²

The solution, for Ciscodexa, as well as for Mañer and Armesto y Ossorio, was to reassert the traditional stance – to carefully investigate the informal canon of authority and to compare the findings of the *nueva ciencia* with what had come before. It is important to emphasize that for anti-*theatristas*, within the sphere of anti-*ilustrados*, Feijóo had not failed to consult the authorities, but had rather come to the wrong conclusions or had made “oversights” (*descuidos*) in his study. Feijóo, as well as the generic Spanish *ilustrado*, was no *philosophe*, in the sense that he did not reject authorities, but rather sought to reinterpret them and to recognize the limits of their applicability.

⁴⁷² “Este varon erudito/Con notable erudición,/Reglas dà, pero no son/Como la de San Benito.” From “Pro Theatri-Anticritici Auctore in Theatri Critici Auctorem D. Thomae Antonii de Bedón, latininitatis Magistri,” in Zafra Ciscadexa, *Antitheatro Delphico*, 1727, frontmatter (vi). Feijóo was a Benedictine, making the departure noted by Zafra Ciscodexas more pronounced.

In the *Anti-Theatro*, Mañer references not only scriptural, patristic, and traditional ecclesiastical authorities, but also relies upon the traditional teachings of established medical and scientific thinkers. He mentions, for example, on three successive pages in one discourse, "...[his] reverence for the authority of Señor Hippocrates...", that as anecdotal evidence, he did "remember reading in the City of God of St. Augustine..." and that Feijóo himself had supported an opinion "...with the authority of Sanctorius, Galen, and Paulo Zaquias....and that of Doctor Luis Lemerí."⁴⁷³ By including Hippocrates along with Augustine, and Galen with the holy scripture, Mañer exemplifies the attitude which many anti-*theatristas* and anti-*ilustrados* had towards authority. In the face of new and unknown ideas, these authorities were to be reevaluated, not dismissed.

Similarly, Armesto y Ossorio positioned all of his work in reference to the *sabios* – the established authorities which had been long trusted as sources of knowledge. This included Church Fathers, such as Augustine and Aquinas, as well as secular authorities such as Galen and Aristotle. Armesto y Ossorio wrote that "I can promise myself without vanity, that what will appear [in this work] has little contradictions to the Sages, and to the Wise Ones..."⁴⁷⁴ Anti-*ilustrados* countered the "spirit of empiricism" of enlightenment thought with a reassessment of the value of revelation and tradition as legitimate sources of knowledge.⁴⁷⁵ In a particularly

⁴⁷³ "Si yo profesará la Medicina, le hiciera mi reverencia a la autoridad del Señor Hippocrates; mas hallandome fuera de sus dominios, debo decir, que no esbostante el que porque un manjar no sea *nocivo* en lo singular, se siga no lo será tampoco en lo general." (64); "Acuerdome haber leído en la Ciudad de Dios de San Agustín, que el Santo refiere que en su tiempo vió un hombre, que movia las orejas a un tiempo, y sucesivamente". (65); "En el numero 10 en materia de mantenimientos, se declara su Reverendisima contra las carnes, en favor de los peces, con la autoridad de Sanctorio, Galeno, y Paulo Zaquias; y hace lo mismo a favor de las yerbas, con la del Doctor Luis Lemerí." (66) From "Regimen para Conservar la Salud (Discurso Sexto)," in Mañer, *Anti-Theatro Critico sobre el Primero y Segundo Tomo del Theatro Critico Universal...* (1727?)

⁴⁷⁴ "Puedo prometerme sin vanidad, à que padecerè pocas contradicciones de los Sabios, y Prudentes..." Armesto y Ossorio, *Anti-Theatro*, Lib. III., Prologo.ii.

⁴⁷⁵ John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain 1700-1808* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 254.

dramatic example, Armesto y Ossorio comments upon the “Philosophical Wars” which Feijóo initially described in the third volume of his *Teatro Crítico Universal*. He contrasts the tension between Cartesianism, Gassendism, and atomism, and the relative placidity of the former Aristotelian thought. In piety and temperance, Armesto y Ossorio found the moderns sorely lacking. He writes that “In Catholic Schools, perhaps one can see an offensive word, which one detests as a monster of the classroom...”⁴⁷⁶ Armesto y Ossorio contrasts this to the modern school of philosophy, noting “...that in the Schools of the Philosophers the greatest impiety arrives [as] the abominations of anger.”⁴⁷⁷ Thus, he suggested that the new philosophies carried with them an inherent contradictory nature and fundamental instability.

Like Mañer and Armesto y Ossorio, later anti-*ilustrados* also critiqued the devotion to the *modernos* (modern philosophers) which *ilustrados* such as Feijóo held. Writing in 1749, Fray Soto y Marne wrote that “you will find evidenced that the Histories, both Sacred and Profane, with the three irrefutable Testimonies of Authority, Experience, and Reason argue that the World was getting worse in custom with each step that grew in age.”⁴⁷⁸ Soto y Marne would later critique Feijóo, denouncing him as a follower of Newton, Descartes, and Gassendi. Although Feijóo countered this charge, stating that “I do not constitute a follower of any of these three,” his frequent reference to the philosophies of each and eclectic adoption of some of their ideas caused conservative thinkers to associate him with wholesale acceptance of these philosophies.⁴⁷⁹ The solution for anti-*ilustrados* was to reassert the value of trusted and

⁴⁷⁶ “En las Escuelas Catholicas tal vez se nota una palabra ofensiva, que se abomina, como monstruo de la Aula;...” Armesto y Ossorio, *Anti-Theatro* Lib.III., “Guerras Filosoficas,” pag. 1

⁴⁷⁷ “En las Escuelas de los Filosofos llegaron à mayor impiedad las abominaciones de la ira.” Armesto y Ossorio, *Anti-Theatro* Lib.III., “Guerras Filosoficas,” pag. 1

⁴⁷⁸ “...porque haré constar, que las Historias, así Sagradas, como Profanas, con los tres irrefragables Testimonios de la Autoridad, Experiencia, i Razón, convencen, que el Mundo fue empeorando en costumbres, al paso que fue creciendo en años.” Soto y Marne, *Reflexiones Critico-Apologeticas*, 111 (XIV.155).

⁴⁷⁹ “De ninguno de los tres me constituyo sectario.” Feijóo, *Justa Repulsa de Iniquas Acusaciones, en Carta del Maestro Feyjoó a un Amigo Suyo* [s.a.], 16.

sanctioned authorities; Soto y Marne, for example, in his index, describes Aristotle as the one who “established the principality of his doctrine on the ruins of his opponents,” and writes that Feijóo has misunderstood and underappreciated Saints Augustine and Ambrose, both Doctors of the Church.⁴⁸⁰

The Unity of Truth in the Conservative Epistemology

The epistemological hesitancy upon which early critics of the enlightenment insisted and the subsequent reaffirmation of traditional sources of authority are both indicative of the final marker of the conservative episteme – a unified conception of truth. To anti-*ilustrados* of early-eighteenth century Spain, all areas of knowledge – physics and metaphysics, science and philosophy – were inextricably connected to each other, particularly by modes of epistemological inquiry and justification. The reason why *ilustrados* such as Feijóo could challenge the utility and application of established authorities such as Aristotle or Aquinas were because of the demarcation of separate fields of knowledge. Feijóo argued against the application of suspicion to novelty in the fields of the natural sciences (as opposed to what Feijóo called the “Sacred Sciences”). In the sciences, as in the arts, Feijóo argued, “there is no discovery or invention which was not at some time new.”⁴⁸¹

...to extend this grudge [against novelty] to those that appear new in those Faculties that do not leave the enclosure of Nature is to lend their sponsorship to obstinate ignorance with a stupid remark. All novelty should be congratulated rather than suspected. Nobody should be condemned for mere suspicion. With this these Scholastics can never escape being unjust. Suspicion induces

⁴⁸⁰ “Aristoteles...establecio el principado de su doctrina, sobre la ruina de las contrarias...Augustine...contra el sentir del Rmo. Feyjoo...San Ambrosio...como falsamente le insuta [insulta?] el Rmo Feyjoo...” *Indice* in Soto y Marne, *Reflexiones Critico-Apologeticas*.

⁴⁸¹ “En materia de Ciencias, y Artes no hay descubrimiento, o invención, que no haya sido un tiempo nueva.” CE.II.16§9, “Causas del atraso que se padece en España en orden a las Ciencias Naturales,” 1745.

examination, not for decision: this is for all genres of material, excepting only that of the Faith, where objective suspicion is odious and just as damnable.⁴⁸²

Thus Feijóo, like Martínez before him, argued that science and theology operated with two separate epistemological standards. The *nueva ciencias* of the *novatores* were accompanied by a philosophy of the new sciences which claimed that they never strayed from the “enclosure of Nature.” Indeed, Martínez’s concept of “medical skepticism” argued that the same methodology could be beneficial in natural examination and dangerous in metaphysical reflection. Similarly, Feijóo noted of Descartes that he “impugn[ed] him with all the strength possible, not only as improbable in the Physical, but also as dangerous in places of Theology.”⁴⁸³

Feijóo often described the fields of the *física* (physical) and *teología* (theology, metaphysical) as bounded and finite. Yet at times, he betrayed this concept by admitting that *filosofía* (philosophy) could impact both. Indeed, the word *filosofía* was ambiguously employed in Spanish to mean both physical and metaphysical inquiry. Feijóo wrote that “I know that without leaving the [realm of] Philosophy, one can fabricate dangerous systems for Theology.”⁴⁸⁴ Mañer and Armesto y Ossorio, along with other anti-*ilustrados*, recognized the porosity of the proposed demarcations between the natural (*física, naturaleza, ciencia, medicina, filosofía*) and the supernatural (*teología, fe, ciencias sagradas, filosofía*). These thinkers espoused, in contradiction to the epistemological demarcation of the *ilustrados*, a conservative epistemology that emphasized the unity of knowledge. This was particularly true for methods of

⁴⁸² “...Pero extender esta ojeriza a cuanto parece nuevo en aquellas Facultades, que no salen del recinto de la Naturaleza, es prestar, con un despropósito, patrocinio a la obstinada ignorancia. Mas sea norabuena sospechosa toda novedad. A nadie se condena por meras sospechas. Con que estos Escolásticos nunca se pueden escapar de ser injustos. La sospecha induce al examen, no a la decisión: esto en todo género de materias, exceptuando sólo la de la Fe, donde la sospecha objetiva es odiosa, y como tal damnable.” Feijóo, CE.II.16§6-7 “Causas del atraso que se padece en España en orden a las Ciencias Naturales,” 1745.

⁴⁸³ “El de Descartes, no en un parte sola impugno con toda la fuerza posible, no solo como improbable en lo Physico, mas también como peligroso en algunas de sus partes ácia lo Theologico...” Feijóo, *Justa Repulsa*, 16.

⁴⁸⁴ “Sé, que sin salir de la Filosofía, se pueden fabricar sistemas peligrosos para la Teología.” Feijóo, *Ilustracion Apologetica*, 227.

justification; if materialism and skepticism were adopted as methods of legitimate inquiry in the natural sciences, anti-*ilustrados* argued, it would not be long before they were insisted upon as the only methods for metaphysical investigations.

While many historians have previously studied the epistemology of the sciences of the enlightenment, few have studied its impact in religious thought from the same period.⁴⁸⁵ Yet it is in this unified conception of knowledge that Armesto y Ossorio could describe his work as countering the *Theatro Crítico* with “the Truth.”⁴⁸⁶ This was, in fact, the same word that Feijóo used to describe the knowledge he sought, a knowledge that was “neither antiquity, nor novelty, but the truth, in which I hope to be and in which I imitate the Father of Families of the Gospels.”⁴⁸⁷

Thus, although this chapter has distinguished between “scientific objections” and “religious objections” raised by anti-*ilustrados*, these are artificial categories. Nearly every one of the works of “scientific objections” were girded with theology and Catholic doctrine, and many of the “religious objections” contained references to scientific works and accreditations by notable professionals in natural philosophy and medicine. It has been an ongoing concern of this dissertation to highlight the way in which the eighteenth-century Spanish mind conceived of the relationship between the fields of science and religion – what Will and Ariel Durant described as “...that pervasive and continuing conflict between religion and science-plus-philosophy which became a living drama in the eighteenth century, and which resulted in the secret secularism of

⁴⁸⁵ See, for example, Andrea Costa and Graciela Domenech, “Historia y Epistemología de las Ciencias,” *Enseñanza de las Ciencias* 20.1 (2002), 159-165; also W.R. Daros, “Epistemología y Ciencia: ¿Es Ciencia la Teología?” (independent, unpublished paper).

⁴⁸⁶ Taken from the title of Armesto y Ossorio’s *Theatro Anti-Critico*.

⁴⁸⁷ “me explico con amargura contra los modernos, que tratan con desprecio á Aristoteles....en fin, todos mis Escritos vocéan, que ni prefiero para el asenso, ni la antigüedad, ni la novedad, sino la verdad, en quanto me parece serlo; y que procuro imitar al Padre de Familias del Evangelio...” Feijóo, *Justa Repulsa*, 16.

our times.”⁴⁸⁸ To this narrative, the testimony of anti-*ilustrado* literature is one which argues for a highly compatible, mutually dependent view. Any “living drama” which occurred in Spain only serves to underscore how seriously the relationship was viewed.

“If Feijóo Writes in Silver, You Have Impugned Him in Gold:” The Case Study of Cigala

All three of these markers – epistemological cautiousness, a reaffirmation of traditional sources, and an insistence on the unity of knowledge – are revealed in the case study of Francisco Ignacio Cigala, a Jesuit-educated intellectual, gentleman, and amateur scientist living in Mexico during the mid-eighteenth century.⁴⁸⁹ Around 1760, Cigala published an open letter,

⁴⁸⁸ Durant, *Age of Voltaire*, vii.

⁴⁸⁹ Little is known about the life of Francisco Ignacio Cigala. Most scholars agree that he was born in Havana in the first half of the eighteenth century; some have posited 1712 as his birth year. (Salvador Bueno argues that Cigala was born in 1712, without much evidence, in Salvador Bueno, “México en la literatura cubana,” *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba* [s.a.?].) At an unknown age, after studying science at the Franciscan college in Havana, he traveled to Mexico, most likely sometime around the middle of the century. There, he furthered his studies, particularly concentrating within the fields of agricultural science and physics. (Gonzalo Díaz Díaz, ed., *Hombres y documentos de la filosofía española*. Vol. 2 (C-D) (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Filosofía “Luis Vives,” 1983), 330.) Gonzalo Díaz Díaz lists Cigala as a Jesuit in his *Hombres y documentos de la filosofía española*, a fact which is repeated often in the secondary literature. (Díaz Díaz, *Hombres y documentos*, 330.) However, there is no evidence whatsoever that Cigala was a member of the Society of Jesus, whereas there is ample reason to believe that he was *not* a member. In a letter dated July 27th, 1767, Cigala refers to “your order” of the Jesuits, rather than “our order.” (“Carta de Cigala a Señor Sargento Mayor Don Luis Ignacio Milhau,” 30 de julio, 1767, in Archivo General de la Nación, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4880, 9959/26, Expediente 026 (Jesuitas Caja 4880).) In November of that same year, Cigala is absent from any of the registries (neither in the *i catalogi annuals*, the so-called “*breves*” which annually reported the number and names of each member and the college and province of each, nor in the *I catalogi triennales*, special registries given every three years by the Province to the General). Neither is he in the manifests of Jesuits during the expulsion of the Society from Veracruz to Havana and from Havana to Cádiz. (“Carta de Cigala a Señor Sargento Mayor Don Luis Ignacio Milhau,” 30 de julio, 1767, in Archivo General de la Nación, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4880, 9959/26, Expediente 026 (Jesuitas Caja 4880); also ARSI.Antica Compagnia, Assistentia Hispaniae, Mexico, Tomo 8 “Catalogo Trien et Breve 1751-1764,” and Tomo 11 “Catalogo de los Sujetos de la Compañía, 1767.”) Most obviously, Paredes specifically describes Cigala as a “Caballero secular” in his introduction to Cigala’s second letter to Feijóo. (Paredes, “...un Americano, y erudite Caballero secular...” Introductory Letter in Cigala’s *Carta Segunda*, pg. xxv.) Beristáin y Souza, a contemporary scholar of Cigala’s, does not describe Cigala as a Jesuit in his brief biographical sketch of the man. (Beristáin y Souza, José Mariano. *Biblioteca Hispanoamericana Septentrional*. México, s. i., 1816, Vol. 1, pg. 345.) Instead, it seems that Cigala was a secular gentleman and landowner, probably of some wealth and stature, likely involved in the industry of sugar mills, and in close contact with leading academics and particularly with members of the Society of Jesus.

It is certain, however, that Cigala was a widely-read and well-connected individual. References in his work evince a familiarity with learned publications from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and his second letter received the endorsement of Juan Joseph de Eguia y Eguren, the bishop of Yucatán and before then the Chancellor of the Real Universidad de Mexico and Catedrático Jubilado en Prima de Sagrada Teología, as well as a calificador

one hundred and eighty-one pages in length, through Eguiara y Eguren's *Biblioteca Mexicana* in response to Feijóo's *Teatro Crítico Universal*. The letter, titled *Cartas al Ilmo. y Exmo. P. Mró F. Benito Geronymo Feyjoó Montenegro*, was the second of several written, but the only which secured publication in Spain.⁴⁹⁰

Cigala's second letter, the only to be studied by scholars, offers a response to the impuginations made by Feijóo against Scholasticism, a method which Cigala describes as still employed in mid-eighteenth century Mexico, stating "in [which] method our Universities examine all of the Sciences."⁴⁹¹ Feijóo's *Teatro Critico* had been published; when Cigala received the work in Mexico, he had originally hoped that it would demonstrate the complaints (some of which were legitimate) of the anti-scholastics of the Spanish Enlightenment, analyzing the utility of the new philosophies and reconciling them with the Catholic status quo. "From there one will be convinced to give some probability [of utility and truth] to the Mechanical Philosophy, which the most Illustrious Feijóo so celebrates," wrote Cigala, "[but] he ought to

and ordinary inquisitor in the bishopric of Puebla and a synodal examiner for the archbishopric of Mexico. In addition to Eguiara y Eguren's endorsement, however, he also received the sanction of Francisco Xavier Lazcano and Ignacio Paredes, both prominent intellectuals within the Society of Jesus, and Fray Felix de Castro, who authored a treatise in defense of Jesuit doctrines. A later letter from 1767 shows that Cigala was in contact with several priests and leading figures within the Society of Jesus, perhaps even safeguarding their property during the expulsion. ("Carta de Cigala a Señor Sargento Mayor Don Luis Ignacio Milhau," 30 de julio, 1767, in Archivo General de la Nación, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4880, 9959/26, Expediente 026 (Jesuitas Caja 4880).)

⁴⁹⁰ W.B. Redmond, *Bibliography of the Philosophy in the Iberian Colonies of America* (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), 30; also Alberto Ortiz, who writes "Es la única epístola que se conoce del autor, a pesar de que por el título y por él mismo sabemos de una primera que envié al benediction asturiano, ésta nunca se publicó y si existió una tercera, no la conocemos." Alberto Ortiz, "Cigala responde al Feijóo," *Estudios del pensamiento novohispano*, (Conference proceedings from meeting held in Zacatecas, 2001, by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), 244. A third letter *does* exist, however, in manuscript form and which I am the first to transcribe in full. See: Francisco Ygnacio Cigala, *Cartas al Ilmo. y Rmo. P. Mio F. Benito Gerónimo Feyjoó Montenegro; que le escribía sobre el Teatro Crítico Universal* (BNE: MSS/21312).

⁴⁹¹ "En que nuestras Universidades examinan todas las Ciencias," from Francisco Ignacio Cigala. *Cartas al Ilmo. y Exmo. P. Mró F. Benito Geronymo Feyjoó Montenegro, que le escribía, sobre el Teatro Crítico Universal, Francisco Ignacia Cigala, Americano. Quien las dedica a las Universidades de España y de la America. Carta Segunda*. [Mexico?]: Con Licencia en la Imprenta de la Biblioteca Mexicana, 1760. BNE: 5/5209 [Alcalá de Henares]. Pg. iv.

have subordinated it to that [philosophy] of Aristotles.”⁴⁹² This method of “subordinating to Aristotles” had been the *modus operandi* of Catholic theologians for centuries – “pillaging the Egyptians” or “constructing roads from Athens to Jerusalem” by evaluating contemporary philosophical trends for their utility and truthfulness, and reconciling them by adaptation, adoption, or rejection into the Catholic canon. This is, in fact, the same process of Catholic Rationalism which guided Feijóo in his own evaluation of contemporary intellectual developments in his anti-superstition campaigns.

What Cigala argued, however, was that Feijóo had, instead of subjugating the Mechanical Philosophy to Scholasticism, exalted it at the cost of depreciating the Scholastic tradition, and had therefore committed several grave mistakes. First: the Mechanical Philosophy did not adequately describe the natural world and contained several “scientific” mistakes. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, although the Mechanical Philosophy was useful for understanding much of the natural world, it did not offer a comprehensive framework for understanding the entirety of knowledge and had nothing to offer in the way of accounting for metaphysical questions. The answer, proscribed by Cigala, was to demonstrate these insufficiencies and to “subordinate” Mechanical philosophy back to its ancillary role beneath the overarching worldview of Catholic Scholasticism, as exemplified in the traditional litany of scholars, including “Albertus Magnus and his disciple and our teacher Saint Thomas, Saint Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, Suarez, Molina, Vasquez, and all of the learned Catholics.”⁴⁹³

Accordingly, Cigala’s motives structure his second “letter” to Feijóo: to demonstrate the errors in natural philosophy committed by Feijóo in his employment of the Mechanical

⁴⁹² “De donde se convencerá, que para dar alguna segura probabilidad a la Philosophia Mechanica, que tanto celebra el Ilmo. Feyjoo, debio subordinarla a la de Aristoteles,” from Cigala, *Carta Segunda*, vi.

⁴⁹³ “el Grande Alberto, y su Discipulo, y nuestro Maestro Santo Thomas, San Buenaventura, Escoto, Suarez, Molina, Vasquez, y todos los Doctores Catholicos...” Cigala, *Carta Segunda*, viii.

Philosophy, to show the general deficiency of the Mechanical Philosophy to account for the entirety of knowledge, to reaffirm the scholastic teachings of the universities of Spain, and thereby, to properly subordinate science beneath religion. These aims align with the characteristics of conservative epistemology gathered from Mañer's work on the Spanish Peninsula roughly a quarter of a century earlier. Epistemological cautiousness is urged by demonstrating the untrustworthy nature of the new philosophy, traditional Scholastic inquiries are reaffirmed, and the unity of knowledge, rightly structured, is reasserted.

Cigala achieves the first goal by problematizing Feijóo's engagement of the Barometrical Paradox, introduced to Feijóo by Leibniz and made more famous, perhaps, by a paper presented on the same subject to the Royal Academy of Sciences in London in 1711.⁴⁹⁴ The question: "Why in calm times, the air is heavier than in rainy times?" had been addressed by Feijóo in "Physical Paradoxes," the ninth discourse of his fifth volume of the *Teatro Crítico*, published originally in 1733. Importantly, however, Feijóo had failed to sufficiently account for the paradox – his essay, and indeed the efforts of the wider scientific community, could not regularly explain the reason why air with more water vapor was lighter, rather than heavier. Cigala's choice to use this particular point as the distillation of his entire attack against the Mechanical Philosophy was strategic.⁴⁹⁵ To the eighteenth-century mind, the paradox, especially the natural

⁴⁹⁴ "Remarks on a Paper in the History of the Royal Academy of Sciences, for the Year 1711, concerning the Cause of the Variation of the Barometer: to show that the Way of accounting for it in that Paper is sufficient, and that the Experiment made use of to prove what is there asserted, does no way prove it. By J.T. Desaguliers, M.A., F.R.S. N^o 351, p. 570," in Charles Hutton, *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, from their Commencement, in 1665, to the Year 1800*, Vol. VI, from 1713-1723 (London: C. and R. Baldwin, 1809), 283.

⁴⁹⁵ So, too, was his use of the barometer – a comparably recent invention of the early-seventeenth century whose uses were being regularly explored and explained throughout the eighteenth-century in relation to climatology and atmospheric sciences and was a well-beloved discovery of the *nuevas ciencias*. See Theodore S. Feldman, "Late Enlightenment Meteorology," in *The Quantifying Spirit in the 18th Century*, Tore Frängsmyr, J.L. Heilbron, and Robin E. Rider, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 143-178, especially pg. 156. Indeed, one scholar has described the barometer "as an almost magical instrument of the natural scientist..." pointing towards paintings of Alexander von Humboldt in particular. Ottmar Ette, *Literature on the Move*, trans. by Katharina Vester (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 101.

paradox, offered a clear instance where current understanding was insufficiently explanatory, and therefore allowed an opportunity to demonstrate how a particular framework could offer a new solution, thus overcoming the paradox⁴⁹⁶ Thus, by targeting a paradox, Cigala chose to strike against Feijóo and the Mechanical Philosophy at an already weak spot in philosophic understanding.⁴⁹⁷

Cigala's critique, as has been noted by scholars, contested Feijóo's presentation of the paradox on several grounds:⁴⁹⁸ that Feijóo had not properly understood Boyle and Leibniz, that Leibniz's actual solution to the barometrical paradox was insufficient for explaining the occurrence of the phenomenon, and that Feijóo's critiques of the Scholastic Philosophy rested upon axioms made from the Scholastic Philosophy, and that he therefore undermined his own position.⁴⁹⁹ Feijóo, claimed Cigala, could not escape "the secret influence of Scholasticism."⁵⁰⁰ Scholasticism had, for several centuries, ingrained in Spanish intellectuals not only a body of knowledge, but the very format for posing a question or hypothesis, interrogating it to test its validity, and synthesizing diverse information to produce an answer.⁵⁰¹ These criticisms made by Cigala can not be dismissed as 'sophistry' or equivocation – the scientific objections were

⁴⁹⁶ Paradoxical commentaries were therefore a popular genre of the period, although it should be understood that paradox was often used loosely to mean a difficult problem or inconsistency. See, perhaps, the side discussion of a "genre of paradox" in Charles D. Presbery, "Hearing Voices of Satire in *Don Quixote*," *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 26.1 (Spring-Fall 2006 [2008]), 257-276.

