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Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500–1800

Edited by
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and
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ASHGATE

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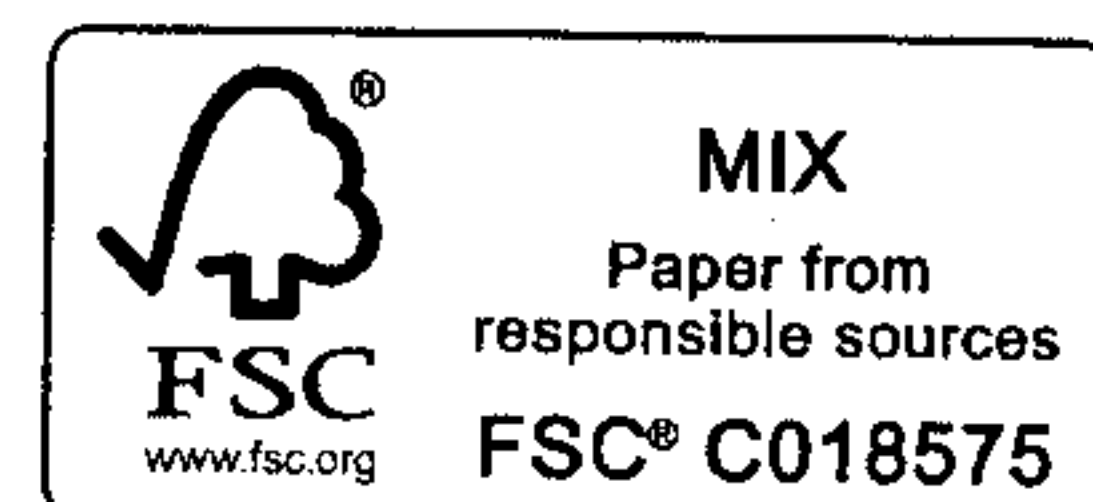
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Chapter 8
Keeping Beauty Secrets in Early
Modern Iberia

Montserrat Cabré*

In 1563, one of the most popular books of secrets published in Western Europe was issued in Spanish in three different editions. Alessio Piemontese's (Girolamo Ruscelli's) *Secreti* was published in Barcelona, Alcalá de Henares and Zaragoza; it was this last translation, based on the original Italian version, that became the standard in Iberia, being reprinted again in 1570 and six more times during the seventeenth century.¹ Alessio's compilation was rich in medical, alchemical and metallurgical recipes as well as in instructions for cooking and making preserves. In addition, procedures to clean and perfume the body – as well as clothes

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¹ Mar Rey Bueno, 'Primeras ediciones en castellano de los libros de secretos de Alejo Piamontés', *Pecia Complutense*, 2/2 (2003): pp. 26–34. Online journal: <http://www.ucm.es/BUCM/pecia/> [accessed: 30 May, 2010]. We are in need of a thorough study of the people and motives behind these three editorial processes, as well as close comparison of the printed texts. The examination of an extant copy of the Barcelona edition held at the Biblioteca de la Universitat de Barcelona (Res. 07 XVI-476) adds precision to the information given by Rey regarding the differences between the Alcalá and the Barcelona editions.

– constituted a significant presence in the text, together with an entire section devoted to cosmetics.²

Not long before his death in 1563 – the same year as Piemontese’s debut in the Spanish press – Juan Vallés, a learned notary and royal officer of the kingdoms of Aragon, Castile and Navarre, finished an extensive compilation of household knowledge, entitled *Regalo y policía de la vida humana* (literally *Royal treatment and policy of human life*). The collection, today extant in one single manuscript copy, consisted of seven books of recipes dealing with the preparation of cosmetics, waters, oils, medicines, wines, foodstuffs and confectionary. The first three books were concerned with the external care of the body, providing instructions to improve its appearance and smell and to keep the skin clean and soft. While the second and third books were devoted to waters and oils, they also contained many recipes intended to cure internal illnesses.