⁴⁹⁷ Neither Cigala nor Feijóo had the means of fully understanding the dilemma; Count Lorenzo Romano Amedeo Carlo Avogadro (1776-1856), the Italian physicist whose law and work on molecular theory helped to explain the 'paradox' of barometrical pressure had yet to be born.

⁴⁹⁸ Most importantly, by Mauricio Beuchot, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, and Alberto Ortiz.

⁴⁹⁹ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), pg. 177, footnote 50. See also Alberto Ortiz, "Cigala Responde a Feijoo," *Literatura y emblemática* (Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, s.a.), 243-264.

⁵⁰⁰ "el secreto influjo de la Filosofía Escolástica Cigala," Cigala, *Carta Segunda*, vii.

⁵⁰¹ Cigala very pointedly structures his letter as a classically ordered *quaestio disputata* as developed during the high middle ages. For further information, see Brian Lawn, *The rise and decline of the scholastic 'Quaestio Disputata': with special emphasis on its use in the teaching of medicine and science* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); also Ulrich G. Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, trans. by Michael J. Miller (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2010).

valid, and the methodological ones persuasive. When Cigala's published his counter-enlightenment critique, an introductory poem praised the author, noting that "if Feijóo writes in silver, you have impugned him in gold."⁵⁰²

Besides pointing out the insufficiency of the explanatory power of Mechanical Philosophy for understanding the natural world with the specific example of barometric pressure, Cigala was keen to demonstrate that this new philosophy of science, at best, offered a weak view of a Creator God derived from natural theology. More often, it offered a practically atheistic response to metaphysical questions. Cigala wrote that "although by this path they arrive at a comprehension of Nature, from there they are very distant, they can only lift themselves up from there to a simple knowledge of its Author, God, against the Atheists, but they could never make rational our supernatural Faith as Scholasticism does."⁵⁰³ These topics that were beyond the explanatory power of mechanical philosophy included, for Cigala, "the evident credibility of revealed Mysteries, [and] following in this line the most formal consequences which are deduced from Sacred Scripture, Councils, and Fathers those highest truths with which the Holy Roman Church foments piety in her children..."⁵⁰⁴ The choice, then, for Cigala, was between an incomplete, though increasingly useful, natural philosophy with no metaphysical recourses, or a fully replete metaphysical system with incomplete explanations for the natural realm. To Cigala, as to many counter-enlighteners in Spain, the choice necessitated a 'conservative' stance.

⁵⁰² "Que si Feyjoo escribe en plata/Tu le has impugnado en oro." Cigala, *Carta Segunda*, xxxviii.

⁵⁰³ "pero aunque por ese rumbo llegaran a comprender la Naturaleza, de que aun están muy distantes, solo pudieran levantarse de ahí, al simple conocimiento de su Autor Dios, contra los Ateistas, pero nunca sabrían hacer racional nuestra Fé sobrenatural, como la Escolastica." Cigala, *Carta Segunda*, viii-ix.

⁵⁰⁴ "la evidente credibilidad de los Mystérios revelados, prosigue con el hilo de formalisimas consecuencias, a deducir de la sagrada Escripura, Concilios, y Padres, aquellas verdades altísimas, con que la Santa Iglesia Romana fomenta la piedad de sus hijos..." Cigala, *Carta Segunda*, ix.

Conservative Epistemology Contrasted To Anti-Revolutionary Thought

The conservative traditionalism of anti-*ilustrado* discourse promoted not only established authorities, but also specifically emphasized the trustworthiness of traditional *Spanish* authorities. Yet this did not mean that Spanish anti-*ilustrados* (like their *ilustrado* counterparts) did not hesitate to read and examine the works of foreign thinkers – especially English and French publications. As has been shown individuals such as Lessaca or Cigala demonstrated a clear knowledge of the works of philosophers such as Descartes, Gassendi, Malebranche, and even Voltaire. The general historical narrative of the eighteenth century in Spain has described a xenophobic print culture jealously guarded by the Inquisition, with perhaps the reign of Carlos III as the only exception. “The literature of the French *philosophes*,” according to historian John Lynch, “was known to only a small minority of educated Spaniards, a few thousand at most...”⁵⁰⁵ This may be true, but the few who had access to these works disseminated the knowledge most prodigiously – this is the very reason why so many of the anti-*ilustrados* decried the deception of the *vulgo* to the new philosophy. The response of the early anti-*ilustración* was not, however, an embargo against foreign philosophy, but rather a more responsible engagement of it.

Both *ilustrados* and anti-*ilustrados* were conscious of the intellectual exchange between France and Spain; while *ilustrados* sought to distinguish the “good” from the “bad” in French Enlightenment thought and ultimately attempted to distance themselves from the application of these ideas in French society. The xenophobia which would become manifested during the revolutionary period (1789-1815) grew only in the latter decades of the century as anti-*ilustrados* conflated the relationship between French and Spanish *modernos* and condemned the

⁵⁰⁵ John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain 1700-1808*, 255.

introduction of New Philosophy as *afrancesada* and directly related to atheism and social ruin. This attitude was non-existent in the work of Mañer and Armesto y Ossorio. For the first half of the eighteenth century, for example, Mañer's works could be found in the "French Library" at the popular plaza of the Puerta de Sol in Madrid.⁵⁰⁶ Mañer's wariness of several of the ideas held by French *philosophes* did not prevent him from reading and engaging their work, propagating their influence by their references in his own works. Similarly, Armesto y Ossorio wrote about the "diversity of wits" and the "genial dissonance" of "a natural antipathy" between the nations.⁵⁰⁷

The majority of anti-*ilustrados*, particularly during the second-half of the eighteenth century, objected to enlightenment philosophies based on what they saw as a direct relationship of causality between "new philosophy" and such dangers as atheism, unethical behavior, materialism, or deism. Before the outbreak of the revolution in France and particularly after the Napoleonic invasion of the peninsula, the counter-enlightenment proper of the anti-*ilustrados* should be seen as distinct and separate from the "reactionary literature: of the revolutionary period between 1789-1815. In this distinction, the historiography has failed to be clear and consistent in terms.

In 1971, Javier Herrero published *Los Orígenes del Pensamiento Reaccionario Español*, the first significant work devoted exclusively to assessing the position of Spanish conservative thought in the eighteenth century. His claim was bold: that the rhetoric used by the emergent

⁵⁰⁶ The title page of Mañer's *Crisol Critico* advertises that it can be found at this store, along "with the *Anti-Theaters* and other works of the Author." ("Se hallará en la Libreria Francesa de la Puerta del Sol, con los Anti-Theatros, y demás Obras del Autor." Salvador Joseph Mañer, *Crisol Critico, Theologico, Historico, Politico, Physico, y Mathematico, en que se Quilatan las Materias, y Puntos que se le han Impugnado al Teatro Critico, y Pretendido Defender en la Demonstracion Critica el M.R.P. Lector Fr. Martin Sarmiento, Benedictino*, Parte Primero (Madrid: En la Imprenta de Bernardo Peralta, 1734), i, and similarly found in Mañer, *Crisol Critico*, Parte Segunda, i).

⁵⁰⁷ "La diversidad de genios," "aquella genial dissonancia," and "una antipatía natural" in Armesto y Ossorio, *Anti-Theatro* Lib.III., Discurso XXV, 205.

right at the end of the century against Jansenism, Freemasonry, and other Philosophical sects was wholly imported into Spain and without any factually substantive basis. “There is nothing...” Herrero asserted, “...traditional or Spanish in the “Great masters of the Spanish tradition.”⁵⁰⁸ Yet this chapter asserts that Herrero’s premises, largely true for the works published during the revolutionary period, are incorrect for examining the broader trajectory of anti-*ilustración* across the long eighteenth century, and certainly for the conservative epistemology of early anti-*ilustrados*. Herrero conflated “counter-enlightenment” discourse for the “reactionary mythology” (particularly anti-Jansenist, anti-Masonic, and ultraconservative Anti-Philosophical rumors propagated during the Napoleonic invasion).⁵⁰⁹ Herrero’s position has been the dominant history of conservative thought in the eighteenth century, and helps to explain why many subsequent historians have overlooked the anti-*ilustrado* discourse.⁵¹⁰

Thus, not only does this chapter distinguish early anti-*ilustrados* from later, more religious objections against the enlightenment, but it differentiates between all of these works and the specifically anti-revolutionary, reactionary thought that characterized Spain from 1789-1815. Between Spain’s Catholic Counter-Enlightenment and other countries, even more differences exist. In this way, the Spanish anti-*ilustración* is as unique as the Spanish *ilustración* – indeed, as fractious as the historiography of the enlightenment is, so too is the

⁵⁰⁸ “...nada hay de español en los discípulos del abate Barruel. Zaballos, el padre Alvarado, Rafael de Vélez forman parte de una corriente de pensamiento que ha surgido en Europa como oposición a las Luces y que cuenta, en la época en que éstos escriben sus obras más importantes, escasamente medio siglo. Nada hay, pues, de tradicional ni de español en los “Grandes maestros de la *tradición española*.” Javier Herrero, *Los Orígenes del Pensamiento Reaccionario Español* (Madrid: Editorial Cuadernos para el Dialogo Edicusa, 1971), 24.

⁵⁰⁹ Herrero, 24.

⁵¹⁰ The hispanist Kessel Schwartz echoed Herrero’s presentist connection “of historical narcissism and the great myth which still causes so much anguish as its proponents attempt to rule our consciences and our lives...” (Kessel Schwartz, “Review Essay of *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español* by Javier Herrero,” *Hispania* 56, No. 1 (Mar., 1973), 176.) It is interesting to note that McMahon, in his study of anti-*philosophe* thought, also argues that the conservative faction in France was “not “conservative” in any strict sense, not archaically traditional, not romantically medieval...in fact radical, striving far more to create a world that had never been than to recapture a world that was lost...” (McMahon, *Enemies*, 14). There is no clear evidence which would indicate that the conservative faction of anti-*ilustrados* in Spain invented their traditions.

counter-enlightenment, because the historiography of the counter enlightenment is the mirror, the countersign of the enlightenment. The two must be read together always, one in dialogue with the other, as was the case in the actual intellectual sphere of eighteenth-century Spain.

In the following chapter, the late, primarily religious, anti-*ilustrado* works are analyzed, highlighting the work of Vicente Fernández Valcárcel, and then compared with the literature assessed by Herrero as part of the “reactionary myth” of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Spain. These are particularly contextualized within the Jansenist debates of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Spanish Catholic Church within broader ecclesiastical efforts to regulate reform and doctrinal critique, as well as to maintain epistemological hegemony. These themes are then explored through the works of Spanish Jansenists, assessing how Jansenism was classified as a heterodox variety of Catholicism, what Jansenists professed in their texts, and how Spanish theologians responded and reacted to it. To do so, it specifically analyzes *El Jansenismo*, a religious dialogue and debate written by Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva in 1811, as well as a series of editorial letters authored by Fray Francisco Alvarado. In the Jansenist debates of the end of the century, one sees the full fruition of reactionary literature coincide with the culmination of earlier anti-*ilustrado* work.

Conclusion

The Mexican Enlightenment and the Case Study of Cigala

The great Mexican philosopher Mauricio Beuchot characterized Cigala as part of the second phase of eighteenth-century thought, that is, “Scholasticism’s reaction against

modernity.”⁵¹¹ Beuchot’s narrative is one of gradual progression towards modernity – at the start of the century, the major thinkers were all scholastics – by the middle of the century, they were firm eclectics with a penchant for tradition, and at the end, and only at the end, did modernity refute scholasticism.⁵¹² That Cigala was an ardent defender of scholasticism against Feijóo is certain – he states in the prologue to his letters that this is his aim, it is made patently clear by his arguments, and the secondary literature supports this. Take, for example, Beuchot’s description of Cigala’s work:

Cigala would see the falacies that hid in the modern philosophy and would devolve the splendor of Scholasticism. Above all, [he saw] that modernity had already brought many atheists. Since Spain was by nature religious and Catholic, he would defend the insult to the faith and would aid Scholasticism, which had been the most *ad hoc* philosophy for Catholic theology...⁵¹³

But it is not enough to leave Cigala and the generations of Mexican intellectuals of the eighteenth century as simple reactionaries, responding to the “*jactancias*” of the new sciences and responding with the tired, traditional scholastic position.

First, it must be emphasized that eighteenth-century Mexican scholastics participated in the contemporary debates of the broader enlightenment. To speak of the “Spanish Enlightenment,” one must consider the contributions made from thinkers throughout the entire early modern Hispanic world. Individuals like Cigala had read and understood the most recent works by individuals such as Bacon and Leibniz. Not only had they read these works, but Cigala, at least, understood them well enough to “demonstrate that the experiments were

⁵¹¹ Beuchot, Mauricio. “The Study of Philosophy’s History in Mexico as a Foundation for Doing Mexican Philosophy.” (Chapter Five) *The Role of History in Latin American Philosophy: Contemporary Perspectives*. Arleen Salles and Elizabeth Millan, eds. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005. Pg. 116.

⁵¹² Mauricio Beuchot, *Filosofía y ciencia en el México dieciochesco* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, 1996), 8.

⁵¹³ Beuchot, *Filosofía y Ciencia en Mexico Dieciochesco*, 23. Pablo González Casanova, *El misionismo y la modernidad cristiana en el siglo XVIII*. México: Publicaciones del Centro de Estudios históricos del Colegio de México, 1948).

fallacies, and the reasonings and opinions false with respect to the theme indicated and made by Feijóo...”⁵¹⁴ Mexican counter-enlighteners were not simply reacting to modern philosophy in a recalcitrant position of stubborn traditionalism, but instead carefully refuted the utility of the new sciences for understanding the natural world. This, moreover, is emphasized by Cigala’s admittance that the modern philosophy had many “advantages...for society, but is unsuitable for Heaven.”⁵¹⁵

The second, and perhaps most important point that Cigala demonstrates, therefore, is the most characteristic tendency of Catholic Enlightenment thought – how to properly subordinate or subjugate the advancements made by the new philosophies of science to the overall glory and utility of the metaphysical structure of the Catholic Faith. To Cigala, the new philosophies were utterly insufficient in this regard – at best, offering a simple view of a Creator God derived from natural theology, and at worst inviting materialism, skepticism, and atheism. Beyond these points, Cigala offers numerous other avenues to explore Mexican thought in the eighteenth century – further research is needed, for example, to adequately understand the importance of Cigala labeling himself an “Americano,” pointedly dedicating his work to the university system, printing his work in the *Biblioteca Mexicana*, and the general “Mexicanity” or indigeneity of Cigala’s thought as distinct from Peninsular enlightenment trends.⁵¹⁶ Likewise, attention could be given to understand the role of intellectual groups, religious orders, universities, and academic communities in functioning as transactional networks which facilitated publications such as Cigala’s letter. What is clear, however, is that the debates between modernism and scholasticism

⁵¹⁴ Alberto Ortiz writes that Cigala could “demostrar que los experimentos son falaces, falsos los razonamientos y opiniones que al respect del tema indicado hizo Feijóo...” Ortiz, “Cigala Responde a Feijóo,” 257.

⁵¹⁵ Cigala, *Carta Segunda* (1760).

⁵¹⁶ Recent groundbreaking work in this area may prove extremely helpful, including Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis’s *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); and Peter B. Villella, *Indigenous Elites and Creole Identity in Colonial Mexico, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

which occurred in eighteenth-century Mexico are far more complex and have much richer histories to yield.

Characterizing Conservatism and Consilience

In her characterization of the Spanish Catholic Enlightenment, the historian Andrea Schmidt identifies three key aspects which defined the *ilustración* intellectually: first, that Catholicism was distinct from Aristotelianism; second, that religious authorities were not necessarily authorities on nature; and third, that laypeople could study theology and philosophy apart from the magisterial guidance of the church.⁵¹⁷ Correspondingly, then, this chapter has asserted that three of the main ideological markers of the conservative epistemology that defined the Spanish counter-enlightenment engaged these topics. While *ilustrados* worked to differentiate Catholicism from the Aristotelianism beloved since Aquinas and entrenched in the scholastic university system, anti-*ilustrados* urged intellectuals to be cautious and prudent in their estimation of new methods of inquiry. While individuals such as Feijóo denied that Biblical and patristic authorities were equally valid as experts in natural philosophy, thinkers such as Mañer, Armesto y Ossorio, and Cigala reaffirmed the trustworthiness of such sources. These issues were seen as particularly important when considered that laypersons and the wider public (the *vulgo*), were increasingly bearing witness to debates in publications that were once held only by the intellectual elite.

Lastly, the fact that the conservative epistemology held by anti-*ilustrados* conceived of a unified theory of knowledge has important implications for how historians might approach

⁵¹⁷ Andrea Schmidt, “*Luces por la Fe: The Cause of Catholic Enlightenment in 18th-Century Spain*,” in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 419.

intellectual histories of early modern Europe.⁵¹⁸ In his work, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge*, biologist E.O. Wilson conceived of the notion of consilience – a term that not only expresses the synthesis of all the fields of knowledge, but the belief in an ordered and unified world. Wilson specifically highlights the Enlightenment as a case study, arguing that “the dream of intellectual unity first came to full flower in the original Enlightenment...[through] a vision of secular knowledge in the service of human rights and human progress....”⁵¹⁹ Yet the textual evidence of both *ilustrados* and anti-*ilustrados* in early eighteenth-century Spain argues for a different interpretation of the history of the unity of knowledge. In Catholic Spain, it was the *ilustrados* who sought to partition fields of knowledge and modes of belief, while anti-*ilustrados* insisted that science and religion were inextricably linked and would not allow for such a division. While the broader implications remain unclear, it is certain that the early anti-*ilustrados* of Spain, once relegated to dogmatic obscurantism and cultural irrelevance, actually constituted a complex and nuanced position in a dialogue over epistemological authority in the enlightenment.

⁵¹⁸ The unity of knowledge has been a longstanding problem in the history of philosophy; some recent works have renewed scholarly interest in the concept. See Dorothy M. Emmet, “Philosophy and “The Unity of Knowledge”,” *Synthese* Vol. 5, No. ¾ (Jul. – Aug., 1946), 134-137; Harold K. Schilling, “The Unity of Knowledge,” *The Journal of General Education* 17, No. 4 (January, 1966), 251-258; Stephen Jay Gould, *The Hedgehog, the Fox, and the Magister’s Pox: Mending the Gap between Science and the Humanities* (New York: Harmony Books, 2003), and Alister E. McGrath, *The Foundations of Dialogue in Science and Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

⁵¹⁹ E.O. Wilson, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1998), 15.

CHAPTER FOUR:
‘Each Subject Has Its Method:’ Negotiating Science and Religion in Valcárcel’s
Desengaños Filosóficos (1787-1797) and the Spanish Counter-Enlightenment

“The reverence of the first professors of this university [Salamanca] for Aristotle and for Thomas Aquinas, continues to the present day. The court indeed has long declared war against them both, and repeatedly commanded that they should be abandoned; but, not having adopted such methods as are practicable, to secure obedience, the old professors walk in the same path in which their fathers walked before them.”
 -Joseph Townsend, *A Journey Through Spain in the Years 1786 and 1787* (1791)⁵²⁰

Change was a constant hallmark of the eighteenth-century experience in Spain. By the end of the *siglo de las luces*, nearly all sectors of life were dramatically different from the state of affairs left by the last Hapsburg monarch, Carlos II (r. 1665-1700). The Bourbon Reforms issued under Felipe V (r. 1700-1746) had challenged the political and administrative structure of the kingdom, the reigns of Fernando VI (r. 1746-1759) Carlos III (r. 1759-1788) witnessed societal reordering and economic growth as agrarian reforms were implemented, and industrial ventures encouraged, and by the advent of Carlos IV (r. 1788-1808), even the church, especially the religious orders, had been challenged by regalist reforms and expressions of monarchical power, such as the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767. Likewise, changes and challenges had been introduced into the very way that Spaniards thought. This dissertation has thus far traced the intellectual debates which occurred in the Spanish empire throughout the eighteenth century, from the first works of the *novatores* to the *teatrista* debates of the counter-enlightenment. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Spanish philosophers and theologians produced some of the most systematic treatises that reconciled the developments made by the new or modern philosophies with the existing Scholastic tradition, and above all, articulated a

⁵²⁰ Joseph Townsend, *A journey through Spain in the years 1786 and 1787 with particular attention to the agricultura, manufactures, commerce, population, taxes, and revenue of that country; and remarks in passing through a part of France* (London: C. Dilly, 1797), three volumes, pg. 78.

clear epistemological platform which would both preserve the Catholic religion and define its relation to philosophy, both natural and metaphysical.

In 1787, Vicente Fernández Valcárcel, a canon for the cathedral in the town of Palencia, fifty kilometers north of Valladolid, noted the changes to the Spanish mentality. “One does not think today like the ancient Fathers used to think, and even less like the Scholastics thought,” Valcárcel stated; “there are other ideas, other voices, another style and method.”⁵²¹ Valcárcel’s response to this epistemological shift was to author one of the defining works of the Spanish Counter-Enlightenment, the four-volume *Desengaños Filosóficos* (“Philosophic Disillusionments”), published in Madrid from 1787-1797.⁵²² In these publications, Valcárcel explained what he viewed were the failures and shortcomings of modern philosophy, offered a defense for both innovation and tradition, and most importantly, clearly proposed an epistemological method for the way in which metaphysics and physics were to relate with one another. On this last point, Valcárcel was unadornedly direct: “Each subject has its [own] method.”⁵²³ To Valcárcel, as to other Spanish intellectuals of the eighteenth century, the conflict between Catholicism and traditional Scholasticism and the modern philosophies arose from misunderstandings of the jurisdiction of each field of knowledge; conversely, the separation of science from theology and philosophy allowed for the pursuit of “different classes of truths” in mutually complementary subjects.⁵²⁴ This chapter assesses Valcárcel’s contribution to the Spanish Catholic Enlightenment platform, specifically highlighting how his notions of separate

⁵²¹ Valcárcel, *Desengaños* I.3, “No se piensa hoy como pensaban los Padres antiguos, y menos como pensaban los Escolásticos, otras ideas hay, otras voces, otro estilo y método;” Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

⁵²² Fernández Valcárcel, Vicente. *Desengaños Filosóficos, que en obsequio de la verdad, de la religión, y de la patria, da al publico el Doctor Don Vicente Fernández Valcárcel, canónigo de la Santa Iglesia de Palencia*. Four volumes (1787, 1788, 1790, 1797). Madrid: Don Blas Roman, Impresor de la Real Academia de Derecho Español y Publico.

⁵²³ Valcárcel, *Desengaños* I.408, “Cada materia tiene su método.”

⁵²⁴ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos* I.408, “...cada clase de verdades...”

bodies of knowledge differed from other models of the relationship between science and religion during the eighteenth century, how Valcárcel negotiation of science and religion allowed for the accommodation of the natural sciences while privileging Catholicism, and the legacy of Valcárcel's thought at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Valcárcel is emblematic, therefore, of the work of Spanish thinkers during the "high" or "late" enlightenment which bridged the two camps which had developed in earlier epistemological discussions. On the one hand, Valcárcel delighted in the advancements made by the new sciences and encouraged the use of new epistemological methods to make these discoveries. On the other hand, he reaffirmed clearly the supremacy of revealed knowledge and the sacrosanct truth of Catholicism. In order to effectively establish a "middle ground" between the progressive and conservative strains, Valcárcel worked to clearly negotiate the way in which the two fields of "science" and "religion" engaged with one another.

Situating Valcárcel in the Spanish Enlightenments: Catholic or Counter?

Vicente Fernández Valcárcel (alternatively spelled "Valcarce") was born April 4, 1723, in Palencia. It is unclear where he received his education, but given his placement of positions and his familiarity with scholasticism, some scholars suggest that he received his doctorate from the University of Alcalá.⁵²⁵ By 1748, he was ordained a priest by the bishop of Palencia, and was later a curate in Boadilla, a small town to the west of Madrid. In 1757, he received a position in the Royal Chapel, was named Royal Chaplain to Fernando VI in 1758, and penitentiary and personal preacher to Carlos III in 1761, positions not without considerable

⁵²⁵ This is the supposition of Antolín Álvarez Torres, S.J., *Historia crítica de la filosofía racionalista y empirista en la obra del Dr. Vicente Fdez. Valcarcel* (tesis doctoral, Universidad de Valladolid) (Palencia: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Palencia, Departamento de Cultura, 1991), 41. On his scholastic training, Menéndez Pelayo described him colorfully as one who, in the vein of Achilles, "nourished on the marrow of the lion of scholastic philosophy." Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2003), VI.iii§VI.607.

political and social advantage.⁵²⁶ He was later a synodal examiner, a canon of the Catedral de San Antolín in Palencia, and in 1796, named dean of that same cathedral by Carlos IV while retaining his canonship.⁵²⁷ He died on the 28 of January, 1798, and was buried in the chapel of San Sebastián in the cathedral of Palencia.⁵²⁸ When Valcárcel is remembered, however, it is not for these clerical positions, but rather for his *Desengaños Filosóficos*, a widely-read set of books which articulated Valcárcel's mediatedly conservative position against the modern philosophies associated with the Spanish Enlightenment.⁵²⁹

Valcárcel was by no means the only individual to undertake such a work, and how to characterize his contribution to Spanish thought at the end of the eighteenth century is the subject of considerable historiographical variance. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo classified his work as part of the "apologetic literature [and] Spanish impugners of encyclopedism," placing him within a broad class of individuals including Juan Pablo Forner, Fernando de Cevallos y Mier, Fray Diego de Cádiz, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, and Pablo Antonio José de Olavide y Jáuregui,

⁵²⁶ See, *De las Exequias, que el Real Colegio de San Phelipe, y Santiago de la Universidad de Alcala, fundación del Rey Don Phelipe II para la educación de los Hijos de los Criados de la Casa Real. Celebró por el Rey Nuestro Señor Don Fernando VI (que esté en gloria) en la Real Capilla de San Diego de Alcala, los días 16 y 17 de Marzo del año de 1760. Y Oracion fúnebre que en ellas dixo el Doctor Don Vicente Fernandez Valcarce, Capellan de Honor de S.M. y Penitenciario de su Real Capilla.* Madrid: Antonio Perez de Soto, Impresor de los Reynos, 1761. Granda Lorenzo, Sara. "La Capilla Real: la presencia del capellán real en la élite del poder político." *Libros de la Corte.es* No. 3, 2011: 21-35. The prestige was not so great, perhaps, as it was before the Concordat of 1753, when the *procapellán mayor* of the Royal Chapel was also given the honorific Patriarchate of the West Indies. After 1753, the Royal Chapel oversaw only the Royal Palace, El Pardo, and Aranjuez, but still would have placed Valcárcel in a position where he was regularly in contact with the Royal household and important court figures. See also Beatriz Comella, "La Jurisdicción Eclesiástica de la Real Capilla de Madrid (1753-1931)," *Hispania Sacra* 58, No. 117 (Enero-Junio, 2006): 145-170.

⁵²⁷ *Mercurio de España*, Enero de 1796, Tomo I (Madrid: En la Imprenta Real), 158.

⁵²⁸ Full biographical information may be ascertained from Alvarez Torres, 37-44, from Menéndez Pelayo, *HHE* VI.iii§7 and from Matias Vielva's response to Menéndez Pelayo's initial complaint of the dearth of information on Valcárcel, published in *La Propaganda Católica* 24, no. 2 (1897): 73-74, and reproduced in facsimile in Alvarez Torres's work.

⁵²⁹ There is evidence, for example, of Valcárcel's work as far as Guanajuato, Mexico. See Harry Bernstein, "A Provincial Library in Colonial Mexico, 1802," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 26, No.2 (May, 1946): 162-183. This reinforces the concept of a mutual exchange of ideas across the Spanish Atlantic as established in the conclusion of chapter three.

among others.⁵³⁰ As a descriptive category, “apologetic literature” is too vast a category to be of much use for understanding Valcárcel; while it is true that both his work and the works of Jovellanos and Olavide defended Spain, they did so from radically different perspectives about the truth and utility of modern philosophy and the new sciences.⁵³¹ Indeed, to describe Valcárcel foremost as a Spanish apologist in the same category as Forner’s *Oración apologética por la España y su mérito literario* (1786) and as an anti-encylopedist is misleading. Spanish society is invoked as an applicative case, especially in the fourth volume (1797), but the first two volumes of *Desengaños Filosóficos* (1787, 1788) are almost entirely theoretical, and the third (1790) is more aptly described as a treatise on moral, social, and natural law, rather than a Spanish apologetic. The same problem of generalization exists, from the opposite historiographical perspective, in Mario Méndez Bejarano’s relegation of Valcárcel to the “stagnation of scholasticism” in the eighteenth century, placed once again with Cevallos, but also with José de San Pedro de Alcántara Castro, Juan Martín de Lessaca, and Bernardo López de Araujo y Azcárraga.⁵³² Valcárcel’s work, sixty years after that of Lessaca and Araujo, makes concessions to the new sciences that they denied, and his approach to the refutation of modern philosophy is undertaken on completely different grounds from Cevallos.

Yet the three greatest histories of eighteenth-century Spain written have followed these classifications, thereby perpetuating this misunderstanding of Valcárcel, and through this, miss the complexity of the counter enlightenment position. Jean Sarrailh lists Valcárcel’s work alongside that of Cevallos, Alcántara Castro, Juan Bautista Muñoz, and Teodoro Almeida,

⁵³⁰ Méndez Pelayo, HHE VI.iii§VII, 580.

⁵³¹ Méndez Pelayo notes distinctions between each thinker, but still describes them collectively as “hermoso movimiento de restauración católica y nacional...” VI.iii§VII, 581.

⁵³² Mario Méndez Bejarano, *Historia de la filosofía en España, hasta el siglo XX* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1929), XVI§IV, 357.

among others, describing them collectively as “lightning rods,” and as “thick and heavy books which added to other thick books,” (a complaint which Menéndez Pelayo also levied) and referring readers to consult Menéndez Pelayo’s analysis of this period of “apologetic literature.”⁵³³ He accordingly conflates this phase of Spanish counter-enlightenment literature with the debates over the merits of Spain, the Masson de Morvillers affair, and Forner’s *Oracion apologética*.⁵³⁴ Richard Herr likewise places him with Forner and Cevallos as part of a general “conservative opposition” who worked to document the disruption of the “pax scholastica” by thinkers such as Descartes.⁵³⁵ Javier Herrero, like Bejarano, describes Valcárcel and Cevallos collectively as “Spanish disciples” and the *Desengaños Filosóficos* as “an attack on the philosophic innovations and a defense of Scholasticism,” but qualifies it by insisting upon separating the political nature of the fourth volume, published after a seven year hiatus and in light of the events of the French Revolution, from the previous three.⁵³⁶ Only one other work has seriously considered Valcárcel’s refutation of rationalism and empiricism in the *Desengaños Filosóficos* since these studies.⁵³⁷

To be sure, it is imperative that historians recognize Valcárcel as part of a broad trajectory of conservative thought, stretching across the long eighteenth century (1683-1813) from the early critics of the *novatores* to the anti-*afrancesado* movement during the French occupation. However, Valcárcel’s contribution to the Spanish enlightenments should be distinct from other parts of the counter-enlightenment spectrum, including: reactionary social

⁵³³ Jean Sarrailh, *La España Ilustrada de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1957), 366-367.

⁵³⁴ Sarrailh, 382. Not once does Valcárcel mention the Masson de Morvillers affair of 1782 in any of the four volumes, a reliable bellwether of Spanish apologetics in the polemics of this period.

⁵³⁵ Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 216.

⁵³⁶ Javier Herrero, *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español* (Madrid: Editorial Cuadernos para el Diálogo Edicusa, 1973), 91, 111.

⁵³⁷ Antolín Álvarez Torres, S.J., *Historia crítica de la filosofía racionalista y empirista en la obra del Dr. Vicente Fdez. Valcarcel*.

commentaries on the ruinous nature of atheism,⁵³⁸ works refuting advancements made in the new sciences in favor of Aristotelian physics,⁵³⁹ religious jeremiads,⁵⁴⁰ anti-*teatrística* writings,⁵⁴¹ and national apologetics.⁵⁴² Rather, Valcárcel's work is best understood as part of the philosophical disputations which assessed and rejected the metaphysical and epistemological suppositions of enlightenment thought in favor of the traditional Scholasticism.⁵⁴³ Valcárcel's work directly addresses all of the major metaphysical and epistemological issues raised by the new sciences and modern philosophies of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, including the role of final causes in natural philosophy, causal structures of nature and divine action, the axiology of modes of perception, and the relationships between different magisteria of knowledge. It his contribution to this last notion which is the focus of this paper, and where Valcárcel made his most unique and significant influence to Spanish thought. In the *Desengaños Filosóficos*, Valcárcel argued that metaphysics and physics, and therefore philosophy/theology/religion and science, operated entirely independently of one another, revealed different types of truths, and employed alternative means of ascertaining these truths. Where religion and science seemed to overlap, Valcárcel either pointed to transgressions in his independence theory or granted greater explanatory power to religion. This allowed Valcárcel to

⁵³⁸ Fernando de Cevallos, *La Falsa Filosofía, o el Ateísmo, deísmo, materialismo, y demás nuevas sectas convencidas de crimen de estado contra los Soberanos y sus regalías, contra los Magistrados y Potestades legítimas* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, six volumes 1775-1776); Velez

⁵³⁹ Bernardo Lopez de Araujo y Ascarraga, *Centinela Medico-Aristotelica contra Scepticos* (Madrid, 1725); Juan Gil, *El Triunpho Vindicado de la Calumnia, impostura, e ignorancia contra la medicina sceptica, y sus favtores* (Cadiz: Herederos de Christobal de Requena, s.a); Juan Martin de Lesaca, *Colyrio Philosophico-Aristhotelico Thomistico con un discurso Phisico medico anathomico* (Madrid: Juan de Ariztia, 1724).

⁵⁴⁰ Diego Josef de Cádiz, *Razonamiento*, traducido por Pedro Manuel Prieto (Sevilla: la Imprenta de Don Manuel Nicolas Vazquez, y Compañía, 1784).

⁵⁴¹ Salvador Josef Mañer, *Anti-Theatro Critico* (Madrid: Juan de Moya, 1729); Ignacio de Armesto y Ossorio, *Theatro Anti-Critico Universal* (Madrid: en la Oficina de Francisco Martinez Abad, 1737); Geminiano Zafra Ciscodexa, *Antitheatro Delphico Judicial Jocosario* (Madrid: Alfonso Martinez, 1727).

⁵⁴² Juan Pablo Forner, *Oracion Apologética* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1786).

⁵⁴³ Most comparable to the work of Andrés Piquer Arrufat (*Lógica moderna* [1747], *Discurso sobre la aplicación de la filosofía a los asuntos de religion para la juventud española* [1755/1778]), Antonio Josef Pérez y López (*Principios del orden esencial de la naturaleza* [1785]), and Ramón Campos Pérez (*Sistema de lógica* [1790]).

accept and promote many of the scientific discoveries and advancements from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries while critiquing the metaphysical systems that often accompanied them. This is crucial to understanding not only his critical history of *novatore* and enlightenment thought, but also in defining the fundamentally moderate, ecumenical nature of Spanish Catholic Enlightenment thought more generally.

Desengaños Filosóficos (1787-1797): Scope, Style, and Organization

In the dedication of the work to Josef Moñino, Conde de Floridablanca and Secretary of State under Carlos III, Valcárcel describes his motivation for writing the *Desengaños Filosóficos*.⁵⁴⁴ He admits that Spain had made many advancements over the eighteenth century, and particularly under the leadership of Carlos III and Floridablanca, noting growth in the arts, in industry, and the general well-being and honor of Spain. However, Valcárcel stated that coterminous with these advancements was the growth of those “who, valuing their science depreciate the ancient maxims and the solid and healthy doctrine.”⁵⁴⁵ “For many years now, your Excellency,” he explained, “I have been observing this disorder and making serious reflections about the pretexts that they take in order to deceive their compatriots, giving to the public thoughts and maxims contrary to the truth, to piety, and to religion, such that they disfigure as much as they can the character of the nation.”⁵⁴⁶ Valcárcel’s response was to write a critical history of the new philosophy in Spain in which he demonstrated the damaging beliefs of

⁵⁴⁴ Both Menéndez y Pelayo and Alvarez Torres suggest that this was a political ploy for protection, although it may have also been related to the fact that Floridablanca was intimately involved in the reformation of the universities in Spain.

⁵⁴⁵ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.Dedicatoria, “...que preciados de su ciencia desprecian las máximas ancianas, y la sólida y sana doctrina.”

⁵⁴⁶ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.Dedicatoria, “Há muchos años, Señor Excelentísimo, que estoy observando este desórden, y haciendo sérias reflexiones sobres los pretextos que toman para iludir á sus compatriotas, dando al público pensamientos, y máximas contrarias á la verdad, á la piedad, y á la religión, hasta desfigurar en quanto pueden el carácter de la nación.”

the philosophies espoused by rationalism, materialism, naturalistic empiricism, and skepticism, among others. Valcárcel provided “a genealogy of the modern errors as far as the root, which he gave to Descartes, and began by Cartesian doubt the process of modern rationalism.”⁵⁴⁷ The genre of histories of philosophy which not only documented and collated past systems but usually advanced a particular normative position was well-established by Valcárcel’s venture, and many of them, including André-François Boureau-Deslandes’s *Histoire critique de la philosophie* (1737), Johann Jacob Brucker’s five-volume *Historia Critica Philosophiae* (1742-1744), and Johann Heinrich Samuel Formey’s *Histoire Abrégée de la Philosophie* (1760), he clearly knew well and referenced multiple times.⁵⁴⁸

Valcárcel’s work should effectively refute any historiographical claims that the counter-enlightenment opposition to the introduction of the New Philosophy was steeped in ignorance and characterized by a reactionary fear of the unknown or challenge to the epistemological status quo which was, until that point, held firmly by the Church and the scholastic curriculum of the university system. His four volumes comprise nearly 2,500 pages of writing on the philosophical and theological implications of the varieties of modern philosophy, during which he clearly displays a keen understanding of the most important thinkers and their works. These not only include the usual corpus of classical, patristic, medieval, scholastic, and renaissance writers, but over two dozen prominent thinkers from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including both the well-known and the obscure from France, England, Prussia, Austria, and his native Spain. Menéndez Pelayo writes that “in the dissection of contrary opinions he was penetrating and

⁵⁴⁷ Menéndez Pelayo, HHE VI.iii§VII.580.

⁵⁴⁸ The role of *Desengaños Filosóficos* as a critical history of philosophy, and particularly of the history of rationalism and empiricism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is emphasized by Antolín Alvarez Torres in his work, *Historia Critica*. For further information on the history of the genre, see Gregorio Piaia and Giovanni Santinello, eds., *Models of the History of Philosophy*, Volume II: From Cartesian Age to Brucker (New York: Springer, 2011).

sagacious.”⁵⁴⁹ Indeed, Valcárcel’s attempt at a comprehensive history accounting for the late-eighteenth century degeneration of metaphysics is, as one historian described it, “sufficiently complex.”⁵⁵⁰

The *Desengaños Filosóficos*, therefore, attempt to account for the philosophical problems present during Valcárcel’s life by providing a history of how these philosophies came to exist and showing along the way how and why they are erroneous in their claims. It is in this sense that Valcárcel described it as “a writing against the *novatores*,” because he viewed the *novatores* as eighteenth-century Spanish inheritors of troublesome philosophies created in the seventeenth century.⁵⁵¹ In particular, he attacked four philosophical systems belonging to the “chief of the moderns:” those of Descartes, Malebranche, Locke, and Leibnitz.⁵⁵² These systems are presented and critiqued analytically, particularly in the first volume, and then discussed in more applicative ways in the subsequent three works. Alvarez Torres aptly characterized the four volumes, giving them titles: “Volume I: Rationalism and Empiricism: Causes of the Novatore Enlightenment” (1787), “Volume II: On the Freedom of Thought and Tolerance (Effects of Rationalism and Empiricism)” (1788), “Volume III: On Law and Natural Morality” (1790), and “Volume IV: Dissertation on Tolerance” (1797).⁵⁵³ The first volume is of special importance to this study, as Valcárcel expressly defines his metaphysical and epistemological frameworks in it more than in any other.

⁵⁴⁹ Menéndez Pelayo, HHE VI.iii§VI.607

⁵⁵⁰ Herrero, *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario*, 110.

⁵⁵¹ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.Dedicatoria “un escrito contra los novadores”

⁵⁵² Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.4 “gefes de los modernos.” It is worth noting Spinoza’s omission from this list, when many of the leading histories of enlightenment thought emphasize its Spinozist origin and particularly given Spinoza’s popularity in Spain compared to other philosophers. See Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁵⁵³ Alvarez Torres, *Historia Crítica*, 66-74.

Although Valcárcel argued that “It is not our goal to defend Scholastic Philosophy and its methods as if it is the only one, or the best, as if the modern does not merit some value,” he does ultimately condemn the metaphysics and epistemologies of modern philosophies in favor of traditional, Patristic, Scholastic, and Aristotelian understandings, with some crucial qualifications.⁵⁵⁴ He does, more so than almost any other Spanish enlightenment thinker, admit that not only was the Scholastic method problematic in some areas (“many impertinent and vane questions, much asperity and obscurity in tones and in ideas, much preoccupation and ridiculous obstinacy in the particular apprehensions of each School,” he lamented), but that modern philosophy had also some laudable ideas.⁵⁵⁵ He wrote:

The Philosophy which is used in the Schools has many defects; the Scholastic method has many defects. The modern Philosophy and its method also has defects. One must praise and reprehend in [both] one and the other. And what does our proposition do: with one and another Philosophy, with the ancient method and with the modern, they can teach truths and errors.⁵⁵⁶

Elsewhere, he again emphasized that both the ancients and the moderns contributed to the corpus of knowledge, stating:

Thus, when we fight against the modern Philosophers, it is not our aim to argue that they have nothing good and of use. When we defend the Scholastics, we do not pretend to argue that all that they question and teach is useful and that their

⁵⁵⁴ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.43-44. “No es nuestro ánimo defender la Filosofía Escolástica, y su método, como que ella es la única, ó la mayor, y como que la moderna no merece aprecio alguno.” Alvarez Torres rightly notes that Valcárcel’s source of criticism for modern philosophy comes from a generic “substratum of religious-philosophic tradition” which invokes Plato and Aristotle alongside early Church Fathers, medieval thinkers, and the Scholastics of the late-medieval and early modern periods (Alvarez Torres, *Historia Crítica*, 65). Even Valcárcel’s use of scholasticism is an ecumenically palatable, irenically vanilla variety of Thomism without any of the distinct flavors of the Schools of the Second Scholastic movement (Suarism, for example) – this could indicate another reason to place Valcárcel’s education at Alcalá rather than, for example, Salamanca. Ecumenism is, according to Ulrich Lehner, a hallmark of Catholic Enlightenment theology, given the mediating position of enlightened theologians between the world and the church (Lehner, *On the Road to Vatican II*).

⁵⁵⁵ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos* II.xiv “muchas questions impertinentes y vanas, mucha aspereza y obscuridad en las voces y en las ideas, mucho de preocupacion y terquedad ridicula en las aprehensiones particulares de cada Escuela.”

⁵⁵⁶ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.43-44. “La Filosofia que han usado en las Escuelas tiene muchos defectos, tiene defectos el método Escolástico. También tiene defectos la Filosofia moderna, y su método. Hay que alabar, y que reprehender en una, y en otra. Y lo que á nuestro propósito hace: con una, y otra Filosofia, con el método antiguo, y con el moderno se pueden enseñar verdades, y errores.”

method is the only one, without which you cannot teach truths. Logic, Syllogistic method, Geometrics, Didactics, Rhetoric, the ancient method, or the modern – each is worth something for teaching truths. Each century has its own style, language, and method...⁵⁵⁷

Valcárcel's *Desengaños Filosóficos* was, therefore, his attempt at a balanced reconciliation of the old and the new. This search for the *media via* between tradition and modernity, between science and religion, between the world and the church, describes the way that Catholic enlightenment thought was expressed in Spain during the eighteenth century. Valcárcel not only demonstrated the origin and development of philosophical errors present at the end of the eighteenth century, but also advanced a theory of knowledge which critically assessed and valued both the traditional and the modern. Part of this theory of knowledge was a necessary response to the way in which physics and metaphysics related to each other epistemologically.

Valcárcel's Epistemological Model: "Each Subject Has Its Method"

Valcárcel's entire critical history rests upon his understanding of the epistemology of physics and metaphysics: what type of knowledge composes each, what methods each employs to ascertain this knowledge, the nature of their relationship, and moreover, how God acts in nature. Indeed, while the first half of the first volume is a history of Valcárcel's four horsemen of modern philosophy, the second "dissertation" of the work is purely theoretical. Valcárcel's own interpretation, "Each subject has its method," advances two key points. First, he argues that physics and metaphysics are two separate subjects or *magisteria* of knowledge that are completely independent of one another, while remaining complementary and bound by unity in

⁵⁵⁷ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.45. "Quando pues combatimos á los Filósofos modernos, no es nuestro ánimo persuadir, que nada tienen de bueno, y de servicio. Quando defendemos á los Escolásticos, no pretendemos persuadir que es útil todo quanto questionan, y enseñan, y que su método es el único, y que sin él no se pueden enseñar las verdades. La Lógica, el método Silogístico, y el Geométrico, el Didáctico, ó el Retórico, el método antiguo, ó el moderno, tanto valen uno, como otro para enseñar las verdades. Cada siglo tiene su estilo, su idioma, y su método..."

the sense that they were both authored by an inerrant and omnipotent deity and must therefore never be in true disagreement but only apparent conflict. Secondly, Valcárcel argues that each of these subjects employs distinct modes of perceiving the truth. While some methods might be found in both subjects, others belong distinctly to one or the other. Here, Valcárcel specifically emphasized the two modes of ‘natural reason’ and revelation, stressing not only their differences, but their necessary, fundamental agreement with one another.

“Each Subject...”: Religion, Science, and Transgressive Philosophy

Valcárcel argued for (at least) two different types of truth (*clases de verdades*) – Physics, by which Valcárcel included all of the natural sciences and applied variations, and Metaphysics, which included religion, theology, philosophy, ethics, morality, natural law, politics, and piety. These formed two different bodies or areas of knowledge, and each had two different methods for the acquisition and verification of this knowledge. Valcárcel used the term *materia* to refer to these “subjects” – perhaps a deliberate choice to use a slippery and tricky word, defined thirteen different ways by the fourth volume of the *Diccionario de Autoridades* in 1734, but best understood in this case as “subject matter” or “field of knowledge.”⁵⁵⁸ Valcárcel alternatively referred to them as epistemological “jurisdictions” (*jurisdicción, competencia*).

Throughout his critical history, Valcárcel was careful to emphasize repeatedly that his critiques of the moderns, and particularly of the four “chiefs of the moderns,” were on purely philosophical grounds. “...We do not take care to examine what Robert Boyle, Boerhaave, Newton, Musschenbroeck, Haller, and others of this type say,” he explained, restating that, “It is

⁵⁵⁸ Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana, en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las frases ó modos de hablar, los proverbios ó refranes, y otras cosas convenientes al uso de la lengua*, Tomo Cuarto: G-N (Madrid: En la Imprenta de la Real Académiá Española, 1734), 512-513. “un campo del saber” comes from the modern definition of the RAE, available at: <http://dle.rae.es/?id=ObWMmRJ>.

our careful purpose not to examine the speculations, experiments, and discourses of Boyle, Newton, Boerhaave, and Muschenbrook, but rather the speculations of Descartes and his three successors.”⁵⁵⁹ Not only did Valcárcel grant these thinkers immunity to his criticism, but he exalted their contributions to natural philosophy above that of the Aristotelians, Galenics, and Traditional Scholastics, writing, “from this we concede to these men the preference over the Scholastics on points of Physics, and we confess what the Microscopes, Telescopes, Thermometers, Pneumatic Machine, and Electricity are instruments more *apropos* for the discovery of the secrets of nature than the syllogisms of the Schools.”⁵⁶⁰

This point is important to emphasize. Valcárcel’s blatant acceptance and preference for the work of modern natural philosophy belie attacks made by *ilustrados* (and by a significant number of present-day historians) that the Spanish Catholic- and Counter-enlightenment blindly ignored scientific advancements in favor of Scholastic and Aristotelian physics. Furthermore, the division between physical knowledge and metaphysical knowledge also rests upon the foundation of Valcárcel’s epistemology. Only because he viewed the physical and the metaphysical as entirely independent spheres was he able to write that “the Philosophers, therefore, with whom we contest, are not the Physicists, Physiologists, Mathematicians, or Anatomists, but those who are properly Philosophers or Metaphysicians.”⁵⁶¹ Though at times Valcárcel critiqued natural philosophers such as Newton, he was clear to direct his criticism at

⁵⁵⁹ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.44,82. “Así no nos pone en cuidado lo que dice Roberto Boile, Boerhaave, Newton, Muschembroeck, Haller, y otros de esta especie.” “Por tanto nuestro cuidado no es examinar las especulaciones, experimentos, y discursos de Boile, Newton, Boerhaave, y Musquembroek, sino las especulaciones de Descartes, y sus tres successores.”

⁵⁶⁰ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.44, “Desde luego concedemos a estos hombres la preferencia sobre los Escolásticos en puntos de Física, y confesamos, que los Microscópios, Telescópios, Termómetros, la maquina Pneumática, y la Eléctrica, son instrumentos mas á propósito para descubrir los secretos de la naturaleza, que los silogismos de la Escuela.”

⁵⁶¹ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.45, “Los Filósofos pues con quienes traemos la contienda, no son los Físicos, Fisiólogos, Matemáticos, ó Anatómicos, sino los propiamente Filósofos, ó Metafísicos.”

their metaphysical forays only. He affirmed this position, stating: “Sometimes we have to deal with the Physicists; but not as Physicists but as Philosophers, and Metaphysicians, and by the use and application which they make of physics towards Religion.”⁵⁶² Again and again, Valcárcel emphasized two separate subjects, arguing that the same mind could employ itself either metaphysically or physically, and that many had done both within the same work.

The problem, of which Valcárcel was painfully aware, was the loose employment of the term “philosophy/philosopher” (*filosofía, filósofo*) to mean both the study of the natural world and those who made metaphysical speculations. Writing about the “true sense of the word ‘philosopher,’” Valcárcel affirmed that as long as Newton and Boyle worked in “natural history, mechanics, nautical studies, astronomy, chemistry, anatomy...,” “and “although their speculations about these materials could be very profound...they were never prejudicial against Religion, Morality, or Politics.”⁵⁶³ “Thus,” stated Valcárcel, “Boyle as well as Newton could say truthfully ‘We are Philosophers: our speculations and discourses harm nobody, there is no reason to limit our philosophic liberty.’”⁵⁶⁴ It was not long, however, before individuals blurred the line between physics and metaphysics under the same name. “Here is where the deceit is...it is true that they treat many subjects of competence of natural reason...but [also] subjects that are related to Religion, Piety or Morality, and Politics are well or poorly treated...the cover of “Philosophers” is that which grants free passage into the Republic of Letters.”⁵⁶⁵ According to

⁵⁶² Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos* 1.82. “Algunas veces tendremos que hacer con los Físicos; pero no en quanto Físicos, sino en quanto Filósofos, y Metafísicos.”

⁵⁶³ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.354-355. “Del Verdadero Sentido de la Palabra Filósofo.” “...la historia natural, la mecánica, la náutica, la astronomía, la química, y la anatomía...” “Aunque sus especulaciones sobre estas materias fuesen muy profundas...nunca era perjudicada la Religión, la Moral, ni Política.”