This chapter is concerned with showing the emergence of cosmetics in sixteenth and early-seventeenth century Iberian practical domestic handbooks. I use the category of ‘beauty secrets’ to convey practical knowledge in the form of directives to prepare skin and hair treatments, dyes, depilatories, perfumes and makeup, as well as advice on how to apply them to the surfaces of the body and methods to store them for further use. Beautification recipes were copied and classified within the early modern literature of secrets and cosmetics became regularly associated with how-to texts in household settings. As in the texts by Alessio and Vallés, the word ‘secret’ permeated domestic guides in early modern Iberia. The term was often imbued with rich and scarcely fixed meanings that we can only infer through its contextual use. However, it never lost the basic implication that contemporary dictionaries stressed: ‘Secret is everything that is under cover and kept quiet. A secret place is one unfrequented by people. A secret thing is what one entrusts to somebody’.³

In spite of its ambivalent – even paradoxical – uses in early modern sources, I believe that ‘secret’, for a variety of reasons, is an accurate concept with which to address knowledge on beautifying that appears in domestic genres. First of all, it highlights the link between cosmetics and the well-established category ‘books of secrets’. Secondly, it reveals the technical character of the recipes to make beautifying products, a character that was an important feature of the epistemological status of the secrets literature.⁴ Finally, it evokes a particular

² William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 144–6.

³ ‘Secreto, todo lo que está encubierto y callado. Lugar secreto donde no concorre gente. Cosa secreta lo que encomienda uno a otro’. Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, 1673–74), part 2, fol. 172r. Online: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=18011> [accessed: 30 May, 2010]. The editio princeps is from 1611.

⁴ For the uses of *secret* as a category of medieval and early modern knowledge, see Eamon, *Science*, pp. 15–120; Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship. Technical*

type of knowledge of the body that, obtained through empirical methods and unexplained by causal analysis, was used, transmitted and shared by women.⁵

This chapter considers a variety of hybrid texts in which beauty secrets appear and demonstrate their importance in forging new genres of domestic handbooks. My aim here is threefold. Firstly, I will show people’s active interest in keeping beauty secrets to hand. Secondly, I will illustrate the rich links connecting script and print – channels that flow in both directions. Finally, through a discussion of one manuscript – Vallés’ *Regalo* – I will reveal some hidden aspects that lay behind the transformation of texts from script to print. The fate of Vallés’ work has been far more modest and less visible than Alessio’s successful boom in the early modern press. The text has been only recently published for the very first time, by Fernando Serrano Larráyo. ⁶ And yet, it would be unfair to judge the history of the *Regalo de la vida humana* as one of non-appreciation and oblivion. The manuscript copy we know of today – probably an autograph – was highly valued by family members of later generations and by male aristocrats closely related to the Spanish court.⁷ I believe that addressing the significance of ‘invisible’ texts such as Vallés’ manuscript will extend our knowledge of books of secrets, texts which were so important in early modern culture, and explain and circumscribe their success in print.

Texts for the Accomplished Household

During the ‘long sixteenth century’, a wide variety of printed and manuscript handbooks emerged in Iberia for use in the ‘accomplished household’ (*casa cumplida*).⁸ Whether in print or in manuscript, these compilations consisted of a varying group of procedures presented in the form of recipes for the elaboration and administration of cosmetics, foods and medicines; the care of clothes and leather goods; the making of preserves; the production of soaps, metals, inks and varnishes; methods to construct and reconstruct household technologies of small scale; advice for hunting and for practising the art of falconry; and for gardening

Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 7.

⁵ Katharine Park, *Secrets of Women. Gender, Generation and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York, NY: Zone Books, 2006), pp. 77–102.

⁶ Vallés, *Regalo*, pp. 261–756. See note 1. Serrano edited the manuscript and coordinated a team of scholars who studied different aspects of the text; a companion volume to the studies and edition contains a facsimile of the original.

⁷ María Itziar Zabalza Aldave, ‘Estudio codicológico del Regalo de la vida humana de Juan Vallés’, [MS 11160, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus], in Vallés, *Regalo*, pp. 77–122.

⁸ As expressed in Pedro de Sada’s introduction to Vallés, *Regalo*, p. 263.

as well as farming.⁹ The range of topics these manuals dealt with was extensive, as were the significant differences that the books presented in organization and lay out. As Lluís Cifuentes has recently shown, a new type of book came to be favoured by the learned elites: the miscellany encompassing a variety of texts that made apparently useful knowledge on how to care for oneself at home available to the nobility and the bourgeoisie.¹⁰

The increased interest in practical household books was certainly not uniquely an Iberian feature. Vernacular genres compiling practical knowledge flourished in Western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – from the so-called books of secrets to commonplace books, conduct books, manuals of healthcare and, especially, collections of medicinal receipts.¹¹ If we consider their contents and formal structure, these texts constitute a heterogeneous group that resists precise delimiting and narrow genre definitions. Nevertheless, the texts share substantial features that make it appropriate to study them as a coherent body of evidence that is historically significant. They contain concrete instructions on an extensive array of procedures to be used in the domestic setting in order to improve everyday life as well as the experience of health and well-being.