⁵⁶⁴ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.355. “Así Boyle como Newton podían con verdad decir, somos Filósofos, nuestras especulaciones y discursos a nadie perjudican: no hay razón alguna para limitarnos la libertad filosófica.”

⁵⁶⁵ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.355-356. “...aquí es donde esta el engaño...Es cierto que tratan muchas materias de la competencia de la razón natural, materias que trataron también los Filósofos antiguos; pero materias que bien o mal tratadas interesan la Religión, la Piedad, o la Moral, y Política...la cubierta de Filósofos es la que las da paso libre por la República de las letras.”

Valcárcel, the exaltation of philosophy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had erased the demarcating disciplinary and methodological lines of knowledge, confusing everyone – moderns and Scholastics alike.

Their inquiries are about the origin of the world, about its end, about the succession and propagation of humankind, about the origin of society, equality and inequality among men, about the materiality or immateriality of the soul, about justice or injustice of actions, etc. In all these matters the Philosopher can make elementary mistakes and opine harmfully against Piety and Morality. In this case, does it matter to say, “I am a Philosopher, not a Theologian?”⁵⁶⁶

Valcárcel even suggested that tactic (what he calls a “formula”) may have been deliberately used in order to escape theological censure, but that it reflected a fundamental misunderstanding about the nature of knowledge.⁵⁶⁷ Valcárcel was especially critical of this excess of philosophy, because in it he saw great damage being done to Religion by philosophers who almost playfully called revealed truths into doubt. He wrote,

This was the delirium of Pomponacio and other philosophers of the sixteenth century: they imagined that one could innocently think profoundly about doubts and difficulties about an important point to the extent of making it doubtful, and even make it seem false, and then later fix it all by saying that it was kept by revelation. That is the same as saying that a thing can be doubtful and even false in Philosophy, without ceasing to be true in principles of Religion. The result of this mode of thinking is that the Philosopher brings doubt to where he wants to, and later his annoyed reason excludes that which is not to his liking.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.356, “Sus inquisiciones son sobre el origen del mundo, sobre su fin, sobre la sucesión, y propagación del género humano, sobre el origen de la sociedad, igualdad y desigualdad de los hombres, sobre la materialidad o inmaterialidad del alma, su inmortalidad o mortalidad, sobre la justicia o injusticia de las acciones &c. En todas estas materias puede el Filósofo descaminarse y opinar con perjuicio de la Piedad y el Moral. ¿En este caso qué importará decir, yo soy Filósofo, no soy Teologo?”

⁵⁶⁷ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.353. Valcárcel singles out Montesquieu, Helvetius, Boyer, and d’Alembert for using this tactic.

⁵⁶⁸ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.369-370, “Este fue el delirio de Pomponacio, y otros Filósofos del Siglo XVI: imaginaron que se podía inocentemente profundar las dudas y dificultades sobre un punto importante hasta hacerle dudoso, y aun hacerle pasar por falso; y después componerlo todo diciendo, que se atienden la revelación; que es lo mismo que decir, que una cosa puede ser dudosa, y aun falsa en Filosofía, sin que por eso dexé de ser verdadera en principios de la Religión. Lo que resulta de este modo de proceder es, que el Filósofo lleva la duda hasta donde le parece, y luego fastidiada su razón excluye lo que no es de su gusto.”

In response, Valcárcel sought to reestablish traditional divisions between areas of knowledge, not only to safeguard religion, but also to protect the free inquiry, utility, and development of legitimate natural sciences. These different disciplines both defined and were defined by distinct epistemological methods – for Valcárcel, especially, it was important to return to the differences between knowing by revelation and knowing by reason.

“...Has its Method”: The “Two Principles” of Revelation and Reason

The realms of metaphysics and physics had, according to Valcárcel, different methods of obtaining knowledge, each legitimate in its own way and useless to the point of absurdity if employed in the other. “If someone were to tell us, that within a regular piece of glass, a common pair of eyeglasses, or with the naked eye they had been able to see the satellites of Jupiter or sunspots or the animalcules which they say are in vinegar,” wrote Valcárcel, “or if someone told us that they had gone and come back from America several times in a fisherman’s boat or that they had discovered the origin of the nerves or the valves of veins by making syllogisms and meditating on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, we would laugh at him.”⁵⁶⁹ Valcárcel’s jest was meant to demonstrate the absurdity of seeking a particular end by the wrong method.

He explained his comment, stating that

the reason for this scorn is that the proposed means are impertinent and not suitable for the intent: because in order to perceive such tiny things as corpuscles, or distant ones, Microscopes and Telescopes are necessary; in order to record the secrets and delicate instruments of the human body, skillful and subtle dissection and a proficiency in anatomy is needed; for these, syllogisms won’t work, nor will metaphysical speculations.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁹ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.408, “Si uno nos dijese que con un vidrio vulgar, un antejo de los comunes, ó con la vista desnuda había alcanzado a ver los satélites de Júpiter, las manchas del sol, los animalculos que se dice hay en el vinagre; si nos dijese que había ido, y venido a la America muchas veces en un barco pescador: que había descubierto el origen de los nervios, o las válvulas de las venas, haciendo silogismos, y meditando en la Metafisica de Aristóteles, nos reiríamos de él.”

⁵⁷⁰ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.408, “La razón de este menosprecio es que los medios propuestos son impertinentes y nada del caso para el intento: porque para percibir corpúsculos tan menudos, ó distantes son

Here, it is almost certain that Valcárcel had in mind the Aristotelian physics and specifically Galenic medicine still being upheld by many of the major Scholastic universities in Spain. The difference between Valcárcel and the early counter-enlightenment thinkers is pronounced on this point. Whereas individuals such as Araujo rejected the “skeptical medicine” of the *novatores* out-of-hand, Valcárcel accepted the application of “skepticism” to medicine, as long as medicine was carefully and clearly bounded as a field. “Each class of truths has its [own] particular method of being investigated,” explained Valcárcel.⁵⁷¹ “If the things are made known by experimentation, or by tradition, and you want to know it by speculation, instead of finding them you will lose them from sight.”⁵⁷² Valcárcel’s model worked in both directions: syllogisms would not discover natural truths, and microscopes would never be able to determine the immateriality of the soul.⁵⁷³

While he never provided a complete classification of the “classes of truths” or their diverse “methods,” Valcárcel described several different ways of knowing for discovering truths throughout the *Desengaños Filosóficos*, including revelation, authority, tradition, faith, reason, logic, speculation, sensory perception, and experimentation. Valcárcel conveniently collapsed all of these, however, into “two principles:” natural reason (logic, speculation, sensory knowledge, experimentation, emotions, and intuitions) and revelation (authority, tradition, and faith). Valcárcel expressed the cornerstone of his epistemology at the beginning of his second dissertation in the *Desengaños Filosóficos*, when he explained that:

menester Microscopios, y Telescopios: para registrar los secretos y delicados instrumentos del cuerpo humano es menester la diseccion artificiosa y sutil de un anatómico perito; para esto no sirven los silogismos, ni las especulaciones metafísicas...”

⁵⁷¹ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.408. “La segunda reflexión es, que cada clase de verdades tiene su método particular para ser investigadas.”

⁵⁷² Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.408. “Si las cosas que se han de saber por experimentos, ó por tradición, se quieren saber por especulación, en lugar de encontrarlas las perderemos de vista.”

⁵⁷³ A similar point was made by Cigala in his second letter to Feijóo.

Our critiques make various reflections in order to affirm and give weight to this maxim. They say that in man there are two principles which produce truths: the first is natural reason and the other revelation. And that these two principles are not to be confounded with one another, because one cannot ask by revelation what is not [already] in it, and what is not contained in reason has to be asked...If a thing is against natural reason, it cannot be contained in revelation: and if a thing is expressly in revelation, it cannot be that which is against natural reason.⁵⁷⁴

In this passage, Valcárcel unmistakably showed the two main modes of knowing: one in which undoubtable information is already given, and the other in which it must be discovered. Just as importantly, Valcárcel also affirmed the unity of truth by noting that true reason and revelation never contradict one another.

Qualifying Valcárcel's Model: Encounters Between Science and Religion

Valcárcel was not the first (nor the last), to set forth an epistemological model describing two distinct areas of knowledge. Saint Augustine, for example, set forth in the Patristic age the notion of “two books” – divine revelation in the scripture and the general revelation in the natural world; Origin, Tertullian, Aquinas, Paracelsus, and countless other theologians had made similar distinctions. Valcárcel was aware of these contributions, referencing many of them. In many ways, Valcárcel's model was simply a reassertion of the traditional Catholic model proposed by these thinkers, although tailored to fit the demands of eighteenth-century Spain. These qualifications are important to understanding not only Valcárcel's position, but more generally the position of the Spanish Catholic Enlightenment and Counter-enlightenment resistance to modern philosophy in Spain.

⁵⁷⁴ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.352, “Nuestros críticos hacen varias reflexiones para afirmar, y dar peso a esta máxima. Dicen que en el hombre hay dos principios fecundos de verdades: el uno es la razón natural, y el otro la revelación, y que estos dos principios no se han de confundir en uno; porque no se ha de pedir a la revelación lo que no esta en ella, ni lo que no se contiene en la razón se la ha de pedir...Si una cosa es contra la razón natural, no puede estar contenida en la revelación: y si una cosa está expresamente en la revelación, no puede ser que la razón natural este contra ella.”

First, unlike many of the “independence models” of science and religion, Valcárcel did not limit revelation to the metaphysical realm and reason to the natural. Both methods made claims about both areas of knowledge; in other words, despite the general rule of independence, there were a few points of contact between the metaphysical and physical realms, principally because of overarching claims from revelation. This was contrary to what many of the philosophers of Valcárcel’s study proposed. “Revelation, say the new Philosophers, is not fit to instruct us in the mysteries of nature; this is the jurisdiction of reason and of Philosophy. Thus, once this is made the subject of the jurisdiction of Philosophy, it allows the Philosopher to abandon himself to profound thinking with complete liberty.”⁵⁷⁵ Again, Valcárcel emphasized that if these philosophers limited themselves to natural observations, “it isn’t fearful.”⁵⁷⁶ Valcárcel, on the other hand, argued that revelation, principally in the form of Scripture and the magisterial teaching and tradition of the Church, did make pronouncements about nature. He specifically noted several cases where religion and science meet, for example, “what is or isn’t a miracle, what could or couldn’t be the devil, whether an apparition or revelation is true or false, whether austerity, celibacy, and tolerance is rational...materials of such gravity.”⁵⁷⁷ In such cases, Valcárcel seriously doubted natural philosophy’s ability to answer such questions. In this regard, Valcárcel engaged with one of the more popular polemics of the Spanish Enlightenment: divine action and the existence of supernaturalism.

⁵⁷⁵ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.352, “La revelación, dicen los nuevos Filósofos, no se ha propuesto instruirnos en los misterios de la naturaleza, esto es de la competencia de la razón, y de la Filosofía. Una vez pues que conste que la materia es de la competencia de la Filosofía, se le debe al Filósofo dexar que la profunde con toda libertad, y que exercite en ella las fuerzas de su razón...”

⁵⁷⁶ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.353, “no es temible...”

⁵⁷⁷ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.3, “...lo que es o no milagro, lo que puede o no el demonio, si es verdadera o falsa la aparición, la revelación; si es racional la austeridad, el celibato, y el tolerantismo...materias de tanta gravedad.”

Secondly, and more importantly, Valcárcel subordinated all the ways of knowing beneath the primacy of revelation.⁵⁷⁸ Following the traditional and scholastic line, he reaffirmed that philosophy, both physical and metaphysical, are ancillary methods.

If a thing is demonstrated in Philosophy, it is certain and true, and nothing can happen to make Religion teach the contrary...it is a certain thing that revelation can never teach us more than the truth. If, therefore, we have by revelation notice of a thing, philosophical inquiring about it is useless, or can only serve in some officiating and helping way to confirm the revealed truth. *Curious works do not follow after Christ, nor inquiring after the Gospel*, said Tertullian.⁵⁷⁹

Valcárcel's curious use of Tertullian was perhaps tongue-in-cheek. The reference came from Tertullian's *De praescriptione haereticorum* (On the Prescription of Heretics), whose most famous question and answer, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" argued that philosophy was of no use to the Church.⁵⁸⁰ Valcárcel's own position was far more moderate. Philosophy could be of great use in promoting scientific discoveries and advancements, as Spain had witnessed, and it could also "help to confirm" revealed truths. Philosophy was in danger of "taking by deceit" only when it overstepped its epistemological bounds or tried to supersede revelation.⁵⁸¹ Valcárcel explained that, at the end of the eighteenth century, philosophy often attempted to do this to provide some small answer to the mysteries of life.

That is to say, [some] things are known by one way, and we look for them by another, and because we don't find them by the way that we have chosen, we are filled with new difficulties insofar that by bad philosophizing we do not philosophize – philosophizing should bring in utility and prove by natural principles the truths of the jurisdiction of reason, but we ought not to leave the

⁵⁷⁸ Just as Cigala desired the "subordination" of Mechanical Philosophy to Aristotle in his second letter to Feijóo.

⁵⁷⁹ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.370, "Si pues tenemos por la revelación noticia de una cosa, la inquisición filosófica sobre ella ó es inútil, ó solo puede servir en quanto oficia, y ayuda para confirmar la verdad revelada: *Curiositate opus non est post Christum, nec inquisitione post Evangelium*, decía Tertuliano."

⁵⁸⁰ See also, Nicholas Wolterstorff, "Tertullian's Enduring Question," *The Cresset Trinity* (1999), Special Issue Lilly Fellows Program in Humanities and the Arts, 6-17; Justo L. González, "Athens and Jerusalem Revisited: Reason and Authority in Tertullian," *Church History* 43, Issue 1 (March, 1974): 17-25.

⁵⁸¹ "Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam, et inanem fallaciam..." (Colossians 2:8), which prompted both Tertullian's meditation on the relationship between philosophy and Christianity; Valcárcel opened the first volume of the *Desengaños Filosóficos* with this passage.

path which providence traced – this is enough, because this is what God showed to us.⁵⁸²

One of Valcárcel's most frequent metaphors was to speak of the "way to truth" (*camino de la verdad*); in this passage, as in over twenty others, Valcárcel privileges revelation as a special guide in the search for knowledge. Thus, when philosophic speculation and logic contested against revelation on metaphysical points, especially on the subject of religion, Valcárcel argued that revelation was always superior.⁵⁸³ When metaphysics and physics appeared to contradict one another, however, one had to carefully assess precisely what revelation and natural reason taught concerning the issue at hand.

Valcárcel therefore qualified his model thirdly by reasserting the traditional doctrine on the unity of knowledge, most famously voiced by Saint Augustine. This doctrine asserted that since God was the ultimate author of both revealed and reasoned truths, these truths were fundamentally agreeable and only ever appeared to conflict with one another. "It is necessary to understand," explained Valcárcel, "that it is an intolerable illusion to think that it is fitting for the spirit of man to have as a certainty a thing in Philosophy and to believe the contrary by Religion. *Whatever the wise men of this world are able to show in the natural things, our letters cannot contradict them*, says Saint Augustine."⁵⁸⁴ Like his reference to Tertullian, Valcárcel customized his use of Augustine. Augustine's original intent was to demonstrate the need for biblical

⁵⁸² Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.410, "Es decir, las cosas se saben por un medio, y las buscamos por otro, y porque no las encontramos por el medio que habemos elegido, nos llenamos de nuevas dificultades, en manera que por mal filosofar no filosofamos: conviene y trae utilidad filosofar, y probar por principios naturales las verdades de la jurisdicción de la razón; pero no hemos de salir del camino que trazó la providencia: este es bastante, pues este nos señaló Dios."

⁵⁸³ Indeed, Valcárcel describes the four modern philosophers of his study as trying to build a "new Metaphysics." *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.347.

⁵⁸⁴ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, 370. "Es menester entender, que es una illusion intolerable pensar que cabe en el espíritu del hombre tener por cierta una cosa en Filosofía, y creer la contraria por Religion: *Quidquid sapientes hujus mundi de rerum natura demonstrare potuerunt, nostris litteris non potest esse contrarium*, que dice San Agustin."

scholars to exercise caution in their exegesis of the Scriptures, particularly taking into account advancements made in the sciences; the passage is, in fact, from *De Genesi ad Litteram*, his commentary on the creation story of Genesis.⁵⁸⁵ Valcárcel, while affirming this sentiment, was keen to show that it also meant that philosophical speculations had to be checked against revelation. The truth might be always unified, but it would only be recognizably so when intellectuals accurately understood the distinctions between different methods and subjects and their proper relationships with one another.

The Legacy of Valcárcel's Model: Understanding the Spanish Counter-Enlightenment

Valcárcel's concerns have a strangely modern familiarity to them. In 1997, to combat the constant friction between religion and science and to "mend the gap" between science and the humanities, the popular scientist Stephen Jay Gould laid out a normative theory for the interaction, or rather, non-interaction between the two fields which he labeled "Non-Overlapping Magisteria" theory, more often known by its acronym, NOMA.⁵⁸⁶ NOMA theory dictated that science and religion operate as two distinct fields, each legitimate in its own right and each forbidden to cross over into the others domain of knowledge bodies and distinct methods and modes of perception. To science, Gould ascribed all knowledge of the natural world, empirically ascertained. Religion, on the other hand, received ethics, morality, axiology, and virtue. In one memorable expression which Gould cobbled together from previous sources, "science gets the age of rocks, and religion the rock of ages; science studies how the heavens go, religion how to

⁵⁸⁵ Augustine, *St. Augustine, the Literal Meaning of Genesis*, Vol. 1, Ancient Christian Writers, Vol. 41, translated and annotated by John Hammond Taylor, S.J. (New York: Paulist Press, 1982). See also, Robert A. Ziegler, "Augustine of Hippo's Doctrine of Scripture: Christian Exegesis in Late Antiquity," *Primary Source* Volume V: Issue II (2015): 33-39.

⁵⁸⁶ Stephen Jay Gould, "Non-overlapping magisterial." *Natural History* 106 (March, 1997): 16-22. Also Gould, *The Hedgehog, the Fox, and the Magister's Pox: Mending the Gap Between Science and the Humanities* (New York: Harmony Books, 2003).

go to heaven.”⁵⁸⁷ Gould clearly asserted the theory as normative rather than historically descriptive, although he provides examples both of historical advocates of the “two spheres” approach and of “violations” against NOMA. In the subsequent twenty years, the acronymic theory has continued to be a common reference point for discussing alternative systems describing the relationship between science and religion as one of conflict, concord, or autonomy.⁵⁸⁸

Gould’s notion of two separate realms or *magisteria* of knowledges should sound strikingly similar to the framework proposed by Vicente Fernández Valcárcel in *Desengaños Filosóficos*. Even the vocabulary each used is similar; Valcárcel described the body of knowledge in Spanish as “*materia*,” but when referencing it in Latin, changed his word choice from *materias* to *magistra* – the same etymological root from which Gould derived his arcane use of “magisteria” to describe fields of knowledge.⁵⁸⁹ Valcárcel’s own system contains numerous tenets which Gould would have classified as violations. Valcárcel allowed for revelation to make both physical and metaphysical claims, and defined the areas of knowledge (metaphysics and physics) largely from the starting point of two ways of knowing (revelation and reason). If Gould’s NOMA theory is normatively in favor of the natural sciences, Valcárcel’s is distinctively tipped towards the primacy of revealed metaphysical knowledge. In this way, Valcárcel’s epistemological model is more aptly comparable to Alister McGrath and Francis Collins’s notions of “partially overlapping magisteria” (or POMA), Alvin Plantinga’s description of theism and natural philosophy’s “deep concord,” and elsewhere described as the

⁵⁸⁷ Stephen Jay Gould, *Rocks of Ages: Science and Religion in the Fullness of Life* (New York: The Ballantine Publishing Group, 1999), 6.

⁵⁸⁸ See the bibliography for a list of works related to the relationship between science and religion which reference Gould’s NOMA theory or provide alternative perspectives.

⁵⁸⁹ Valcárcel, *Desengaños Filosóficos*, I.413, “magistra natura”

“partnership model” between theology and natural philosophy.⁵⁹⁰ In these models, the two realms of knowledge exchange and learn from one another’s methods, and even share ‘overlapping’ subject matter.

The theorizations of Valcárcel’s epistemological model and qualifications occupy approximately ten percent of his *Desengaños Filosóficos*, but they lay the foundation for the four volumes and are indispensable to understanding Valcárcel’s critique of the new philosophies and the myriad applications to politics, Spanish society, and the Catholic Religion. Indeed, Valcárcel’s contribution is one of the keys to understanding the entire enlightenment experience in Spain. It is rare to encounter such a deliberate exposition of a theory of knowledge in primary sources from the eighteenth century. Without it, the Spanish Catholic- and Counter-Enlightenment are in danger of being misunderstood as merely reactionary, recalcitrant, and backwards.⁵⁹¹ Even the most progressive *novatore* work and the most feverish polemic of the Spanish Counter-Enlightenment was generated within the context of a particular epistemology. Works such as Valcárcel’s help to understand the *mentalities* of a period which was characterized by dramatic, paradigmatic changes.⁵⁹² Valcárcel synthesized the two positions of progressive and conservative enlightenment responses so seamlessly that he demonstrates the fluid and arbitrary nature of this imposed categorization.

⁵⁹⁰ Alister E. McGrath and Joanna Collicutt McGrath, *The Dawkins Delusion? Atheist Fundamentalism and the Denial of the Divine* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 2007), 41; Alister E. McGrath, *Surprised by Meaning: Science, Faith, and How We Make Sense of Things* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011); Francis Collins, *The Language of God* (New York: Free Press, 2006); Alvin Plantinga, *Where the Conflict Really Lies: Science, Religion, and Naturalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Richard F. Carlson, ed., *Science & Christianity: Four Views* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 2000).

⁵⁹¹ José María Jover Zamora, *Historia de España (fundada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal)*, Tomo XXXI: La Época de la Ilustración, Volumen I: El Estado y la Cultura (1759-1808) (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A, 1987).

⁵⁹² Elena Carpi, “Cambio Semántico y discurso filosófico en el siglo XVIII: los conceptos de idea e imaginación,” *Dieciocho* 35.2 (Fall 2012): 333-364.

Moreover, the *Desengaños Filosóficos* serves as a touchstone for nearly all of the significant metaphysical and epistemological concerns that were raised by Catholic and Counter Enlightenment intellectuals in response to the new philosophies and new sciences of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This chapter has focused on the definition of distinct areas of knowledge and the role of different modes of perception in creating these distinctions. Beyond this, Valcárcel also addressed the teleological nature of natural philosophy granted by Christianity, the role of divine action in the causality of nature (supernaturalism, occasionalism, naturalism, the study of miracles), and the utility of natural theology in the Catholic tradition, among others.⁵⁹³ Ascertaining these deeply embedded epistemologies is crucial therefore, not only for understanding the intellectual history of the eighteenth-century, but towards explaining the applicative issues of the Catholic Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment as it occurred across the Spanish empire, and more broadly, in Europe.

⁵⁹³ In an interesting turn, Valcárcel attributes a childishly supernatural or occasionalist position to the modern philosophers, who must return to “the recourse of God’s omnipotence” to account for discrepancies between their speculations, natural observations, and revealed theology. See *Desengaños* I.336. “Del recurso a la omnipotencia de Dios.”

CHAPTER FIVE:

From *Ilustrado* to *Afrancesado*: Politicizing Reform, Enlightenment, and Jansenism in the Alvarado-Villanueva Debates, 1782-1813

“I do not disagree with [Abbé Jean] Pey, nor with the French emigrées who attribute to Jansenism a supporting role in the French Revolution...the abandonment of all religion is the fundamental part of the French Revolution, and the prime and effective cause of all of the disasters that have succeeded and taken place in her. This revolution has consisted of changing the monarchical government into a democratic [one], establishing it on the corpse of Louis XVI. The last King of France was sacrificed on the altar of the most fiery inhumanity, and that had consisted also of the suppression, not only of Christianity, but moreover of any other religion whatsoever.”

-Abbe Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, S.J., *Causes of the Revolution in France in the Year 1789, and the Means by Which they Have Made Themselves Enemies of Religion and of the State* (1807)⁵⁹⁴

Hervás y Panduro wrote his explanation of the French Revolution in 1807, mere months before the Peninsular War began. Four years later, in 1811, during the political instability and upheaval of the recent Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian peninsula and subsequent guerilla fighting, a Dominican friar published a curious set of epistolary editorials in Madrid under the pseudonym “El filósofo rancio” – the aged philosopher. There was little reason that these letters should become particularly influential. The opening session of the Cortés de Cádiz – the first national assembly, held among the Spanish rebels to the French occupancy – had met the previous fall, and a deluge of documents and polemical debates frequented every major city in Spain. Yet two of Alvarado’s letters sparked great controversy by claiming that there were within the Cortes unsavory individuals who were not only political opponents and “spies of

⁵⁹⁴ Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, *Causes de la Revolucion de Francia en el año de 1789, y medios de que se han valido para efectuarla los enemigos de la religión y del estado*. Tomo I (Madrid, 1807), 8-9. “No disiento de Pey, ni de todos los emigrados franceses, que con él atribuyen al jansenismo el complemento de la revolución francesa...el abandono de toda religión es la parte fundamental de la revolución francesa, y la causa primitiva y efectiva de todos los desastres que en ella han sucedido y acaecen. Esta revolución ha consistido en mudar el gobierno monárquico en democrático estableciéndolo sobre el cadáver de Luis XVI. Ultimo Rey de Fráncia sacrificado en el atar de la mas fiera inhumanidad, y ha consistido también en la supresión no solamente del christianismo, mas también de qualquiera otra religión...” As Hervás y Panduro was a philologist, he was especially interested in the use and misuse of the term “Jansenism.” A member of the Jesuits, he wrote his work from Rome, originally in Italian.

Napoleon,” but worse, heretics and “sons of perdition:” the Jansenists.⁵⁹⁵ When a fellow theologian, Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, responded to these charges by seeking to defend these individuals as “Catholic persons,” there began a year-long debate through publication over the true nature of Spanish Jansenism.⁵⁹⁶

This chapter situates the Jansenist debates of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Spanish Catholic Church within broader ecclesiastical efforts to regulate reform and doctrinal critique, as well as to maintain epistemological hegemony. These themes are explored through the works of Spanish Jansenists, assessing how Jansenism was classified as a heterodox variety of Catholicism, what Jansenists professed in their texts, and how Spanish theologians responded and reacted to it. To do so, this chapter specifically analyzes *El Jansenismo*, a religious dialogue and debate written by Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva in 1811, as well as a series of editorial letters authored by Fray Francisco Alvarado. This chapter analyzes the contested definitions of Spanish Jansenism at the end of the eighteenth century and assesses its relation to Catholic reform and Enlightened Catholicism. It demonstrates how the epistemological debates which characterized the enlightenment experience were translated from their abstract and epistemological discussions into a political dimension. Progressive and reformist Catholic enlighteners became “liberals” and “Jansenists,” associated with foreign thought and revolution. Meanwhile, counter-enlighteners became “conservatives,” reactionaries, and ultramontanists. This chapter shows, therefore, how the enlightenment became associated with the reformist movements of “Spanish Jansenism” and with the fundamentally political historiographical legacy of the nineteenth century.

⁵⁹⁵ “Espías de Napoleon” and “hijos de perdición” in El Filósofo Rancio (Francisco Alvarado), *Cartas Críticas del Filósofo Rancio* (Mallorca: La Oficina de Felipe Guasp, 1813-1814).

⁵⁹⁶ “Personas Católicas,” in Ireneo Nistactes (Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva), *El Jansenismo, dedicado al Filósofo Rancio* (Cádiz: En la Imprenta de la Junta Superior, 1811), BNE, R/61037.

Spanish Jansenism was simultaneously both a variety of Catholicism, practiced and held by clergy within the church, and a heterodox movement. As an *ex officio* epithet given to various intellectuals and self-acknowledged by many, “Jansenists” were often members of the clergy and almost exclusively part of the Spanish intellectual elite. Their opponents were not limited to the Jesuits; many Catholic theologians and religious intellectuals argued against Jansenism doctrinally, contesting issues of free will, the preeminence of grace, and moral theology. Though much research has already been conducted into the extent of Spanish Jansenists, and particularly into the regalist-ultramontane debates held between Jansenists and Jesuits within eighteenth-century Spain, the majority of these histories have focused on the political and economic dimensions of Jansenist rhetoric, relegating such doctrinal issues and theological-intellectual debates to a lesser, neglected role. This chapter, however, focuses on the theological dimension of Spanish Jansenism as a means of connecting the institutionally and doctrinally reformist debates at the end of the century to the epistemologically reformist debates which preceded it.

One historian has noted that by 1750 in Spain, there existed “multiple strands of the enlightenment,” but that “all strands of Enlightenment in Spain were responses to a general sense of crisis coming out of the late 17th and early 18th centuries and thus centered on the concept of reform.”⁵⁹⁷ Thus, this chapter discusses the theological aspects of the Jansenist debates of the late-eighteenth century in Spain, placing them among the broader efforts toward reforming the Spanish Catholic Church. These were, essentially, discussions motivated by the same Catholic rationalism which is characteristic of the entirety of the eighteenth-century experience. This research thus explores both the work of Spanish Jansenists to introduce Catholic reform, as well

⁵⁹⁷ Andrea J. Smidt, “*Luces por la Fe: The Cause of Catholic Enlightenment in 18th-Century Spain*,” in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment*, Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy, eds., 411, 414.

as the Spanish Catholic Church's efforts in the eighteenth century, particularly during the second half, to maintain its status as the source of moral authority, despite the rising popularity of interior spirituality, personal devotion, and evolving understanding of the doctrine of grace.

The debate over the definition of Spanish Jansenism between the *Cartas Críticas* of Fray Francisco Alvarado and the dialogue *El Jansenismo*, by Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, first challenges the previous historiography by arguing for a religio-intellectual understanding of the term and demonstrating that Spanish Jansenism was a fundamentally, if not always primarily, religious category. Moreover, analyzing Spanish Jansenism as a religious category reveals an underlying debate about the permitted extent for epistemological and doctrinal reform within the Catholic Church of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. These discussions on the theological and political nature of Spanish Jansenism are direct inheritors of the debates of the Catholic Enlightenment previously studied in this dissertation. The Catholic Enlightenment was essentially reformist, or, as Ulrich Lehner has defined it, a movement which articulated "...their rationality in modern terminology and by reconciling Catholicism with modern culture..."⁵⁹⁸

This dissertation has thus far focused on the attempts within Spanish Catholicism to reform epistemological topics relating to the interaction of science and religion, the concept of distinct academic disciplines and magisterial, and methodologies for acquiring knowledge, among others. Spanish Jansenism, like Martínez's work on anatomy and surgery, Feijóo's anti-superstition campaigns, or Cigala's investigation into the barometrical paradox, represents yet one more applicative dimension of reform in which the Catholic Church and theologians sought to reconcile themselves to 'modern culture.' Yet it, perhaps more than any other issue, became intertwined with political theories about the relationship between Church, state, and society,

⁵⁹⁸ Lehner, *On the Road to Vatican II*, 25.

notions which dominated discussions about reform and turned “*ilustración*” (enlightenment) into “*afrancesadismo*” (the love of things French). Similarly, the thoughtful conservative strains of the counter-enlightenment were reduced to unwitting prejudices. After the French Revolution and subsequent Napoleonic invasion, these political dimensions became all that was remembered by Spain of her participation in eighteenth-century thought. By examining in close detail the theological, rather than the political, nature of Spanish Jansenism, this chapter asserts the connection that the movement had to the earlier reform efforts which characterized the Catholic Enlightenment in Spain during the eighteenth century.

The “Ghost of Spanish Jansenism:” Historiographical Reductionism and Skepticism

The history of these theological debates must be properly situated in the context of regalism in Spain, particularly during the Caroline era. This has been of particular importance when analyzing the theological contributions and discussions of the Spanish Catholic Church with Jansenism and Jansenists during the final decades of the eighteenth century.⁵⁹⁹ Historians who have viewed eighteenth-century debates between Jansenists and Jesuits in Spain through the lens of the political ideology and rhetoric of regalist jurisprudence have, lamentably, reduced rich theological and intellectual discussions to ecclesiastical manoeuvres and episcopal ploys to court the political and economic power of the Crown. Jansenism, according to this interpretation, was merely a convenient vehicle for regalist rhetoric, a strategically theological

⁵⁹⁹ Regalism, like Gallicanism in France, was primarily concerned with the assertion of the state and of the Spanish Crown over the Catholic Church, especially in the aggrandizement of land, the appointment of ecclesiastical positions, and the collection of tithes and taxes. For further information on regalism, see Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). Paquette argues that regalism, as a broader political theory of jurisdictionalism, evolved from Church-State relations to become the modus operandi of the Caroline reforms across the Ibero-Atlantic. See also, Andrea J. Smidt, “Bourbon Regalism and the Importation of Gallicanism: The Political Path for a State Religion in Eighteenth-Century Spain,” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 19 (2010), 25-53.

vantage point from which the Royal Cabinet could reduce and ultimately extirpate the longstanding power of the Society of Jesus within Spain. This is tantamount to a political reductionism of Spain's religio-intellectual history, where "the central task of the scholar of religion is to explain its doctrines and ideas, its rituals and practices, its regulations and prohibitions as the product of something ostensibly more fundamental and 'real'..."⁶⁰⁰

Menéndez Pelayo devotes an entire chapter in his *Historia de los Heterodoxos* to describing Jansenism in eighteenth-century Spain, but labels it with the hybrid term "Regalist Jansenism." Menéndez Pelayo's position is clearly stated. He first defines Jansenism as the theological movement born from the five propositions of Jansen's *Augustinus*, further expounded by Quesnel, and condemned in the papal bull *Unigenitus*. He then argues that, "In this strict sense [of Jansenism], it is certain that there were never Jansenists in Spain; or, at least, I have not found any such book whose purpose is to defend Jansen."⁶⁰¹ The eighteenth century, according to Menéndez Pelayo, was simply not the forum for earlier debates on the efficacy or sovereignty of effectual grace and predestination, rather, ecclesiastical conversations in Spain revolved around themes of episcopal authority and the jurisdictional arguments between Madrid and Rome. Spanish Jansenism, according to Menéndez Pelayo, was not a wholly "inexact" term, because late-eighteenth century individuals shared certain "affectations" with the Port-Royal sect of the seventeenth century.⁶⁰² These were, namely: a tendency towards austerity, an antipapal stance or lack of belief in papal infallibility, a dislike of the Roman Curia, a "schismatic spirit"

⁶⁰⁰ Brad S. Gregory, "Can We "See Things Their Way"? Should We Try?" in *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual history and the Return of Religion*, edited by Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 31.

⁶⁰¹ Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, HHE.VI.1: "En ese riguroso sentido es cierto que no hubo en España jansenistas; a lo menos yo no he hallado libro alguno en que de propósito se defienda a Jansenio."

⁶⁰² Menéndez Pelayo, HHE.VI.1.

which favored national churches, and a “hatred of the Society of Jesus.”⁶⁰³ Since all of these commonalities between the two sects revolved around questions of authority and regalism, Menéndez Pelayo’s work subsequently uses Spanish Jansenism synonymously with Regalism.

Sarrailh largely supported Menéndez Pelayo’s conclusions, writing that “In any case, there does not seem to have existed in Spain a Jansenist group who could compare to that of Port-Royal...”⁶⁰⁴ Sarrailh acknowledges the previous work of Padre Manuel F. Miguélez to establish the fact that discussions between Jansenists, Jesuits, and the wider Iberian Catholic Church involved debates over the defense of Augustinianism, the doctrines of grace, election, and free will, and the so-called “five points” of Jansen’s posthumous publication, *Augustinus*. These theological discussions, according to Miguélez, were as prominent as those of episcopal authority, regalism, and papal infallibility – the traditional topics chosen by ecclesiastical or political historians as markers of a “Spanish Jansenist.”⁶⁰⁵ Sarrailh asserts, however, that Miguélez conflates Augustinianism and the works of Augustinian orders throughout Spain with that of Jansenism.⁶⁰⁶ Ultimately, Sarrailh concludes that Jansenism in Spain, while having some theological connotations, is incomparable with seventeenth-century Jansenism and far more in line with Regalism.

Herr has similarly argued that Spanish Jansenists “were not direct heirs of the French sect,” but were rather distant inheritors of theological corollaries drawn from original Jansenism, particularly interested in attacking the ideas of moral probabilism and casuistry in the works of Jesuit Luis Molina, and asserting the defense of Augustinian interpretations of grace that

⁶⁰³ Menéndez Pelayo, HHE.VI.1., « Llamarlos jansenistas no es del todo inexacto, porque se parecían a los solitarios de Port-Royal en la afectación de... »

⁶⁰⁴ Jean Sarrailh, *La España Ilustrada de la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XVIII* (México: Fondo de Cultra Económica, 1957), 701.

⁶⁰⁵ See P. Manuel Miguélez, *Jansenismo y regalismo en España* (Valladolid, 1895).

⁶⁰⁶ Sarrailh, 701. See, for example, Miguélez’s work on the Augustinian convent at San Felipe el Real de Madrid.

emphasized predestination over free will.⁶⁰⁷ Unlike Menéndez Pelayo, who had equated Jansenism with Regalism, Herr made an important historiographical contribution by arguing that the term “Jansenist” in eighteenth-century Spain was primarily associated with one who opposed “the theological and moral teachings of the Jesuit order.”⁶⁰⁸

The early historiography of Spanish Jansenism therefore presents a startlingly unified and forebodingly general consensus that such a thing never existed in Spain, or at least, that the term primarily connoted a political position. The historian Antonio Mestre Sanchís, for example, has stated that “Without a doubt, Jansenism never had important doctrinal consequences in Spain, unlike in the Low Countries or in France.”⁶⁰⁹ Similarly, Teófanos Egido describes eighteenth-century Spain as being haunted by the “‘Ghost’ of Spanish Jansenism,” an insubstantial, phantasmal concept.⁶¹⁰ Egido, citing the historian Saugnieux, alternatively refers to “*jansenists*” by bracketing the term in skeptical quotation marks.⁶¹¹ Yet both Sanchís and Egido make concessions to these strong pronouncements. Sanchís, for example, allows that primary evidence exists for Spanish Jansenism, and that “perhaps Antonio González de Ródenas would be the only doctrinal Jansenist [in Spain].”⁶¹² Similarly Egido traces the recent efforts of several historians who have challenged the dominant narrative that Spanish Jansenism was nothing more than a

⁶⁰⁷Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution*, 16. Probabilism is a system of ethics and morality, primarily associated with the Jesuits of the early modern period, which operated from the base premise that in a circumstance in which the permissibility of an action was doubtful, it was morally acceptable to follow a liberal view on a degree (even if slight) of probability, even if that position was not the *most* probable. Casuistry, from the latin *casus* (“case”), was a system of ethics which selected theoretical interpretations from moral situations and abstracted new situations or “cases” for them. By the eighteenth century, “probabilism” and “casuistry” were bywords for “moral liberality” and “empty sophistry.”

⁶⁰⁸ Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution*, 17.

⁶⁰⁹ A. Mestre, “Jansenismo Español” in *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, 1224-1225, pg. 1224 “Sin alguna duda, el jansenismo no tuvo en España, a diferencia de los País Bajos o Francia, importantes consecuencias doctrinales.”

⁶¹⁰ José María Jover Zamora, *Historia de España (fundada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal)*, Tomo XXXI, 418

⁶¹¹ José María Jover Zamora, *Historia de España (fundada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal)*, Tomo XXXI, 418.

⁶¹² Mestre, “Jansenismo Español,” 1224.

political buzzword of the late-eighteenth century.⁶¹³ Moreover, Egido concludes that Spanish Jansenism may be better understood by placing it within the context of reformist religious attempts within Spanish Catholicism, but that it can never be wholly divorced from the political debates of the period.⁶¹⁴ In this way, Jansenism serves as a useful conclusion to the enlightenment in Spain, connecting to the reformist trends established by the epistemological debates of the eighteenth century and transitioning to a purely political discussion which dominated the nineteenth century.

One of the revisionist historians cited by Egido, María Giovanna Tomisch, has commented on this difficulty of untangling the skein of Jansenists, Jesuits, and Regalists in eighteenth-century Spanish history. Tomisch asks,

How does one separate that from this to be able to affirm that this or that procedure is a clear sign that religious reform that is easily distinguishable from the interests of the regalists? The same meaning of this word, “regalia,” at work in the Catholic world –rights which the State has or assumes to intervene in ecclesiastical matters – gives us an indication of the deeply embedded significance that these issues had. And with reference to these, one can divide the critiques into two currents: one that identifies the movement with the Regalist practices and one which considers it something distinct, although not always easily separable from, Regalism.⁶¹⁵

Tomisch affirmed in her research that the Jansenist-Jesuit debates of the eighteenth century had a distinctive, theological element. Ultimately, Tomisch asserts that there are three clear “common

⁶¹³ Egido credits historians such as Apollis, Demerson, Mayans, and Tomisch have all sought to challenge the generalized account of Spanish Jansenism given first by Menéndez Pelayo and later researched by Herr and Sarrailh

⁶¹⁴ For a general overview of Spanish Catholic reformism during the second-half of the eighteenth century, see Mousnier, Roland, Ernest Labrousse, and Marc Bouloiseau, “El Cristianismo y las Iglesias” in *El Siglo XVIII: Revolución intelectual, técnica y política (1715-1815)*, Historia General de las Civilizaciones, Crouzet, ed., vol. 114 (Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 1981), 127-134.

⁶¹⁵ María Giovanna Tomisch, *El Jansenismo en España: Estudio sobre ideas religiosas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Emilio Rubín, 1972), 30-31. “¿Cómo separar aquella de éstos para poder afirmar que tal o cual procedimiento es una clara señal de reformismo religioso fácilmente distinguible de los intereses regalistas? La misma acepción de esta palabra “regalía”, vigente en el mundo católico – derechos que el Estado tiene o se arroga de intervenir en cosas eclesiásticas – nos da el índice de compenetración que tenían estos asuntos. Y con referencie a éstos, se puede dividir la crítica en dos corrientes: la que identifica el movimiento con las prácticas regalistas y la que lo considera algo aparte, aunque no siempre fácilmente separable del regalismo.”

denominators” of Spanish Jansenism in the eighteenth century: a proclivity to jurisdictional disputes, occurring during the final decades of the eighteenth century or the early decades of the nineteenth, and an ‘orthodoxy’ asserted by the five foundational propositions of *Augustinus*.⁶¹⁶ While the first of these two points agree with the early historiography on Jansenism, the third marks a clear departure from earlier interpretations.

The implications of Tomisch’s assertion that “Jansenist” as a term in eighteenth-century had a “deeply embedded” theological meaning are not fully examined in her work. Beyond the efforts of Spanish Jansenists to publish the Bible in the vernacular Spanish in the early 1790s, Tomisch focuses, rather, on the political-theological debates examined by the historians before her.⁶¹⁷ The historiography, therefore, remains silent on the possibility of rereading classic Spanish Jansenist texts in a distinctively straightforward and theological interpretation. By providing such a reading of the debates between Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva and Padre Francisco Alvarado at the beginning of the nineteenth century, particularly through Villanueva’s *El Jansenismo, dedicado al Filósofo Rancio*, this chapter may support the claims of later historians of eighteenth-century Spain that Jansenism as a term must be seriously reconsidered. If identifying oneself as a Spanish Jansenist or being labeled as one did, in fact, have theological and religious implications, then these primary sources may become a rich source for future scholars of Spanish Catholicism during the second half of the eighteenth-century.

⁶¹⁶ Tomisch, *El Jansenismo en España*, 34.

⁶¹⁷ On the publication of a vernacular bible: “Individual and family reading of the vernacular Bible, catechisms, or similar civic-religious summaries never spurred literacy in Spain...Until 1782, the inquisitorial prohibitions of 1551 and 1559 against the printing, selling, or possession of a vernacular version, either complete or partial, of Holy [582] Scripture remained in effect. The translations appearing after this time, that of Scio de San Miguel (1791-1793) and that of Felix Torres Amat (1823), were not popular editions but folio-size books of several volumes and/or many pages with engravings and consequently of high cost. They were ornamental and ostentatious books to be displayed in a place visible to a visitor or guest rather than ones for the bedside or assiduous reading. Even their publication did not take place without sharp controversy...” Frago, “The History of Literacy in Spain: Evolution, Traits, and Questions,” 581-582.

This focus on the theological dimensions of eighteenth-century Spanish Jansenism also necessarily involves historiographical discussions about the Catholic Enlightenment. This chapter employs Andrea J. Smidt-Sittema's definition of the Spanish Catholic Enlightenment as "encompass[ing] all of the distinctly religiously-motivated and uniquely Spanish attempts at bringing science, reason, progress, and greater social utility to Catholicism."⁶¹⁸ Spanish Jansenism, placed in this context, is therefore important for demonstrating how theological differences prompted Catholic reform. At the same time, however, it highlights how conservative Catholic critics of Jansenism responded to the language of reason, progress, and reform.⁶¹⁹ Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates how both Jansenists and anti-Jansenists dialogued about doctrinal varieties and about the very theological justifications for Catholic Reform. In this analysis, the language of reason and of Catholic rationalism will be particularly important.

Polemical Discussions of Spanish Jansenism: El Jansenismo and the Cartas Críticas

To demonstrate that Spanish Jansenism was a religious classification that was connected with issues of reform, this chapter primarily uses a religious dialogue written in 1811; however, printed books and published letters from the turn-of-the-century will also be examined to discover the theological and religious dimensions between "liberal" and "conservative" Catholics. Thus, the writings of Jansenists, philo-Jansenists, and anti-Jansenists are all examined. This body of primary sources to be assessed is the 'elite', theological-intellectual

⁶¹⁸ Smidt, "Luces por el Fé," 411.

⁶¹⁹ In this sense, it may be helpful to eventually label these "multiple strands" such as a Jesuit Catholic Enlightenment, a Jansenist Catholic Enlightenment, etc.

treatises and works published within Spain.⁶²⁰ The principal primary document that will form the center of this chapter is Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva's religious treatise *El Jansenismo, dedicado al filósofo Rancio*, published in 1811 in Cádiz, Spain.⁶²¹ It is a dialogue, a pamphlet composed in response to the work of Padre Francisco Alvarado, who wrote a series of letters entitle *Cartas críticas* in which he critiqued several members of the Spanish clergy as Jansenists.⁶²² Villanueva's response was an effort to distinguish between "Spanish Jansenists" and French Jansenism by articulating Spanish Jansenist beliefs. This document, as well as other dialogues similar to it, has been analyzed previously as a source of information on the political debates of liberalism and regalism. This chapter, however, reads 'against the grain' of these traditional interpretations, seeking to understand the theological positions being espoused.

The second corpus of works reflects the learned Catholic response to Jansenist doctrine. Unlike the paradigm of the French enlightenment, the Spanish Enlightenment occurred almost wholly within the parameters of Catholic belief.⁶²³ Thus, this chapter analyzes the efforts of conservative theologians and intellectuals within the Spanish Catholic Church who rejected Jansenism not solely on political or economic grounds, but for religious reasons. For this dissertation chapter, the primary contra-Jansenist work is the collected letters of the *Cartas*

⁶²⁰ This includes, for example, Felix Amat's *Tratado de la Iglesia de Jesu Cristo*, published in sixteen volumes from 1793 to 1805. Amat was a self-declared Spanish Jansenist and at one time archbishop of Palmira and personal confessor to Charles IV (1788-1808). The work, though written as an objective history, contains several polemical discussions, particularly an analysis of the history of Augustine and the Pelagian controversy. Amat's work provides an overview and basic understanding of how members of the Spanish clergy and intellectual elite characterized the history of Jansenism at the end of the eighteenth-century.

⁶²¹ Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, *Jansenismo, dedicado al filósofo Rancio*, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/61037 (Cádiz, 1811). Unless otherwise noted, Villanueva as a surname will be used to designate Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, not his brother, Jaime Villanueva.

⁶²² María Giovanna Tomisch, *El Jansenismo en España: Estudio sobre ideas religiosas en la segunda mitad del siglo VIII* (Madrid: Emilio Rubin, 1972), 164.

⁶²³ Writing about similar intellectual and spiritual movements in Portugal, Evergton Sales Souza notes that, "Such dissensions do not correspond to a conflict between partisans and adversaries of the Catholic enlightenment; they are disputes which, more often than not, took place within the bosom of the enlightened Catholic group." Evergton Sales Souza, "The Catholic Enlightenment in Portugal," in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, 377.

Criticas of Fray Alvarado. As part of a debate, these letters offer an unusually defined perspective into how Catholic *ilustrados* and *antilustrados* thought about Jansenism.

Alvarado and Villanueva: Representative Figures of the Religio-Intellectual Elite

These letters were written by Fray Francisco Alvarado, one of the most well-known “reactionary” Catholic writers and thinkers of the second-half of the eighteenth-century. Born into a peasant family in Marchena, near Sevilla, in 1756, Alvarado attended a Jesuit School there, eventually joining the Dominican Order at the nearby Monastery of San Pablo in Sevilla. He then studied philosophy and theology at the College of St. Thomas of Sevilla. Along with such theologians as Fernando de Cevallos, Alvarado soon became widely known for his conservative critiques of the new philosophies and for his particular work as a writer of pamphlets. From May, 1786 to November, 1787, for example, he published the *Cartas Aristotélicas*, defending traditional Thomistic, Scholastic, and Aristotelian epistemologies. His work has thus been labeled by historians as “reactionary” – the label given to theologically and epistemologically conservative Catholic positions during the eighteenth century. Alvarado demonstrates in his work a clear abhorrence for all things French, and viewed with increasing disgust the importation of French ideas, philosophy, culture, and publications into Spain, culminating in the French Revolution, which Alvarado, along with many Spanish Catholics, saw as the logical nadir of irreligious behavior and atheism.

When French armies arrived in Sevilla in 1810, Alvarado left for Tavira, in Portugal, where he continued to monitor the constitutional discussions occurring in Cádiz, writing forty-seven opinionated, open letters, the *Cartas Críticas*, to an editor for publication in Mallorca. These letters he wrote under the guise of a pen name, labeling himself “el Filósofo Rancio.”

Nearly fifty years later, all of these letters were collected posthumously and published by his colleagues Francisco Rodríguez de la Bárcena and Manuel Freyre de Castrillón.⁶²⁴ While it appears that his letters were widely circulated when published, all of his letters were eventually published in five volumes by 1824-1825, eleven years after his death on August 31, 1814. His letters addressed numerous and varied topics: ecclesiastical reform in Spain, political theology and defenses of Absolutism, attacks on ‘progressivism’, arguments against eclecticism and skepticism, apologies for the activity of the Inquisition,⁶²⁵ and acerbic writings against the ‘Enlightenment’, liberalism, Francophilia, Jansenism, and freemasonry.⁶²⁶ Alvarado, along with many other ‘reactionary’ Catholic writers, frequently responded to the work of Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, among other ‘liberal’ Catholics.⁶²⁷ The use of this political language is striking, and helps to explain the distorted memory of the Spanish enlightenment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Catholic enlighteners who advocated a more aggressive form of reform had always been associated with foreign influence and with progressivism, but now, in the polarizing context of the Jesuit-Jansenist controversy, the Regalist-Montanist debates, and the fiasco of the French Revolution, they became politicized enemies of the state, “liberals,” and “spies of Napoleon.” Thus it was that the slippery category of “Jansenist” helped to transform *ilustrados* such as Piquer, Ramon Campos, and Villanueva into *afrancesados*.

This process holds true for the conservative members of the counter-enlightenment as well. The historian Javier Herrero has critiqued the work of Alvarado as the “Filósofo Rancio”

⁶²⁴ Both Bárcena and Castrillón served as *diputados* to the Cortes de Cádiz in 1811.

⁶²⁵ Fernando VII appointed Alvarado a *consejero* of the Inquisition.

⁶²⁶ For further information, see Javier Herrero, *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español* (Madrid: Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1973); Julio Herrera González, *¿Serviles! El grupo reaccionario de las Cortes de Cádiz* (Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de Unicaja, 2007).