Although we lack broad systematic overviews of this literary phenomenon, these texts have been the subject of studies that evaluate their significant place in early modern culture. The Italian and English traditions have received particular attention and in-depth studies of these books are starting to show that behind the broad label of household books stands a great variety of different texts, as well as authors' and readers' aims. The printed handbooks, designed to appeal to a broad range of people as aides to ordinary life, coexisted with manuscript domestic guides in the form of recipe collections and compilations, notebooks, and so on.¹² As these notebooks demonstrate, there was a primary interest in practical

⁹ Although I will refer to them incidentally, I leave aside popular texts providing clues to understanding the natural world without offering practical instructions on how to intervene in it. On this important distinction see Alison Kavey, *Books of Secrets. Natural Philosophy in England, 1550–1600* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007), pp. 156–60.

¹⁰ Lluís Cifuentes Comamala, 'La ciencia en vulgar y las élites laicas, de la Edad Media al Renacimiento', in Vallés, *Regalo*, pp. 123–48.

¹¹ I use here the vernacular term not only to highlight the use of non-classical languages but to mark the popular character of these texts. Mary E. Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies. The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 7.

¹² Pioneering works include Paul Slack, 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: The Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England', in Charles Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 237–74; Eamon, *Science*; Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Jennifer Stine, *Opening Closets: The Discovery of Household Medicine in Early Modern England* (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1996), pp. 176–215; Lynette Hunter, 'Women and

knowledge among both aristocratic and middling sort men and women. Studies of manuscript traditions are particularly revealing of the extent to which audiences were at the heart of the creation of domestic genres.¹³ Authors, editors and printers worked in response to a general public demand, which prior and simultaneously to the engagement of the press, certain individuals met by writing and compiling texts for their own use and by sharing them with the textual communities to which they belonged.

The varied nature of the practical knowledge included in individual handbooks makes the frequent presence of cosmetics in these compilations, in both printed and manuscript forms, particularly significant. Procedures to beautify and care for the surfaces of the body were a regular part of women's healthcare, as attested by the flow of cosmetic texts written for women by sixteenth-century physicians.¹⁴ However, the distinctive presence of cosmetics in domestic handbooks has not been addressed as an emergent historical issue. Jean-Lois Flandrin has written on the relationship between early modern books of secrets and beauty care, pointing

Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570–1620' in Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (eds), *Women, Science and Medicine, 1500–1700* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 1997), pp. 89–107; Lynette Hunter, 'Books for Daily Life: Household, Husbandry, Behavior', in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume IV, 1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 514–32; Laura L. Knoppers, 'Opening the Queen's Closet: Henrietta Maria, Elizabeth Cromwell, and the Politics of Cookery', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60/2 (2007): pp. 464–99; Kavey, *Secrets*; and the chapters by Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey in this volume.

¹³ Stine, *Opening Closets*, pp. 17–61; Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, pp. 100–1, 106; Richard Aspin, 'Who Was Elizabeth Okeover?', *Medical History*, 44/4 (2000): pp. 531–40; Sara Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England', in Victoria Burke and Jonathan Gibson (eds), *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 237–358; Margaret Ezell, 'Domestic Papers: Manuscript Culture and Early Modern Women's Life Writing', in Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle (eds), *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 33–48; Catherine Field, "'Many hands hands": Writing the Self in Early Modern Women's Recipe Books', in *ibid.*, pp. 49–63; Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, 'Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern "Medical Marketplace"' in Mark S. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (eds), *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies c. 1450–c. 1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 133–52; Elaine Leong 'Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82/1 (2008): pp. 145–68; Alisha Rankin, 'Duchess, Heal Thyself: Elisabeth of Rochlitz and the Patient's Perspective in Early Modern Germany', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82/1 (2008): pp. 109–44.

¹⁴ See Alison Klairmont-Lingo, 'Santé et beauté féminines dans la France de la renaissance', in *110è Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Montpellier 1985, Hist. mod.* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1985), pp. 191–99; Mariacarla Gadebusch-Bondio, 'Piacevoli ragionamenti e medicina per le donne. Giovanni Marinello, medico galante del tardo Cinquecento', *Medicina nei Secoli*, 11/1 (1999): pp. 55–84.

out the importance of beauty treatments in printed compilations of secrets. Acknowledging that women were the interested party in beauty recipes, he argued that prior to industrialization, women made their own cosmetics or entrusted their production to apothecaries.¹⁵ Edith Snook has explored seventeenth-century English women's manuscripts, showing not only their active involvement in cosmetic knowledge but also how this sphere of knowledge was part of domestic healthcare in its own right.¹⁶ Beyond the concern of laywomen, scholars have investigated the creation of a broader appeal for beauty care services in early modern Europe, as well as male engagement with domestic medical activities.¹⁷ Catherine Lanöe has studied the growing involvement of various male medical practitioners in the development of a cosmetic industry in Paris;¹⁸ Sandra Cavallo has demonstrated the participation of barber-surgeons in response to the increasing demand for beauty care within the context of redefining masculinity in northern Italy.¹⁹

Like other European regions, Iberian texts for domestic use have started to be analyzed over the last 15 years. A significant scholarly investment has come from the growing historiographic interest in women's history and the history of everyday life.²⁰ However, historians of medicine sharing those concerns have also significantly contributed to defining the subject, particularly by analyzing how medical practitioners concerned themselves with providing advice to the lay for healthy living, bringing about a rich variety of genres that are currently being

¹⁵ Jean Louis Flandrin, 'Soins de beauté et recueils de secrets', in *Les soins de beauté. Moyen Âge – début des temps modernes. Actes du 3e colloque international de Grasse (26–28 avril 1985)* (Nice: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 1987), pp. 13–29.

¹⁶ Edith Snook, 'The Beautifying Part of Physic. Women's Cosmetic Practices in Early Modern England', *Journal of Women's History*, 20/3 (2008): pp. 10–33.

¹⁷ For men's involvement in household healthcare in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Lisa Smith, 'The Relative Duties of a Man: Domestic Medicine in England and France, ca. 1670–1740', *Journal of Family History*, 31/3 (2006): pp. 237–56.

¹⁸ Catherine Lanoë, *Le poudre et le fard. Une histoire des cosmétiques de la Renaissance aux Lumières* (Seysssel sur le Rhône: Champ Vallon, 2008).

¹⁹ Sandra Cavallo, *Artisans of the Body in Early Modern Italy. Identities, Families and Masculinities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 38–63.

²⁰ María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, 'Los recetarios de mujeres y para mujeres. Sobre la conservación y transmisión de los saberes domésticos en la época moderna', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 19 (1997): pp. 121–54; eadem, 'Las mujeres y la organización de la vida doméstica: De cocineras a escritoras y de lectoras a cocineras', in Tomás A. Mantecón (ed.), *Bajtin y la historia de la cultura popular* (Santander: Publican, 2008), pp. 33–69; Monica Bolufer, 'Medicine and the *Querelle des Femmes* in Early Modern Spain', *Medical History. Supplements*, 29 (2009): pp. 86–106, especially pp. 95–102; María Ángeles Ortego Agustín, 'Discursos y prácticas sobre el cuerpo y la higiene en la edad moderna', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna. Anejos*, 8 (2009): pp. 67–92.

singled out.²¹ My aim in this chapter is to contribute to these trends by addressing two aspects that, as I will argue, are intertwined in early modern Iberia: on the one hand, the process of formation of domestic genres of self-care; on the other, the importance of cosmetics within this literature for household use that came to be favoured by a wide spectrum of the social scale.

Appropriating Cosmetic Recipes

It is not uncommon to find cosmetics treated as a given fact of early modern culture, requiring light to be thrown on either the heated discussions on its legitimate moral practice or on its particular development within the history of a growing healthcare industry. Debates on the proper and improper use of cosmetics have attracted the most attention, particularly from art historians and literary scholars. Studies on the moral, religious, aesthetic and political judgments in favour of or against cosmetics have placed the issue in the open arena of early modern cultural studies.²² Nevertheless, the practice of cosmetics itself is often portrayed as an ahistorical sphere of body care. Accounts of its *emergence* – rather than its presence – in early modern texts do not abound, and beauty recipes – and the earlier traditions they belong to – are less frequently the object of historical study than other types or recipes they often accompany.