⁶²⁷ Alvarado, along with individuals Rafael de Vélez, Macedo, Agustín de Castro, Mozzi, El Setabiense, Miguel de Lardizábal, Fernando Ceballos, José Joaquín Colón, and others form the main writers of “casticismo,” while others such as Bartolomé José Gallardo and Agustín Arguelles are seen as the proponents of “liberalism.”

as being derivative and a poor amalgamation of reactionary positions. He states in his work, *Los Orígenes del Pensamiento Reaccionario Español* that Alvarado “...no es más que una síntesis tosca y confusa de los ‘clásicos’ de la reacción...”⁶²⁸ Herrero notes Alvarado’s clear reliance (and direct citations) of Barruel, for example, specifically when developing his ideas of a “conspiración de Voltaire y los filósofos...”⁶²⁹ Herrero proceeds, in his textual analysis of Alvarado’s work, to evaluate him on these presuppositions. The line between derivative writing and extensive appeals to authority and abundant in-text citation, both of which were frequent practices in eighteenth-century writing and particularly proliferated in Scholastic discourse, is not clearly defined by Herrero, making his charge problematic.

Moreover, Herrero fails to prove his critique of Alvarado’s theology as crude or “tosca y confusa.”⁶³⁰ Herrero blames the work of Menéndez Pelayo for elevating Alvarado’s pedestrian theology to an unduly important level, arguing that for the most part Alvarado represents a poorly thought-out, albeit impassioned, defense of Catholic traditionalism. In one particularly damning assertion, Herrero states: “When the *Rancio* pretends to be profound he instead becomes, as we see, incomprehensible...What are those names that did not deal with confronting the ancient philosophy and whose ‘correspondence and ideas’ the Gospel had given to the world?; and what does this substitution of such ideas for the crimes and passions that the Gospel has been confounding consist of?”⁶³¹ This demonstrates a clear misreading of Alvarado and a classic historiographical stereotype of the “reactionary” Catholic position on Herrero’s part. Not

⁶²⁸ Herrero, *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español*, 316. “[El Filósofo Rancio] is nothing more than a tangled and confused synthesis of the ‘classics’ of the reaction[ary movement].”

⁶²⁹ Herrero, *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español*, 316-317. “conspiracy of Voltaire and the *philosophes*...” (Alvarado’s *Carta XXIV*)

⁶³⁰ Herrero, *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español*, 316.

⁶³¹ Herrero, *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español*, 317. “Cuando el *Rancio* pretende ser profundo suele volverse, como vemos, incomprensible...¿Cuáles son esos nombres que no acertó a formular la filosofía antigua y que cuya ‘correspondencia e ideas’ el Evangelio ha dado al mundo?; y ¿en qué consiste esa sustitución de tales ideas por los crímenes y pasiones que el Evangelio había confundido?”

only are these questions taken out of context of Alvarado's larger work and part of a broader discourse, but they posit that the reader is familiar with both the religious language that Alvarado uses as well as knowledgeable about the plethora of references (both implied and explicit) that Alvarado employs. Rather than accept Alvarado's theological justifications on his own terms and from his epistemological framework, Herrero, like the consensus of scholars of this period, insist upon reading Alvarado from a presentist perspective that clearly favors liberalism over traditionalism and modern notions of reason over the logic of older systems of thinking. The result is a clumsy interpretation of 'reactionary' literature that posits a free-thinking elite against an outdated, irrational, and blindly dogmatic old order of clerics.⁶³² This chapter instead positions Alvarado as a dynamic thinker within a well-established network of the religious and intellectual elite.

Also in this network was one of his opponents, Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva y Astengo, the enigmatic author of the treatise, *El Jansenismo*. Born in Játiva, in Valencia, on August 10, 1757 as the son of an Aragonese bookseller, Villanueva devoted his entire life to academic training, studying humanities at the school in Orihuela before studying theology in the city of Valencia. Villanueva and his brother, Jaime Villanueva, were trained, for a time, at the University of Valencia by the young Juan Bautista Muñoz, who was later appointed *Cosmógrafo mayor de Indias* in 1770 by Carlos III. Muñoz had established himself as a clear opponent to Scholasticism and an advocate of the reforms and new philosophies of the *ilustración*. He authored, for example, the 1767 treatise *De recto philosophiae recentis in theologiae usu dissertatio* ("A Dissertation on the Right Use of Recent Philosophy in Theology"), in which he

⁶³² Herrero's problematic readings of Alvarado and of Villanueva stem from his misinterpretation of Jansenism as a fundamentally political movement – see, for example, "La Secta Jansenista" in Herrero's *Los Orígenes del Pensamiento Reaccionario*.

argued that the new philosophies could be justly used in the study of theology.⁶³³ It is likely that much of Villanueva's ideologically formative experiences, as well as future professional contacts, first emerged from his study with Muñoz.

Joaquín Villanueva earned his doctorate from Valencia in 1777 at the age of twenty. Until 1780, Villanueva taught philosophy at the seminary in Orihuela, when, after disagreeing with his colleagues, he left the school. By this time, Villanueva had already established himself with many thinkers that were categorized as *ilustrados* or as promoters of *liberalismo*. The Inquisitor General Felipe Bertrán, for example, was a supporter of Villanueva, and used his position as bishop of Salamanca to secure Villanueva a new position as a *catedrático* of theology at the seminary there.⁶³⁴ Villanueva was a vehement advocate of reforming censorship practices, particularly concerned with allowing the vernacular publication of the Bible and encouraging a wider readership of the scriptures. He published *De la lección de la Sagrada Escritura en lenguas vulgares*, defending the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages, a practice which the Catholic Church continued to restrict, in 1791; in 1792 he joined the Real Academia de la Lengua and the Real Academia de la Historia, and in 1794, published the *Cartas eclesiásticas al doctor don Guillermo Díaz Luzeredi*, again defending the reading of the Bible in Spanish. Villanueva did not limit himself, however, to the defense of vernacularism.⁶³⁵ He

⁶³³ See, for example, Alain Guy, *Historia de la filosofía española* (Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial de Hombre, 1985), 204. Muñoz's discipline-specific work as a historian may also have influenced both of the Villanueva brothers in their efforts at ecclesiastical history, most notably, their collaborative work on the *Viaje literario a las Iglesias de España* (1803).

⁶³⁴ Bertrán was later denounced as a Jansenist and subsequently defended and vindicated in Villanueva's *El Jansenismo*. See Villanueva, 13, where Villanueva (as Nistactes) defends both "...inquisidor general D. Felipe Bertrán..." as well as "...D. Joaquín Villanueva..."

⁶³⁵ It does not appear that Villanueva was advocating either universal education or unguided and unsanctioned readings of scripture. In many of his works, Villanueva notes the potential that the people (*pueblo*) had for misunderstanding. Villanueva viewed religious errors, particularly moral laxity, as dangerous when adopted by the populace, as well as being directly responsible for the increased political disorder experienced at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. See, for example, Villanueva's chapter, "Errores y doctrinas laxas que han fomentado la insubordinación del pueblo a las potestades" (Errors and doctrines of laxity that have

wrote frequently and prolifically, commenting on the celebration of the Mass, cataloged popular religious celebrations, translated religious works from Latin into Spanish, both defended and critiqued the work of the Inquisition, and after the Napoleonic Invasion, opined politically about the Cortes de Cádiz. An inherently argumentative and divisive figure, Villanueva's outspokenness earned him both respect and negative attention.

In 1808 he retired to the Augustine Convent in Alcalá de Henares, but he returned soon to defend Madrid after French armies had entered the peninsula. He was elected as one of the twenty *diputados* (deputy-representatives), sent from Valencia to the Cortes de Cádiz.⁶³⁶ It was in Cádiz, that Villanueva would establish himself as a masterful writer of not only religious history, but of political theology. He published *El Jansenismo*, the central dialogue of this chapter, in Cádiz in 1811, as well as some of his most famous works, including *Las angélicas Fuentes o el tomista en las Cortes* (1811-1813), *Memoria crítica de una parte del Dictamen y voto por escrito sobre la Inquisición* (1813), and *Conciliación político cristiana del Sí y el No* (1813). Following the return of Fernando VII ("El Deseado"), Villanueva was sent to exile in Valencia under house arrest in 1814. However, after the constitutional system of Spain was restored in 1820, he was granted a reprieve. He was named as ambassador to the Holy See in 1822, but the papacy, sensitive to some of Villanueva's outspoken and acerbic critiques, forbid him entrance. Insulted and dejected, Villanueva returned to Spain briefly before traveling to Ireland in 1823, where he lived the rest of his life. He died there in Dublin on March 25, 1837.⁶³⁷

formed the insubordination of the people against the potentates) in his *Catecismo del Estado según los principios de la religión* (Madrid, 1793).

⁶³⁶ Federico Suárez, *Las Cortes de Cádiz* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, S.A, 1982), pg. 41. Villanueva is listed as a "Capellán de Honor y predicador de S.M. Canónigo de la Santa Iglesia de Cuenca. Penitenciario de la Real Capilla. Caballero de la Orden de Carlos III."

⁶³⁷ For most biographical information, consult Villanueva's autobiography, *Vida literaria ó memoria de sus escritos y opiniones* (London, 1825).

Authorship of the Texts: Pseudonymic Writing in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Polemics

When submitting his *Cartas Críticas* to the editors, Alvarado chose to sign them as “el Filósofo Rancio” – the vintage Philosopher. The name simultaneously poked fun at Alvarado’s liberal and Francophilic opponents, labeling himself a *philosophe* of a past age, while also establishing a connection between Alvarado and Aristotelianism – for the term was originally applied by Martin Luther to Aristotle.⁶³⁸ Alvarado therefore used “el Filósofo Rancio” to lambast the new philosophy while reaffirming traditional scholastic theology. Thus, the use of the appellation of “Filósofo Rancio” was less pseudonymic in intent than Villanueva’s own employment of “Ireneo Nistactes.”⁶³⁹ Patricia Manning has noted that the use of pseudonyms in early modern Spain was a widespread practice.⁶⁴⁰ Writers, especially clerics, used pen names to hide their identity and religious affiliation, to bypass in-house censorship processes of religious orders, and to avoid persecution by the Inquisition.⁶⁴¹ While many of these pseudonyms were transparent and identifiable, others were specifically created to avoid decryption – many remain unidentified today. This was not the case in Alvarado’s choice of “Filósofo Rancio,” which was more a calculated word play than an attempt to conceal identity. Indeed, Alvarado assumption of the nickname was only developed late in his writing on the occasion of the *Cartas Críticas* from 1811 to 1814.

Villanueva was doubtlessly aware, for several plausible reasons, that the *Filósofo Rancio* who had authored these letters was, in fact, Alvarado himself. First, as previously mentioned,

⁶³⁸ See William Henry Lazareth’s study of Luther’s denunciation of Aristotle’s *Ethics* III.7 in *Christians in Society: Luther, the Bible, and Social Ethics* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 97.

⁶³⁹ It remains unclear what the meaning, if any, is of Villanueva’s synonym of *Irene Nistactes*. It is never explained in any primary source, nor is it immediately apparent from secondary research.

⁶⁴⁰ Patricia Manning, *Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain*, 16-17.

⁶⁴¹ Patricia Manning, *Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain*, 16-17.

Alvarado was not deliberately cautious in his appellation. Secondly, while Villanueva does not specifically reference Alvarado as the author, Villanueva designs the principle antagonist of his dialogue after Alvarado, including numerous biographical specifics to underscore the connection. The Father Maestro who gives voice to the letters of the *Filósofo Rancio* is, for example, a well-established and admired Dominican.⁶⁴² More incriminatingly, the setting of the dialogue occurs in the library and reading room of the *convento* of San Pablo in Sevilla – the same Dominican monastery where Alvarado first took his vows and had remained until his flight to Tavira in 1811.⁶⁴³

The reverse may not have been true, however, for Alvarado's responses to Villanueva. Villanueva, writing from a less-sanctioned ideological position, would certainly have had better reason for concealing his identity – moreover, his pseudonym is far more deliberately obtuse. Whereas Villanueva never refers to both Alvarado and the *Filósofo Rancio* within the same context, Alvarado's letters mention both Villanueva and Ireneo Nistactes – seemingly as distinct, individual persons.⁶⁴⁴ However, Alvarado correctly suggests that Villanueva's authorship is strikingly similar to that of Ireneo Nistactes, the “Bishop of the *Fuentes Angélicas*,” and

⁶⁴² Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 1.

⁶⁴³ Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 1.

⁶⁴⁴ See, for example, a particularly revealing passage from Alvarado's thirty-fourth letter, in which he references both Villanueva and Nistactes individually within the same sentence, writing: “Bien puede ser que el autor de la Exposición del señor Ministro no sea ni Ireneo Nistactes, ni el Obispo de las Fuentes angelicas, ni don Lorenzo Astengo, ni don Joaquin de Villanueva; pero las propiedades son, y muy son de alguno de los de esta cuaterna.” Alvarado, *Carta XXXIV* “Sigue la impugnación del Dictámen de las Comisiones” (1 de Julio, 1813), 343. In this context, Alvarado was seeking to identify the author of a recently-published *Exposición del Melchor Cano* (which Villanueva did, in point of fact, write in 1813). Alvarado playfully admits the possibility of erring, noting that the author of the *Exposición* may not have been neither Nistactes, nor the “Bishop of the *Fuentes Angélicas*,” nor Lorenzo Astengo – all pseudonyms employed by Villanueva. Villanueva had used his maternal name, “Lorenzo Astengo,” when he published his *Cartas de un Presbítero Español* in 1798, in which he defended the Inquisition's actions against Bishop Grégoire of Blois – which, given its plausibility as an actual name, can be interpreted as a far more concerted effort at concealing identity than his other pseudonyms. Villanueva may have employed these pseudonyms to shield himself from personal attacks – he was imprisoned under Ferdinand VII, exiled from Madrid, and had one of his speeches from Cádiz placed on the Inquisition's Index of Prohibited Works in 1815. See Henry Charles Lea, “Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with the Inquisition, “Censorship of the Press” (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co., 1890), 167.

Lorenzo Astengo – three pseudonyms previously used by Villanueva.⁶⁴⁵ Similarly, Alvarado suggestively begins his twelfth letter (and his second against *El Jansenismo*) with a quote selected from Villanueva's *Kempis de los literatos*.⁶⁴⁶ These clues support the idea that Alvarado was, in fact, able to surmise who his opponent was and to unmask his identity. Thus, while it is conceivable that this exchange of argumentative letters occurred on slightly unequal footing, with Alvarado position clearly defined and recognized, while Villanueva's remained hidden and unidentified, it seems more likely that both authors painstakingly worked to reveal each other's identity. This necessarily impacts the historian's reading of Villanueva's text. If Villanueva employed a pseudonym as a merely rhetorical flourish or published his works despite a common knowledge of their authorship, it would seem that either his espoused opinions were less incendiary than have been argued by previous historians or that his recklessness and disregard for reproof was greater. If, however, Villanueva's use of a false name was both intended and kept to conceal identity, it is plausible that his ideas were seen, at least by the author, as potentially incriminating and dangerous.

Spanish Jansenism and Ecclesiastical Reform: The Sacrament of Confession

Villanueva's work, *El Jansenismo* is a fictional dialogue between various religious figures. It begins, after a brief prologue, with the author, Ireneo Nistactes, describing a dream,

It seemed to me that I was in my homeland of Sevilla, seated in the library of Saint Paul, with a Father Maestro of that house [the Dominican Monastery] and another two lecturers who were looking at him with veneration. There entered in there at that time two Augustinian friars...next to the table there was a captain of

⁶⁴⁵ Alvarado, *Cartas Críticas*.

⁶⁴⁶ Alvarado, *Cartas Críticas*, XII, 2.

the frigate named Don Claudio....and a Don Agramato, a cleric of advanced age...⁶⁴⁷

The choice of the genre was important, allowing Villanueva to address numerous weighty issues in an extremely analytical way and with clearly demarcated positions. At the same time, Villanueva's emphasis on the story's fictitiousness at both the start of the work and at its conclusion, as well as his circumspection in keeping the main speakers anonymous (though clearly inspired) provided Villanueva, as Nistactes, an additional protective barrier to challenges to his work. Villanueva's selected cast is deliberate and revealing – he specifically alluded in *El Jansenismo* to previous “literary clashes” between the Dominicans and the Augustinians, and was well aware that the Augustinian order had long been the defenders of Spanish Jansenists.⁶⁴⁸ Indeed, the Augustinians in Villanueva's dream enter the room carrying the letters of the *Filósofo Rancio*, ready for a religious and intellectual debate. The principal speakers emerge quickly in the first pages of the work: one of the Augustinians speaking in defense, as the protagonist, of those labeled “Jansenists,” and the Father Maestro of the Dominican order supporting the work of *Rancio*.

Villanueva himself never joined a religious order, and although he retired to an Augustinian convent, he took great care in his dialogue to emphasize that the issue of Spanish Jansenism is not easily divided between Augustinians and Dominicans. He also highlighted his deep respect for many Dominicans. Indeed, Villanueva's own teacher at Valencia, Muñoz, had been a member of the Dominican Order. At the close of his argument in the dialogue, Villanueva reminded the Dominican antagonist that great theological works more sensitive to the

⁶⁴⁷ Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 1. “Pareció me estar en Sevilla mi patria, sentado en la biblioteca de S. Pablo, con un P. Mtro. De aquella casa y otros dos lectores que le miraban con acatamiento. Iban entrando en el a la sazón dos frailes Agustinos, cosa que admire acordándome de cierto choque literario ocurrido allí años hace entre estas dos familias. Junto a la mesa había un capitán de fragata llamado D. Claudio, mui estudioso, a quien conocí en el colegio de guardias marinas de Cartagena; y un Don Agramato clérigo de buena edad.”

⁶⁴⁸ Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 1. “choque literario”

nuances of Spanish Jansenism were at hand. “You, Sir, do not need to beg for this outside of this house: in your very order you, Sir, have wise writers that have undertaken to enter this cloud that does not allow one to see clearly.”⁶⁴⁹ He continued to recommend numerous famous works by Dominicans from Italy, France, and Spain, such as Tomás de Lemos (1555-1629), Hyacinth Serri (circa 1700), Vincenzo Maria Dinelli (m. 1683), Giovanni Vincenzo Patuzzi (d. 1769), Daniel Concina (d. 1756), Mas (unknown), Vincent Contenson (1641-1674), and Pietro Maria Gazzaniga (1722-1799).⁶⁵⁰ All these, he labeled “religious and wise persons.”⁶⁵¹

At the time that Villanueva wrote *El Jansenismo*, it is unlikely that more than the first two of Alvarado’s *Cartas Críticas* has been published. Alvarado’s first *Carta Crítica* was written May 16, 1811. Villanueva’s response was published in Cádiz at the printing press of the Junta Superior at an unknown date in 1811, but it was likely during the late-summer or early-fall of that year, most likely during August, while Alvarado was writing multiple critiques. Alvarado’s eleventh letter, the first of seven responding to Villanueva’s published dialogue, was published at an unknown date after December 6, 1811. Yet by the publication of this letter, Alvarado indicates that Villanueva’s dialogue has been in publication for quite some time, writing, “Dear friend – at last the Jansenism of Ireneo Nistactes has arrived in my hands.”⁶⁵² Furthermore,

⁶⁴⁹ Villanueva, 22. “No necesita V. para esto mendigar nada fuera de casa: en su misma orden tiene V. sabios escritores que le sacaran de entre esa neblina que no le deja ver claro.”

⁶⁵⁰ For further information on Dominican theology during the eighteenth century, see the meticulously researched and compiled work of Benedict M. Ashley, O.P., “Survivors (1700s)” in *The Dominicans* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990), available *gratis* online at domcentral.org. For further general information on Moral Theology, see also: Charles E. Curran, “Moral Theology before the Nineteenth Century” in *The Origins of Moral Theology in the United States: Three Different Approaches* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1997), 3-45; Antonio Tannoja, *The Life of St. Alphonsus Maria de liguori, Bishop of St. Agatha of the Goths, and Founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1855); J.A. McHugh, O.P., “Doctrines of Dominican Theology” in *Homiletic & Pastoral Review* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1936), 709-722; and Servais Pinckaers, *The Pinckaers Reader: Renewing Thomistic Moral Theology*, John Berkman and Craig Steven Titus, eds. (Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 2005).

⁶⁵¹ Villanueva, 22. “...personas religiosas y sabias...”

⁶⁵² Alvarado, Carta XI, “Querido amigo: por fin llegó á mis manos el *Jansenismo de Ireneo Nistactes*.” Villanueva was not the first target of Alvarado’s critiques – letters eight through ten, immediately preceding the letters written against *El Jansenismo*, were written in response to Antonio Puigblanch’s 1811 publication, *La Inquisición sin*

Villanueva's dialogue engages only the first two letters of Alvarado, written May 16 and June 9, 1811, failing to engage with any of the other eight which Alvarado authored during the second half of 1811.⁶⁵³ Furthermore, Villanueva only works with a select number of passages from these two letters, amounting to less than seven total pages of Alvarado's work.⁶⁵⁴

As the debate unfolds over the course of the work, numerous topics are introduced: the sacramental status of penance, the practice of confession, free will and moral theology, the genealogy of Jansenism, the relationship of Jansenism to reform movements, and the place of these reforms within the church. All topics are strikingly religious and are articulated using traditional religious argumentation. While Spanish Jansenism may have functioned as a slippery, polysemic term that could be used by or against political liberalism, regalism, or rationalism, the debate presented in Villanueva's dialogue clearly belongs to that class of critiques which Tomisch labeled "distinct" from regalism.⁶⁵⁵ It is clear from Alvarado's arguments that his concerns about Jansenism are primarily religious ones. It is equally clear from Villanueva's response that he conceives of Jansenism as a religious or epistemological category. The significance of this for the historian is that Spanish Jansenism, long-abused as a stand-in word for political liberalism, has been misunderstood. Contemporary intellectuals of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Spain viewed the category of Spanish Jansenism, even if they

máscara ó disertacion, en que se prueban hasta la evidencia los vicios de este tribunal, y la necesidad de que se suprima (The Inquisition Unmasked, Or, A Dissertation, In which it is proved thoroughly the Evidence of the Vices of this Tribunal, and the Necessity of its Abolition). See Filósofo Rancio (Alvarado), *Cartas Críticas*, VIII-X. Also, Natanael Jomtob (Antonio Puigblanch), *La Inquisición sin máscara, o disertación en que se prueban hasta la evidencia los vicios de este tribunal y la necesidad de que se suprima* (Cádiz: Imprenta de Josef Niel, 1811).

⁶⁵³ Alvarado's letters were dated by the publisher as follows: I, 5/16/1811; II, 6/9/1811; III, 8/3/1811; IV, 8/16/1811; V, 8/21/1811; VI, 8/27/1811; VII, 9/1/1811; VIII, 11/18/1811; IX, 11/29/1811; X, 12/6/1811.

⁶⁵⁴ Both Villanueva and Alvarado were extremely prolific. When Alvarado eventually responded to Villanueva's twenty-two page work, he wrote approximately over 350 pages of commentary.

⁶⁵⁵ Tomisch, *El Jansenismo en España*, 31.

believed it to be invented, as a religious one. Analyzing the specific points of contention addressed in Villanueva's dialogue and in Alvarado's letters helps to underscore this assertion.

Villanueva first admits that there is an ambiguity to the term "Jansenists," and that those who do employ the term often offered circular language to define it. The Augustinian states Villanueva's own position clearly, saying,

For me, it is as clear as the daylight which illumines us that *Jansenism* has come to be an appellation that one applies detrimentally to catholic and very honorable persons. If Sir [the Dominican Father Maestro] has evidence to the contrary, that is, that those who are called *Jansenists* among us are defenders of some of the five propositions of Jansen, and are true heretics as are the Calvinists, Anabaptists, and other sects, release me, Sir, from this error.⁶⁵⁶

The Dominican responds with words excerpted directly from the letters of Alvarado, speaking, as it was, for Alvarado's position, that he too once believed that this sect "never existed in Spain," or that those who did state it were mistaken, but that he had since received significant proof that it did.⁶⁵⁷ Villanueva's other characters are alarmed at the possibility of a heterodox sect existing within Spain, asking, "What are these *Jansenists*, because I don't know," and wanting to know "How does [one] recognize these *birds* [Jansenists]?"⁶⁵⁸ The questions are of recognition and definition, and Alvarado's own response is one of clear religious markers in belief and praxis.

⁶⁵⁶ Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 3. "Para mí es tan claro como el día que nos alumbrá, que el *Jansenismo* ha venido a ser un apodo que se aplica dolosamente a personas católicas y mui recomendables. Si tiene V. evidencia de lo contrario, esto es, de que los llamados *jansenistas* entre nosotros son defensores de alguna de las cinco proposiciones de Jansenio, y verdaderos herejes como los calvinistas, anabaptistas y otros sectarios, sáqueme V. de este error."

⁶⁵⁷ Alvarado, Carta I.42. "Otra casta de pájaros tenemos también tan malos como las filósofos, ó peores, que son los jansenistas. Yo estaba en el mismo error en que todavía están muchos: primero: que de esta secta nada había en España: después, que los que había, lo eran por mera ignorancia. De ambas cosas me he desengañado; y entre las causas que han concurrido á mi desengaño..."

⁶⁵⁸ Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 3-4. "¿Qué son estos *jansenistas*? Porque yo no lo sé.... ¿En qué conoce V. á esos pájaros?" The origin of the colloquial expression equating Jansenists and heretics with birds is uncertain.

Alvarado highlights in his first *Carta Crítica* that the errors of Jansenism all stem from a central doctrinal error concerning free will and the efficacy of grace, but Villanueva chooses to begin his critique with a more concrete, external argument, and the first symptomatic “marker” of Jansenists that Alvarado lists: the status of the Sacrament of Penance and Reconciliation. Alvarado’s position, stated as the Filósofo Rancio, is that “In the first place, they [Jansenists] added, instead of denying the Sacrament of Penance like the Protestants do, the need for a new system of dispositions, because it is not possible between men.”⁶⁵⁹ The Jansenists, according to Alvarado, reserved the dispensation of grace to the activity of God, thus challenging the sacraments of Penance and of the Eucharist. To identify a Jansenist, therefore, one needed to look for a person arguing against the practice of these sacraments or abstaining from their required participation.⁶⁶⁰

Villanueva’s response is to enumerate numerous ‘tried-and-tested’ orthodox Catholics, saints, Patristic authors, or ecclesiastical ordinances that support the so-called “Jansenist” position either explicitly or implicitly. The tactic, which Villanueva repeats multiple times, is traditional in its articulation – a claim of epistemological verification based on authority and traditionalism. Villanueva therefore, although writing at the end of the Spanish enlightenment, displays the lingering prestige that authority and traditionalism had as ways of knowing. Despite the changing hierarchy of ways of knowing, it is useful to remember that the ‘evolution’ was a slow process. Villanueva notes, for example, the work of the Cardinal José Saenz d’Aguirre, a much-beloved Spanish Benedictine of the second-half of the seventeenth century, on the

⁶⁵⁹ Alvarado, *Cartas Criticas*, 42, “...se le añadió en primer lugar, en vez de negar como los protestantes el sacramento de la penitencia, la necesidad de un aparato de disposiciones, que no es posible entre los hombres.”

⁶⁶⁰ The Sacrament of Penance and Reconciliation had been a mandatory annual requirement since Lateran IV in 1215.

Sacrament of Penance.⁶⁶¹ Quoting Aguirre quoting St. Francis Xavier, Villanueva notes that many have sought reform to the ordinances of penitence, restating:

In confession, one does not sign absolution immediately; first, wash the stains of the soul with voluntary punishments, restituting that which is owed – laying down their hatreds, enemies, lusts and other vices. It is best that these things precede absolution. Therefore promising in confession so to do such things, and [then] receiving absolution, they [would] forget their word and [would] not fulfill that which they promise?⁶⁶²

Challenges to an established sacramental tradition, in other words, were neither new nor inherently heterodox. Indeed, Villanueva argues that if the label “Jansenist” were to be applied to anyone who had questioned or critiqued the Sacrament of Penance, many famous Catholics would fall under the category. In addition to Aguirre and Xavier, Villanueva highlights the post-Tridentine reforms of Robert Bellarmine.⁶⁶³ Villanueva notes that Bellarmine critiqued laxity in confessors, that “they absolve the contrite and the uncontrite, to those that confess well and poorly, and to those that are and are not willing to seek satisfaction.”⁶⁶⁴ The issue, for Bellarmine and for Aguirre, was the frustratingly impossible goal of regulating and encouraging interior attitudes and feelings of penitence for those who were seeking an external measure of

⁶⁶¹ Villanueva’s choices of ‘exemplary’ Catholics are revealing: Aguirre (1630-1699) was a graduate of Salamanca, the traditional Thomistic seminary in Spain, and was famous for his thoroughly-Aristotelian refutations of Bossuet and of the *Declaration of the Gallican Clergy* (1682). If any reader was to assume that Spanish Jansenism had connections with Gallicanism or with French Jansenism, Villanueva’s example argues against him strongly. For further information, see Aguirre’s works, including *S. Anselmi Theologia, Commentariis et disputationibus tum dogmaticis tum scholasticis illustrata* (1678) and *Auctoritas infallibilis et summa Cathedrae Sancti Petri* (1683).

⁶⁶² Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 6-7, “A la confesión no se siga inmediatamente la absolución, laven primero las manchas de su alma con castigos voluntarios: restituyan lo que deben: depongan sus odios, enemistades, lujurias y los demás vicios. Mejor es que es[7]tas cosas precedan a la absolución. Porque estos tales prometen en la confesión que lo harán así, y en recibiendo la absolución se olvidan de su palabra y no cumplen lo prometido?”

⁶⁶³ St. Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), S.J. – easily one of the most identifiable figures of the “Counter-Reformational” Catholic Church, synonymous with Tridentine doctrine, and a grand systematizer of dogmatic theology.

⁶⁶⁴ Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 7. “...que absuelven a los contritos y a los no contritos, a los que se confiesan bien y mal, a los que están y no están dispuestos a satisfacer.”

sacramental grace.⁶⁶⁵ This same critique, Villanueva notes, had been made for centuries by luminaries such as S. Carlos Borromeo and Santo Tomas de Villanueva.⁶⁶⁶

If the records of such famous and indubitably orthodox Catholics was insufficient evidence, Villanueva has the Augustinian friar also recall from memory the pronouncements of the eleventh canon of the Third Council of Toledo, the 75th canon of the Fourth Council of Cartagena (Murcia), the seventh chapter of the first epistle of Pope Innocent I, and the teachings of the Cardinal of Lugo. Even the teachings of the Council of Trent – the latest systematic benchmark in orthodox Christianity – were invoked, citing Session XXV, chapter 18, which stated that dispensations should be given “with mature consideration.”⁶⁶⁷ The argument is deliberately over-established – Villanueva is insistent upon showing that the teachings of the church have, since their inception, been debated by the faithful for reproof, review, and

⁶⁶⁵ This problem has been noted by many historians of seventeenth-century Catholicism, not only in Penance, but in the Eucharist and lay devotion as well. See, for example, John Bossy, “The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Fifth Series, Vol. 25 (1975), 21-38. Bossy, in his usual reductionist explanation, describes the shift in the practice of penance (the development of individual confessions and of the confessional) as “a shift from the social to the personal...the emphasis of the sacrament lay in its providing part of a machinery for the regulation and resolution of offences and conflicts otherwise likely to disturb the peace of a community. The effect of the Counter-Reformation was...to shift the emphasis away from the field of objective social relations and into a field of interiorized discipline for the individual.” (21) For a more nuanced approach to the problem of “interiorized discipline” see Nathan D. Mitchell, *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Reinvention of Catholicism* (New York: New York University Press, 2009). The Baroque Catholic Church, according to Mitchell, wanted to control these notions of the independent and isolated self “through a strategy of *disciplinamento*,” that is, a carefully defined and corporately monitored guide in order to establish a “standard and regulatory prescription for devotion.” (18) By emphasizing this *disciplinamento*, however, the Catholic Church inadvertently supported the development of the individual and interior self, no longer emphasizing the communal units of the family or the parish, but the single and solitary self as the base unit for communion with God. While Mitchell concedes that the development of these practices of interior devotion may have been post-Tridentine reinventions of the early-sixteenth-century *devotio moderna* (a theory that Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia supports), he is less willingly to bridge the Baroque period to the late-medieval Church in such a continuity thesis manner. Rather, Mitchell emphasizes key differences between the early-fifteenth and seventeenth century devotions, noting that the Baroque period was uniquely advanced, perhaps even dependent, upon the technological innovations which increased print culture and allowed for wider spread literacy. Literacy and the reading of texts, Mitchell notes, inherently promotes reflectivity and interior devotion as a solitary activity in a way that oral, liturgical, and communal culture of the early-sixteenth Church simply could not. (97) The individual continues to be traced in Mitchell’s work, including the centrality of the self as a moral voice, the privatization of confession, and the acceptance of the vernacular translation for numerous religious texts.

⁶⁶⁶ Charles Borromeo (1538-1584), Cardinal Archbishop of Milan and key figure of the Counter-Reformation during the sixteenth century. Thomas Villanova (1488-1555), O.S.A., himself the confessor to the pious Carlos V.

⁶⁶⁷ Concilium Tridentinum Sessio XXV, Cap. 18 “De Reformatio.”

strengthening reform. In a clever turn of the argument, Villanueva asserts that change and reform is the traditional position, while resting in outdated practices is morally culpable and ignorant of the Catholic lineage of reformers. He stated,

...this same reply was made to St. Charles Borromeo by the lazy ministers of his time: ‘One does not suffer our century to the severity of the ancient canons; *non ferunt haec tempora veterum canonum severitatem*. Thus our predecessors had lived and proceeded; [that] there is no reason to introduce new things.’⁶⁶⁸

This was, as has been shown in the preceding chapters, a common refrain against the broader reforming efforts of the Catholic Enlightenment. Counter-enlighteners such as Mañer, Armesto y Ossorio, and Cigala, argued against the newness of enlightenment thought, and *ilustrados* like Feijóo complained that novelty was synonymous with untrustworthiness to Spaniards. To Villanueva, however, the introduction of the new was essential to the preservation of the old. Thus, Villanueva sought to carve out the appropriate place for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Catholic critiques and reforming efforts at the sacramental system by showing the established pattern of self-critique and challenges that had become ecclesiastical tradition. Simultaneously, Villanueva attempted to destabilize one of the ‘markers’ of Alvarado’s notions of “Jansenism.”⁶⁶⁹

Spanish Jansenism and Doctrinal Reform: Libre Albedrío and Orthodoxy

The majority of Villanueva’s treatise, however, is devoted to arguing against Alvarado’s claims that those individuals charged with Jansenism believe in fundamentally different and heterodox understanding of grace, free will (*libre albedrío*), and human agency. Scholar Patricia

⁶⁶⁸ Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 9. “...esa misma réplica hacían á S. Carlos Borromeo los flojos ministros de su tiempo: No sufre nuestro siglo la severidad de los antiguos cánones: *non ferunt haec tempora veterum canonum severitatem*: así han vivido y procedido nuestros antecesores: no hay porque introducir novedades...” Elsewhere, Villanueva calls this a weakness (“flaqueza”) of his time.

⁶⁶⁹ Interestingly, Villanueva does not carry out a similar argument for revisions to the celebration of the Eucharist in his dialogue; rather, he ignores this charge completely.

Manning has called this “...the great theological polemic of [the] era – the question of the free will of humanity versus divine predestination.”⁶⁷⁰ Though free will had been one of sixteen reform issues that the Council of Trent had originally intended to address, no concrete resolution was ever pronounced on the doctrine.⁶⁷¹ To be fair, the Decree on Justification from the Sixth Session of the Council of Trent did state in Canon IV that

If any one saith, that man's free will moved and excited by God, by assenting to God exciting and calling, nowise co-operates towards disposing and preparing itself for obtaining the grace of Justification; that it cannot refuse its consent, if it would, but that, as something inanimate, it does nothing whatever and is merely passive; let him be anathema.⁶⁷²

The room for a wide number of lateral interpretations, however, were still allowed by this pronouncement. Interestingly, however, the historian J.L. Heilbron has argued that the doctrinal factions were normally between the Society of Jesus, advocating a stronger emphasis on free will and the performance of faith through works, and the Augustinian *and* Dominican orders calling for a deeper emphasis of the efficacy of grace and predestination.⁶⁷³ Villanueva argued similarly, noting to Alvarado that the majority of Dominican clergy had often aligned themselves along Augustinians. However, to Alvarado, the Jansenists believed in a necessitating grace of God that manifested itself, ultimately, in a theology much like Calvinism, described by Alvarado as a total loss of man’s free will – a notion more clearly contrary to Tridentine orthodoxy.

Alvarado wrote,

⁶⁷⁰ Manning, *Voicing Dissent*, 273.

⁶⁷¹ See John W. O’Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge: Harvard Belknap Press, 2013), 66. “On free will” was article 15 of 16 to be addressed, ahead only of the closely-related issue: “on faith and works.”

⁶⁷² The full text of the Council of Trent’s decrees and canons is available digitally through Hanover College (trans. J. Waterworth, (London: Dolman, 1848)). O’Malley further explains this by writing: “...though justification is not the result of human striving, the human agent contributes something to it, always on condition that that something is preceded and accompanied by grace. The individual “freely consents” to the movement of grace, but the freedom of the consent is operative under the influence of grace.” (O’Malley, *Trent*, 114)

⁶⁷³ J.L. Heilbron, *The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar Observatories* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

According to them [the Jansenists], the grace that they call efficacious *necessitates* [obligates] man to [do] good work; and without this grace, even when man wanted to, he could not avoid sin. Namely, [this is] the same error of Calvin's that negates free will, and removes the merit and demerit of mankind; or, that it is an equivalent of the *blind fate* of the Gentiles, or the *destiny* of the Moslems.⁶⁷⁴

It was this misunderstanding of the doctrine of grace, according to Alvarado, that led to the rejection of sacraments, anti-ultramontanist sentiment, and discord.⁶⁷⁵

Alvarado's casual comment on free will was likely intended as a glib insult, not a thorough defense of a complex theological position, especially considering the wealth of literature that had been expended since the challenge to Catholic notions of grace and free will

⁶⁷⁴ Alvarado, *Cartas Criticas*, 42, "Segun él, la gracia que ellos llaman eficaz, *necesita* al hombre, á que obre el bien; y sin esta gracia, aun quando el hombre quiera, no puede evitar el pecado. A saber, el mismo error de Calvino que niega el libre alvedrio, y quita el mérito, y demérito del hombre; ó lo que es un equivalente, el *hado ciego* de los gentiles, ó el *destino* de los musulmanes."

⁶⁷⁵ It deeply bothered Alvarado that Spanish Jansenists attacked the budding notion of papal infallibility. He compared this to Febronianism in his first letter, writing, "En tercero; que el Romano Pontifice no es infallible, ni aun en las decisions dogmaticas, que sus juicios son corrompidos, que ha sido usurpador de los derechos de los Obispos, que estos deben reasumir su autoridad, resistirle, y otros errors semejantes. En un palabra: la doctrina del Febronio, Pereira, Sinodo de Pystoya, &c." (42) Similarly, Spanish Jansenism has often been equated by historians with Pistoianism or Febronianism. The Synod of Pistoia, a diocesan synod which met under the direction Scipione de' Ricci (1741-1810), bishop of Pistoia, was famous for introducing numerous reforms, including the *Decretum de fide et ecclesia*, which ruled that the church lacked the authority to introduce new dogma. The Synod also recommended the vernacularization of the Mass. Eighty-five of the articles promoted at the Synod of Pistoia were later condemned by Pope Pius VII in the papal bull *Auctorem Fidei* on August 28, 1794. Febronianism is the collective term of the ideology of Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim, who wrote many theological tracts during the second half of the eighteenth century condemning contemporary ecclesiastical practices and traditions and advocating substantial reforms, including an increased emphasis on the parochial level, transferring authority and responsibility from the papacy to the episcopacy, increased education of clergy, and increased frequency of provincial synods. Febronianism, like Pistoianism, was condemned – Hontheim recanted of his position in 1778. For further information, consult both J.B. Peterson, "Synod of Pistoia," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911); also, F. Lauchert, "Febronianism," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909). The problem with relating to Spanish Jansenism to either is two-fold: first, that Spanish Jansenism, as has been noted, is distinct from the Jansenism of seventeenth- or eighteenth-century France; secondly, that Spanish Jansenism was more nuanced and inherently religiously-thematic than the politico-ecclesiological ideas of Febronianism or Gallicanism. Despite his earlier comment, Alvarado seems to have later established this delineation clearly – Jansenism and Febronianism are both addressed in his *Segunda Carta Crítica* (June 9, 1811), yet are separated by almost fifty pages and contain no reference to each other. The error of Febronius, rather, is presented as an entirely separate issue by Alvarado, writing, "Escribió el enmascarado Justino Febrono su pestilente y capcioso libro *De statu Ecclesiae*. Recibiéronlo con sumo aplauso los filósofos que gobernaban, y lo hicieron pasar á todos los tribunals y juzgados de imprenta, para que sirviese de luz. Escribieron contra Febronio varios católicos. No conviene, dixo el Sr. Fiscal del Consejo, que los españoles se mezclen y enteren en estas disputas. Escribió el mismo Febronio su retractación, declarando su persona, y tratando de remediar su escándalo." (II.65) Here, Alvarado almost implies that Febronianism was never allowed to enter Spain.

by the first wave of Protestant theologians in the early-sixteenth century. Villanueva takes up Alvarado's claim with serious vigor, however. Villanueva replies with two immediate clarification: "the will, without motive, is not inclined to want or not want something...and that other [saying]: the will is naturally weighted to bring the good and to shun the bad."⁶⁷⁶

Villanueva had the Augustinian friar restate an argument familiar to the Augustinian order for well over two hundred years by 1811: that the total efficacy of grace cooperates by *calling* the *free will* of a man to be *inclined* towards God (a notion that is similarly included in the Council of Trent's discussion of justification).⁶⁷⁷

The debate, now articulated by both Alvarado and Villanueva, was between a Catholic understanding of grace as either *prevenient* (*preventiva*) or *efficacious* (*eficaz*). Though the historiography, particularly confessional history, has often argued that the doctrinal camps were settled during the early-Tridentine period and calcified throughout the Catholic Reformation, the continuation of these debates into the early-nineteenth century demonstrates that this was far from the case.⁶⁷⁸ Once more, Villanueva defends his position by enlisting the help of undoubtedly orthodox Catholics, this time citing Saint Thomas Aquinas.⁶⁷⁹ Taunting the Dominican, the Augustinian asks, "Sir, since you are so exacting of conscience...why don't you cite the same Saint Thomas? His doctrine is to the letter that which the Father now judges as

⁶⁷⁶ Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 16. "...aquel aforismo de las escuelas rancias: la voluntad sin motivo no se inclina a querer o no querer alguna cosa: *Voluntar sine motivis non flebitur ad aliquid volendum vel nolendum?* Y aquel otro: La voluntad con un natural peso es llevada al bien y huye del mal: *Voluntas innato pondere fertur in bonum, et malum aversatur?*"

⁶⁷⁷ See Trent, Session VI, Chapter V: "On the necessity, in adults, of preparation for Justification, and whence it proceeds," which states that: "...the beginning of the said Justification is to be derived from the prevenient grace of God, through Jesus Christ, that is to say, from His vocation, whereby, without any merits existing on their parts, they are called; that so they, who by sins were alienated from God, may be disposed through His quickening and assisting grace..." (Council of Trent, 32-33). Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 16. "...el libre albedrio por si a ninguna parte se inclina, y solo se inclina al objeto que le llama..."

⁶⁷⁸ For more information, see Joseph Pohle, "Controversies on Grace" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol. 6 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909).

⁶⁷⁹ Again, Villanueva's choice of Aquinas is deliberate, most likely to prove that the divide between Thomistic and Scholastic theology and liberal Catholics that many had claimed was artificial.

morisca and as *jansenian*.”⁶⁸⁰ Quoting from the *Summa Theologica*, Villanueva thrice unpacks Aquinas’s sentences to demonstrate the compatibility of his understanding of grace and free will with Villanueva’s previous definition of free will according to Jansenism.⁶⁸¹ In a culminating insult, Villanueva has the Augustinian tell the Dominican that “...by your degree and on your own merit, you have well established that we may qualify you as one of the primary *moros* and *jansenists*...You Sir, have been caught in this mousetrap.”⁶⁸² The mousetrap that Villanueva constructed depended on the cautious delineation that *libre albedrío* as well as efficacious grace existed in orthodox Catholic doctrine before its association with Calvin in the sixteenth century. The revival of these notions by eighteenth-century Catholic thinkers did not therefore indicate heterodoxy, but a return to orthodoxy.

This is why, according to Villanueva, the association of Jansenism with those Catholic theologians and intellectuals who were anti-probabilistic is particularly bothersome. Villanueva asserts that “The Filósofo Rancio says that Calvinism begets Jansenism...Caramuel, Terilo, and Casnedi say that Jansenism begets anti-probabilism. Therefore, anti-probabilism is the grandson of Calvinism.”⁶⁸³ The association between Calvinism and Jansenism, as outlined above, relied upon a coincidental similarity between Jansenism and extreme Augustinian views on grace and *libre albedrío* – which was doubtlessly true in seventeenth-century France, but not necessarily in

⁶⁸⁰ Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 17. “Ya que es V. tan delicado de conciencia, dijo el Agustino, por qué no cita V. al mismo santo Tomas? Doctrina suya es a la letra esta que el P. gradúa ahora de *morisca* y de *jansenia*.”

⁶⁸¹ Villanueva uses 1.P.Q.83.A2.In corp; 1.2.Q.9.A.I.ad 3; I.P.Q.82.A.3.In corp; 1.2.Q.9.a.2.Ad.3; 1.P.Q.83.Art.4.In corp; and I.2.Q.9.A.4.Ad.2 from the *Summa Theologica*. Villanueva’s argument in this section is concerned with deconstructing a straw man of a definition which he himself posited. For more information, see Brian Davies, ed, *Aquinas’s Summa Theologiae: Critical Essays* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006); Scott MacDonald and Eleonore Stump, eds., *Aquinas’s Moral Theory: Essays in Honor of Norman Kretzmann* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Eleonore Stump, *Aquinas* (London: Routledge, 2003).

⁶⁸² Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 18. “...por su grado y por su crédito que le tiene mui sentado, le calificásemos de uno de los primeros *moros* y *jansenistas* de su sagrada religión...ha sido V. cogido en esta ratonera.”

⁶⁸³ Villanueva, *El Jansenismo*, 11. “El filósofo rancio dice que el calvinismo engendró al jansenismo (carta 2. Pág. 14 y 15. (Caramuel, Terilo, y Casnedi dicen que el jansenismo engendró al anti-probabilismo. Luego el anti-probabilismo es nieto del calvinismo.” In point of fact, Alvarado does *not* state this assertion on Page 14 and 15 of his *Segunda Carta Crítica* – a note that he is keen to make in his seventh letter responding to Villanueva.

eighteenth-century Spain. The second association between Jansenism and anti-probabilism is even less-grounded doctrinally and far more problematic. Villanueva argued that any person who voiced disapproval with the Jesuit notion of moral probabilism was unjustly stigmatized as a “Jansenist.” Anti-probabilism, which was bitterly contested and far from a universally accepted part of Catholic orthodoxy, had been mysteriously transposed to encompass increasingly more dire terms: Jansenism, and worse still, Calvinism.

The debate over probabilism and *libre albedrío* should first and foremost clearly signal to historians substantial religious claims that cannot be as easily explained away by political reductionism. Indeed, it represents a purely theological argument of a highly specialized and abstract nature, one that can only ever be understood if Spanish Jansenism is admitted as a *religious* category. It therefore adds credence to the assertions that there is a definite *religious* way of reading these *religious* texts. Secondly, the position espoused by Villanueva on behalf of those accused of Spanish Jansenism allows insight into the back-and-forth debates for doctrinal reform and self-critique within the late-eighteenth century church. As demonstrated, the particular issue of free will and of the efficacy of God’s grace was a key doctrinal issue of Catholic orthodoxy, and a central tenet to the notion of justification. Villanueva and Alvarado’s debate over terminology and understanding of grace signifies a persistence of doctrinal reform and a legitimate recourse for voicing dissent within the Spanish Catholic church throughout the eighteenth-century, a church that has been previously characterized as paralyzed in baroque rigidity.

Spanish Jansenism as Afrancesadismo: Conspiratorial Atmospheres and Room for Reform

Alvarado insists in his letter that the existence of Jansenists indicates some sort of allegiance with French thinking and heterodoxy. He cautions his readers to “[Keep an] alert eye, for those [Jansenists] are they who in France made a league with the philosophes in order to demolish the throne and the altar.”⁶⁸⁴ Indeed, the presence of Jansenists at the Cortes de Cádiz at the time represented to him nothing less than “that among us there are many of Napoleon’s spies.”⁶⁸⁵ The complaint was made by many, and not without some understandable grounds. As has been shown, Catholic Enlighteners had been associated with foreign thought, particularly of a French influence, throughout the eighteenth century. This was compounded by Jansenism’s doctrinal similarity to Calvinism, a French heresy.⁶⁸⁶

In another interesting rhetorical reversal, however, Villanueva states that it is not the Jansenists, but rather those who believe in the existence of Jansenists who are inadvertently working for the French against the nation of Spain. In addition, Villanueva argues that the idea of probabilism and probabiliorism were originally French inventions to sow discord amongst the theologians and previously unified Catholic schools and seminaries of Spain.

It is important to understand that the debate over Jansenism’s definition that occurred in both Alvarado’s original letters and Villanueva’s dialogue was held during a revolutionary climate, civil unrest, political instability, and general uncertainty. This situational context is especially important to remember when assessing the anti-French sentiment and tone of panic

⁶⁸⁴ Alvarado, *Cartas Críticas*, 43. “Su compostura hipócrita, su language seductor, y las malas artes en que han excedido a todas las otras sectas, les dieron mucho lugar en la Francia, y se lo están dando entre nosotros. Creo que en Cádiz hay mucha de esta gente. Ojo alerta, porque ellos fueron los que en Francia hicieron liga con los filósofos, para derribar el trono, y el altar. Yo temo mucho que en la España pretendan otro tanto, y lo consigan, porque veo muchas señales de ambas malas razas: sé que ellos no perdonan medio; y creo como si lo viera, que entre nosotros hay muchas espías de Napoleon. He hablado en estos días con uno venido de Sevilla, á quien un amigo mio, cuya formalidad, verdad y probidad me es muy conocida, aseguró haber visto patente de francmason despachada en aquella ciudad á favor de uno de Cádiz.”

⁶⁸⁵ Alvarado, *Cartas Críticas*, 43. “...que entre nosotros hay muchas espías de Napoleon.”

⁶⁸⁶ See Hervás y Panduro, *Causas de la Revolucion*, 118, “Artículo IX: Reflexiones del señor Pey sobre el carácter de las sectas calvinística, jansenística, y filosófico-atea, y sobre su influxo en la presente revolución francesa.”

that is a frequent strain in these works.⁶⁸⁷ The Peninsular War between Spanish revolutionary forces and guerilla insurgents (the “Spanish ulcer” of Napoleon) and French occupying armies began in October of 1807 and lasted until 1814. During this time, *juntas* and provincial assemblies were formed across the nation in absence of a recognized monarch and met at Cádiz in 1810 to form a constitution, eventually signed March 19, 1812. It was during this time, while Cádiz was besieged by French troops, that Villanueva, a representative at the Cortés, and Alvarado, kept informed by friends there, wrote their debate over Spanish Jansenism. Spanish Jansenism, and indeed the question of reform, must therefore be closely seen as an extension of the efforts of many Spaniards in Cádiz to define what they believed and to codify what made them traditionally and distinctly Spanish.

Spanish Jansenism was thus used by both Alvarado and by Villanueva as an insult meant to label someone an *afrancesado* – a Francophile, a collaborationist with the usurping regime. Employed as a term by both liberal Catholics and traditionalists, “Jansenist” served as a defamatory and conspiratorial slander.⁶⁸⁸ It is clear that the words of *jansenismo* and *jansenista* were used as bugbears and boogymen to frighten people towards orthodoxy (or to scare experimental intellectuals back into the straight and narrow paths of orthodoxy); likewise, they are used as defamatory labels and even conspiratorial (the “spies of Napoleon”).⁶⁸⁹ Jansenism, in this light, was less of a real thing at all – it had little ideological significance and did not reflect

⁶⁸⁷ For further information, consult: Miguel Artola, *La España de Fernando VII* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1999); Teofanes Egido Martínez, *Carlos IV* (Madrid: Arlanza Ediciones, 2001); Charles J. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Charles J. Esdaile, *The Peninsular War* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Roberto Fernández, *Carlos III* (Madrid: Arlanza Ediciones, 2001); David Gates, *The Spanish Ulcer: A History of the Peninsular War* (Pimlico, 2002); Gabriel Lovett, *Napoleon and the Birth of Modern Spain* (New York: New York University Press, 1965); John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain 1700-1808*; Stanley Payne, *History of Spain and Portugal* (2 Volumes) (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973); Paquette, Lehner, etc.

⁶⁸⁸ Villanueva frequently uses the word “*odiosos*” – slanders, libels. This is meant to be not just a notion of honor or insult, but is rather a notion of the misrepresentation or distortion of fact.

⁶⁸⁹ Alvarado, *Cartas Criticas*, 43.

an ordered system of thought; rather, it was merely a label that could be conveniently wielded as a rhetorical weapon. This flexibility of the term is, this chapter asserts, a principle reason why the previous historiography has designated Jansenism to be a myth, a ghost, or a misunderstanding.⁶⁹⁰

Yet it is important to understand *why* Spanish Jansenism became such a particular denunciatory category during the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Jansenism functioned during this time as a polysemic term, whether or not this was always understood by contemporaries.⁶⁹¹ Spanish Jansenism certainly had distinct “outer meanings” – as a religious category, as a political category, as a catch-all defamation. The more elusive central origin, or “inner meaning,” may exist in two ideas: first, the notion of innovation and reform; and secondly, the association with France. In the first sense, individuals labeled as Spanish Jansenists were figures who advocated ecclesiastical or doctrinal reform (which often spilled over into the political category, especially with regalism).⁶⁹² In the second, these individuals were seen as associated with the importation of foreign ideas and new ways of thinking that characterized the eighteenth century in Spain, particularly the Catholic Enlightenment. Jansenists were, in many ways, the inheritors of the legacy of the longstanding reforming efforts of *ilustrados* throughout the late-seventeenth and eighteenth century. Their ideas were seen as originating in France, where Jansenism was known to originate. It is quite plausible that Spanish Jansenism and the question of change (reform) was a particularly volatile subject in this context, particularly during the French occupation (1808-1814).

⁶⁹⁰ See Egidio or McClelland. This is partly the explanation that historian Javier Herrero makes in his *Los Orígenes del Pensamiento Reaccionario Español* – especially in his chapters, “La Secta de jansenismo” y “La Secta de Masonería” (note also the proximity of these two consecutive chapters).

⁶⁹¹ See, for example, the work of linguists Charles Fillmore and Beryl Atkins on polysemy.

⁶⁹² This may explain the current state of Spanish Jansenism in the historiography.

In her analysis of the intellectual climate of the eighteenth-century, historian Ivy McClelland has argued that what she labels the “ideological hesitancy” of Spain during this period was largely due to the *vulgo*.⁶⁹³ McClelland describes the *vulgo* disparagingly, noting that:

Herd-imagination is more difficult for rationalists to deal with than herd-reason, because it is not codified by the *vulgo*'s philosophical authorities, and though the average, the *vulgo*-scholar, was not entirely immune to superstitious influences, it was not usually the *vulgo*-scholar in this regard with whom reformers had to contend. Their engagements against imaginative preoccupations were chiefly concerned with uneducated or semi-educated members of the *vulgo*: those dependent on feeling, outer appearance, the electrifying personality of a popular speaker, the drama of exciting circumstance, of coincidence, surprise, disaster and nervous disturbance.⁶⁹⁴

Alvarado was clearly not a member of this type of *vulgo*, and thus McClelland's attribution of “ideological hesitancy” as some sort of collectively psychological affliction less than persuasive. While it is certainly possible that the upheaval of the Napoleonic occupation of Spain would encourage such “herd-imagination,” a less-simplistic and more serious estimation of Alvarado's rational objections is needed. Connecting Spanish Jansenism with issues of reform, on the other hand, helps to understand Alvarado's deeply rooted mistrust of the religious sect.

⁶⁹³ See I.L. McClelland, *Ideological Hesitancy in Spain, 1700-1750* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991). The use of “reason” and “unreason” is extremely problematic and inchoate in historiographical employment. For example, *rationalists*, as a historiographical label is more confusing than clarifying, to the point of almost ceasing to be useful. The problem with characterizing one group of intellectuals as “Rationalists” is that their opponents become, implicitly, *irrational*. There exists no benevolent counterpart term to rationalists; “anti-rationalists” is both cumbersome and retains notions of irrationality, while “traditionalists” or “*casticismo*” does not quite accurately address the epistemological challenge posited by “Rationalism.” The term “rationalism,” however, was used in early modern Europe (1732, in English) – thus the usage of the word is inescapable and the gauntlet of responding to the critique/elevation of Reason was laid by historical agents, not by historians. Still, it is important to remember when reading these texts of our own presentist tendencies to read “anti-rationalist” as being equivalent to *irrational*. This polysemic obfuscation occurs in even the best of histories of the period. In *Ideological Hesitancy in Spain 1700-1750*, for example, McClelland writes often about a *vulgo* “unreason,” which is more akin to *irrationalism* rather than *anti-rationalism*.

⁶⁹⁴ McClelland, *Ideological Hesitancy*, 4. McClelland, does, however, perfectly describe the problem of polysemy in eighteenth-century polemic: “...[the reformer's] instinct to imitate accepted attitudes, expect definitive rules and authority, and use accepted terminology, meant that he and the individual reformer spoke different languages and needed an interpreter to mediate between them. This exercise of interpretation, often unskilled and misleading, which seemed so frustratingly unsatisfactory to all parties concerned, is one of the most vital activities of eighteenth-century polemic...” (3)

Much like the hunt for Freemasons within Spain and in Mexico, Jansenists and Jansenism as an idea at the end of the eighteenth-century had the potential to be unduly augmented and imagined to be a pervasively systematic and utterly secret threat.⁶⁹⁵ Writing about Inquisitorial conceptions of the Sabbath as a conspiracy, the historian Carlo Ginzburg wrote that, “Explanations of social movements in a conspiratorial register are simplistic, if not grotesque...But conspiracies do exist...what is their actual weight?”⁶⁹⁶ The question is immensely helpful – what is the *actual weight* behind the conspiratorial notions of Jansenism? Historians have seen the political and factional rhetoric of Jansenism as regalism, as a logical outcome of the *ilustración*, or as liberalism, but have largely failed to describe the epistemological framework or the religio-intellectual of weight Spanish Jansenism.

Religious Reform in the Nistactes-Rancio Debate, 1811

Although understanding the revolutionary context of both Alvarado’s and Villanueva’s publications grants extraordinary explanatory power to the reading of these texts, it cannot account for a full definition of Spanish Jansenism. Spanish Jansenism was, as Villanueva’s and Alvarado’s debates show, a broader and fundamentally religious concern – a blend of fact and fiction, a mythologizing of an existing theological division that created a defamatory and conspiratorial category that was simultaneously mutable and meaningful. It is too far a simplification of the historical reality to merely equate the critiques of Spanish Jansenism to the anti-*afrancesado* sentiment of the Napoleonic period, because it both existed before the start of

⁶⁹⁵ See also Juan Ortiz Villalba, *La Masonería y su Persecución en España* (Madrid: RD Editores, 2005), and José A. Ferrer Benimeli, *La Masonería Española en el Siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1986) – both of which emphasize the libelous/slandorous nature of Freemasonry. Alvarado specifically compares Jansenism to Freemasonry in his first *Carta Crítica*, stating “...aseguró haber visto patente de francmason despachada en aquella ciudad á favor de uno de Cádiz.” This parallel can also be noted in the records of Inquisition *procesos* from the eighteenth-century.

⁶⁹⁶ Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches’ Sabbath*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 12.

the French Revolution and employed the vocabulary and ideological of long-term, real, religious-intellectual debates. The *actual weight* of Spanish Jansenism is not in its polemic misuse, but in its religious origins and religio-intellectual articulation of reform – both ecclesiastical and practical, as well as doctrinal and ideological.

Thus, once it has been established that the historiographical treatment of Spanish Jansenism has been incomplete, and that Spanish Jansenism must be seen as a fundamentally, if not always primarily, religious category, then the *actual weight* of Spanish Jansenism can be seen in efforts at reform. The issue of reform – both doctrinal and ecclesiastical – connect individuals labeled as Jansenists with the broader Catholic Enlightenment within Spain, and point to a more dynamic and active Spanish Catholic Church during the eighteenth century. As has been seen throughout this dissertation, the epistemological debates of the eighteenth century necessarily impacted the way that the Spanish Catholic Church approached the way that revealed knowledge or magisterial doctrine engaged with alterior modes of perception. In this trajectory, the Spanish enlightenment was always a “reforming” process. Moreover, analyzing Spanish Jansenism within the Villanueva-Alvarado debates suggests that it was precisely the issue of the proper extent of epistemological and doctrinal reform that was *the* defining feature of the eighteenth-century Spanish Catholic Church. Unless this was determined, a religious intellectual could never be fully determined as either an *hijo de perdición* or a *persona católica*.

The theological-political debates of Spanish Jansenism do not, at a superficial glance, seem to be related to the epistemological and methodological discussions which have been presented by the earlier chapters of this dissertation. This chapter asserts, however, the reforming efforts of Spanish Jansenism are an applicative case and were direct descendents of the epistemology articulated during the Catholic Enlightenment. Jansenist reformers reevaluated

traditionally accepted doctrines by hermeneutical techniques gained during the eighteenth century. They argued for a new relationship between State and Church based on contemporary understandings of political thought distinct from the monarchial assertions of Scholasticism. They playfully destabilized the role that authority and tradition had as a reliable form of verifying knowledge. Most importantly, they often articulated a position which assumed that the magisterial of sociopolitical theory and praxis was independent from religious belief.

To this position, counter-enlighteners, now aligned with a conservative, montanist position argued that these methodological innovations were directly responsible for chaos of the French Revolution, and ultimately for the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. As in science and religion, counter-enlighteners saw the disciplines of statecraft and theology as fundamentally unified, and blamed the attempt to remove Christianity from political thought as the root cause of the “fiery inhumanity” of 1789 and 1807.⁶⁹⁷ It was during this time that the particular political application of reform became the dominant interpretation of the enlightenment. The “inner meaning” of the epistemological debates of the Catholic Enlightenment became forgotten to the “outer meaning” of liberalism and conservatism, and *ilustrados* became *afrancesados*.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁷ Hervás y Panduro, *Causas de la Revolución de Francia en el año de 1789*, 8-9.

⁶⁹⁸ “Catholic rationalism” is, as has been noted, the process by which the Spanish Catholic Church, broadly conceived, coopted contemporary intellectual trends (in this case, how Jansenists sought reform by encouraging these trends) to strengthen the existing epistemological structure of Catholicism. Likewise the language and reasoning of the efforts of anti-Jansenists, namely the Jesuits, will contribute to this dissertation’s understanding of how ‘conservative’ Catholicism responded to the introduction of enlightened reform. Thus, this dissertation chapter proposes to study Jansenism as a religious variety and expression of Enlightened Catholic reformism, ultimately positioning it as a subset of larger questions and concerns of Catholic epistemology over truth, non-truth, and the discernment of the two.

CONCLUSION

The Legacy of the Spanish Enlightenment

“What do we owe to Spain? What has she done for Europe in the past two centuries, in the past four centuries, in the past thousand years? ...What else could one expect from a people who have to go to a monk for the freedom to read and to think?”

-Nicolas Masson de Morvillier, *Encyclopédie méthodique: géographie moderne* vol. I (1782)⁶⁹⁹

“There are undoubtedly in Spain more learned men who modestly cultivate the sciences; more men of erudition who are thoroughly acquainted with the history and jurisprudence of their country; more distinguished men of letters and a greater number of poets, who have energy and a fertile and brilliant imagination than is generally imagined. But according to the Spaniards themselves, the present state of letters and the sciences is far from what it was in the times of ... Cervantes, Quevedo, Gracilaso, Calderon, Lopes de Vega, &c., &c. The Spanish universities can no longer boast the reputation they formerly professed...”

-Jean-François de Bourgoing, *Travels in Spain* (1789)⁷⁰⁰

The French Revolution and Napoleonic invasion brought to an end the enlightenment experiment in Spain. Invasion, political turmoil, and a reactionary conservatism would produce, by the end of the nineteenth century, a generally unfavorable interpretation of Spain's participation in the enlightenment. It was a scathing vilification of the conservatism of the backwards and power-vested individuals who held the nation back while the rest of Europe advanced. The great, sardonic punchline at the end of the eighteenth century in the Spanish empire is this: that the predictions of the counter-enlightenment thinkers were proven true, and that the careful preventative measures taken by the mediating Spanish *ilustrados* were ignored and summarily discarded. The hysterical jeremiads of Fray Diego José de Cádiz and panicked paroxysms of Fernando de Cevallos, the careful, scholastic reasoning of Mañer, Cigala, and Arnesto y Ossorio, even the guarded admonitions of moderate enlighteners such as Piquer and

⁶⁹⁹ Morvillers, “Espagne,” in Panckoucke, *Encyclopedie Méthodique : Géographie Moderne*, Tome Premier ((Paris : Chez Panckoucke, 1782): “Que devons-nous à l’Espagne? Qu’a-t-elle fait pour l’Europe depuis deux siècles, depuis quatre siècles, depuis mille ans?...Que peut-on esperer d’un peuple qui attend d’un moine la liberte de lire & de penser?”

⁷⁰⁰ Jean-François de Bourgoing, *Travels in Spain: containing a new, accurate, and comprehensive view of the present state of that country* (London; G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789), 252-253.

Valcárcel – all of these enlightenment responses were worked out, first in France in 1789, and then, vividly brought home to the Iberian peninsula during the French invasion from 1804-1808. McMahon, writing on the conservative Catholics of the French Enlightenment, described their role as “that of Cassandra,” the tragic princess of Troy, blessed by Apollo with the gift of prophecy, and cursed by the same god so that nobody would ever heed her warnings and foresight.⁷⁰¹ The description is apt for the thinkers of the Spanish enlightenments. So complete was the politicization of the turn-of-the-century that for the next two hundred years, Spain’s participation in the enlightenment was completely forgotten, her *ilustrados* portrayed as *afrancesado* outliers and her anti-*ilustrados* stigmatized as stubborn and unthinking zealots.⁷⁰² ignored.

This dissertation has argued directly against such an interpretation. Following the work of Herr, Sarailh, and others, this research project has asserted that not only was the Spanish empire an active participant in the enlightenment, but that the unique strains of Catholic enlightenment and Counter enlightenment that emerged in the Spanish dialogue offer a rare chance to better understand both the *mentalite* of eighteenth-century Spain and the religious epistemology of the era more broadly. It has shown, by examining epistemological debates, that Spain contributed a unique and substantive body of thought to the eighteenth century. It has done so by surveying the major intellectual debates of Spain during the eighteenth century, demonstrating the preeminent concern that religious intellectuals, natural philosophers, theologians, and lay scholars had concerning epistemology and metaphysics. For such thinkers, the most enduring and central questions of the eighteenth-century were over defining truth and establishing reliable and certain methods for acquiring it.

⁷⁰¹ McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment*, 187.

⁷⁰² See, in particular, Mackay’s *Lazy, Improvident People*.

The first chapter explored the introduction of the new philosophies and new sciences to the Spanish intellectual sphere, noting particularly advancements made by the *novatores* from 1683-1728, and highlighting the work of Martín Martínez, a prominent anatomist, physician, and philosopher of science during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Martínez's work, particularly his *Medicina Escéptica* and *Philosophia Escéptica* evinced a clear epistemological challenge that the *novatores* raised to the existing traditional methods of knowledge (principally Aristotelianism and Scholasticism, but more specifically in the medical field, Galenism). Importantly, these early enlightenment thinkers in Spain were not only advancing a particular set of new medical and scientific knowledge, but were arguing for a distinct way of ascertaining knowledge that would be limited to natural philosophy as a field of inquiry. These were new and groundbreaking suggestions, and the first chapter concluded by demonstrating how some Spanish intellectuals responded aversly to the introduction of the new philosophies nearly coterminously with the *novatores*.

The disillusioning and antisuperstitious campaign of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, the most popular figure of the Spanish enlightenment, was the focus of the second chapter. In it, this dissertation argued that Feijóo's work on miracles, paradoxes, demonic possession, and instances of the supernatural serve as a case in point of the way in which the theoretical debates over epistemology and metaphysics were resolved and realized in concrete ways and examples. Feijóo, like many other Spanish *ilustrados*, saw in the occurrences of the supernatural the perfect case study for discussing the proper normative relationships between religion and science. This chapter highlighted in his discourses four methodological changes that undergirded the epistemological debates: quantification, methodological naturalism and skepticism, medical fideism, and changes to the valuation of epistemic authorities.

The controversy surrounding the *teatrística* polemics was then explored in the subsequent chapter, which examined the views of conservative counter-Enlighteners writing against Feijóo. This third chapter examined the works of Mañer, Armesto y Ossorio, and of Cigala, distilling the central points of the counter-enlightenment platform as an epistemological cautiousness which distrusted the ability of the mechanical philosophy to sufficiently explain both physics and metaphysics. This was a reaffirmation of the value of Scholasticism and of traditional modes of perception, and an insistence on the unity of knowledge would not allow for the epistemological demarcation demanded by *ilustrados*. Moreover, the case study of Cigala demonstrated that the epistemological conversations of the Spanish enlightenment was occurring on both sides of the Atlantic and throughout the early modern Hispanic world.

Chapter four focused on the negotiation between the progressive and conservative enlightenment positions, shifting temporally to examine the writings of Vicente Fernández Valcárcel at the end of the century (1787-1797). Here, it presented Valcárcel's work to arbitrate between the new philosophies advocated by Martínez, Feijóo, and other *ilustrados* and the counter-enlightenment philosophy espoused by Lessaca, Araujo, and other scholastics. It particularly assessed Valcárcel's contributions to developing an epistemological framework for relating the fields of science and religion, revisiting the epistemic demarcation originally proposed sixty years earlier by Martínez. The study ended in the fifth and final chapter, in which the epistemological debates of the enlightenment became politicized by Caroline society, the French Revolution, and the French invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. Using the nebulous reformist and *ilustrado* movement of Spanish Jansenism, this chapter demonstrated how the focus of the Spanish Enlightenment became politicized at the end of the eighteenth century. Counter-enlighteners became associated with the reactionary, xenophobic backwardness which

would dominate the intellectual historiography of Spain until the end of the twentieth century. Meanwhile, the progressive *ilustrados* of Spain were labeled as mere *afrancesados* and enemies of the throne and altar.⁷⁰³ The rich, theoretical, and abstract epistemological discussions of the previous century were buried beneath the political rhetoric of the Revolution.

The epistemological debates of the Spanish enlightenment demonstrate how religious intellectuals and natural philosophers within Spain encountered, challenged, adapted, and in some cases, rejected the modern philosophies and new sciences of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. These include conversations about causality in the natural and supernatural realms, the role of divine action, the value of different modes of perception and ways of knowing, and the establishment of distinct disciplines of knowledge with particular methodologies for ascertaining the truth. More broadly considered, these debates help historians to understand the history of the philosophy of science and the nature of the relationship between science and religion in Spain and in Europe, Spain's place among the wider Catholic and European enlightenments, and how the Spanish enlightenment compared to other religious enlightenment experiences.

The Negotiation of Science and Religion in the Spanish Enlightenments

The history of the relationship between science and religion has recently received increased scholarly attention, particularly as a means of better understanding the ways that these two fields continue to interact on a regular basis in the modern era. Recent theories which study the “deep concord” of theistic belief and scientific practice or that describe science and religion as “non-overlapping magisteria” are not simply normative philosophies, but take into account the

⁷⁰³ See, for example, Pey, *Compendio de la obra intitulada: La Autoridad de las dos Potestades*, Tomo Primero (Bayona: la Imprenta de M. Cluzeau, 1822).

reality and testimony of the historical record. The history of the philosophies of science and religion during the eighteenth century, in particular, offers a dialogue between these two disciplines that ranges from theories of compatibility to mutual exclusivity and irreconcilable antagonism. The Spanish enlightenment, while providing different perspectives on how science and religion could operate harmoniously, consistently asserted that the two fields were compatible and bound by the doctrine of the unity of truth. This position sets the history of the philosophy of science in Spain apart from contemporaries in France and Britain. It was, in many ways, a unique balance of traditional Scholasticism and modern philosophy which included discussions on the separation of science and religion as two distinct disciplines, how each related to faith and reason as modes of perception, the role of final causes in the natural sciences, and debates over divine action in the natural world. These discussions, if and when they occurred elsewhere in the continent, did not have the distinctly mediated position and epistemological cautiousness which marked the Spanish mindset. The arguments debated by Spanish thinkers during the eighteenth-century and the ultimate position articulated by individuals like Valcárcel are quite similar to modern-day discussions about the normative nature of religion and science.

Relation to the Broader Catholic Enlightenment

The epistemological debates of eighteenth-century Spain can also be understood as part of the broader Catholic Enlightenment – that is, the enlightenment as it occurred in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and portions of France and Germany. Ulrich Lehner writes that Catholic Enlighteners had two common goals: “(a) to use the newest achievements of philosophy and science to defend the essential dogmas of Catholic Christianity by explaining them in new language, and (b) to reconcile Catholicism with modern culture.”⁷⁰⁴ Even in this subset of the enlightenment, Spain

⁷⁰⁴ Lehner, *Catholic Enlightenment*, 7.

stands apart. It is true that Spanish *ilustrados* sought to strengthen Catholicism with the new sciences – for example, Feijóo’s use of experimentalism to expose faked miracles – and that others sought to reconcile Catholicism with modernity, such as Valcárcel. At the same time, Spanish intellectuals retained a distinct “conservatism” that marked their approach to these two aims and did not hesitate to reject the modern in favor of the traditional. This is particularly clear in the case of Scholastic reasoning. Lehner also notes that a common factor of the Catholic Enlightenment was that “all agreed that Aristotelian scholasticism could no longer serve as the universal foundation for theology.”⁷⁰⁵ In Spain, such Scholasticism had a longstanding and lingering influence, especially over theology. Still, as has been demonstrated by the chapter on Spanish Jansenism, the Spanish church was participating in enlightening and reformist movements coterminously with the global Catholic Church in the eighteenth century.

Relation to Other Religious Enlightenment Experiences

This research also helps to elucidate the way in which religious traditions outside of Catholicism encountered the new philosophies of the Enlightenment during the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In his recent work, *The Religious Enlightenment*, David Sorkin demonstrates how many forms of religion in the eighteenth century, such as varieties of Protestantism and Jewish Haskalah, in addition to reformist Catholicism, were key figures in the generation, dissemination, and adaptation of enlightenment thought.⁷⁰⁶ This is not only true with the way these religions similarly encountered the new philosophy of science, but also the way they addressed other “enlightenment ideas” such as religious tolerance, the importance of vernacular publications and the democratization of knowledge, the relationship between Church

⁷⁰⁵ Lehner, *Catholic Enlightenment*, 7.

⁷⁰⁶ David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna*; also David Sorkin, “Godless Liberals.”

and State, and the primacy of experience and reason as epistemological modes of perception. Likewise, Jean-Pierre Martin, studying Protestant experiences in the North American Enlightenment, argues that Jonathan Edwards reacted similarly to the Counter-Enlighteners of the Hispanic world, responding to materialist and reductionist philosophies with a reassertion of the metaphysical grounding of all knowledge and emphasizing “intuitive knowledge of God, tradition, common sense, and language” as legitimate ways of knowing.⁷⁰⁷

Moreover, the historian Stephen Barnett has helped to clarify what he labels “the myth of deism” that has dominated the secular interpretation of the enlightenment in France and England. According to Barnett, “the bogeyman of deism” was actually often the historical creation of religious individuals involved in politico-religious debates of the eighteenth-century – a straw-man sect of intellectuals that historians have believed to be far more pervasive than actually existed.⁷⁰⁸ The method proposed in Barnett’s work for understanding religious and political debates helps to nuance many of the religious debates of the eighteenth century. Rather than flatly labeling examples such as the Methodist movement of the Anglican John Wesley or the Jansenist Catholics of France and Spain as unenlightened *contretemps*, these topics become a rich dialogue in which religious establishments engaged with enlightenment social and political ideas.

Conclusion

This dissertation has sought to show how eighteenth-century Spanish intellectuals thought about knowledge in the eighteenth-century, amid the influx of new philosophies and

⁷⁰⁷ Jean-Pierre Martin, “Edwards’ Epistemology and the New Science,” *Early American Literature* 7, No. 3 (Winter, 1973), 254.

⁷⁰⁸ S.J. Barnett, *The Enlightenment and Religion: The Myths of Modernity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 5.

scientific advancements which marked enlightenment thought. By examining key scientific, philosophical, and theological works of the period, this dissertation has demonstrated that eighteenth-century Spanish thought was marked by a fundamental concern over clearly defining and establishing an epistemological and metaphysical platform which governed their investigations of theology, philosophy, and the natural sciences. From these discussions, Spain participated in and encountered the enlightenment in a uniquely conservative way which shaped the nation for centuries to come.

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⁷⁰⁹ The New York Public Library and HathiTrust have Massuet listed as the author, but George Moore says that Mañer prints it under the name "Margne," and I cannot find Massuet listed anywhere.

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