Cosmetics – and perfumes – had a visible place within medicine in medieval Latin Europe. The sphere of practices understood as *decoratio* and *ornatus* offered techniques for caring and modifying the surfaces of the body: the cleaning and softening of the skin, the hygiene of the mouth, the care and colouring of the hair of the head and beard, the elimination of lice, the depilation of unwanted body hair and the treatment of all kinds of skin imperfections. The technical literature of *Antidotaria* noted to a significant extent the cosmetic properties of the

²¹ Studies include José María López Piñero, *El vanquete de nobles caballeros (1530), de Luis Lobera de Ávila y la higiene individual del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Ministerio de Sanidad y Consumo, 1991); María José Ruiz Somavilla *El cuerpo limpio. Análisis de las prácticas higiénicas en la España del mundo moderno* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1993) and eadem, 'Las normas de higiene y los consejos de carácter moral en la práctica médica de los siglos XVI y XVII' *Dynamis*, 22 (2002): pp. 235–50; Montserrat Cabré, 'From a Master to a Laywoman: A Feminine Manual of Self-Help' *Dynamis*, 20 (2000): pp. 371–93; Luis García Ballester, *La búsqueda de la salud. Sanadores y enfermos en la España medieval* (Barcelona: Península, 2001), pp. 293–410; Lluís Cifuentes, *La ciència en català a l'edat mitjana i el renaixement* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2002), pp. 96–112; Lluís Alcanyís, *Regiment preservatiu e curatiu de la pestilència*, edited by Jon Arrizabalaga (Barcelona: Barcino, 2008), as well as the essays in Vallés, *Regalo*.

²² For an original study on the debates on women's painting (encompassing pictures and faces) in regards to England, Italy and France, see Patricia Phillippy, *Painting Women. Cosmetics, Canvases and Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

samples included; this amounted to 20 per cent in the case of the popular *Circa instans* attributed to Matthaeus Platearius. Most of the practical medical treatises *de capite ad calcem* incorporated sections devoted to these topics and surgical literature included sections on cosmetic procedures.²³ Many of these treatments were ungendered, but some were specifically intended for men, particularly those regarding the care of the beard. However, most cosmetic proceedings were associated with women, either specified by the recipes or linked by the actual practices.²⁴ In fact, Salernitan medical culture was the origin of a genre of texts devoted to women's cosmetics, usually associated with other texts on female healthcare concerns.²⁵ By the end of the thirteenth century, texts addressed to laywomen with a significant cosmetic content had started to flourish in different vernacular languages.²⁶ Although medical handbooks included cosmetic treatments for men, a male counterpart of this feminine genre does not seem to have arisen in Western Europe. While still keeping their place in learned Latin medicine and surgery, during the late Middle Ages beautifying recipes started to become part of the lay written culture, particularly those addressed to women.

As evidence of early modern women's growing interest to in possessing beautifying recipes, texts both compiled for and compiled by women steadily increased in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iberia.²⁷ In this period, cosmetic recipes are found in a variety of manuscript contexts: from extensive compilations containing hundreds of items to small collections of only a handful, or even exchanges of single individual pieces which eventually may have been compiled in a collection. Compilations differ from each other not only in size but also in the way they privilege certain topics over others. For instance, in an account book that the lawyer Bernat Sala ended up sharing with his second wife Agnès Safont – but that had been started by his first wife – Isabel de Seix, one out of the nine of recipes deals with beautifying: a water to clarify the skin of the face. The rest are devoted

²³ Walton O. Schalick, 'The Face Behind the Mask: 13th- and 14th- Century European Medical Cosmetology and Physiognomy', in Yasuo Otsuka, Shizu Sakai and Shigehisa Kuriyama (eds), *Medicine and the History of the Body* (Tokyo: Ishiyaku EuroAmerica, 1999), pp. 295–311; Laurence Moulinier-Brogi, 'Esthétique et soins du corps dans les traités médicaux latins à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Médiévales*, 46 (2004): pp. 55–72; Michael McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery of the Middle Ages* (Firenze: Sismel- Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006), pp. 215–29.

²⁴ Montserrat Cabré, 'Beautiful Bodies', in Linda Kalof (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Body in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), pp. 127–48.

²⁵ Monica H. Green, *The Trotula: A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

²⁶ Monica H. Green, 'The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy', in eadem, *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), Essay VII, pp. 32–7 and 49–76; Cabré, 'From a Master'.

²⁷ Montserrat Cabré, 'Women or Healers? Household Practices and the Categories of Health Care in Late Medieval Iberia', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82/1 (2008): pp. 18–51 (pp. 36–50).

to fruit preserves, and besides a systematic register of the loans of money lent and borrowed, the notebook records certain purchases as well as poems. Interestingly, as is the case with other similar texts, this small group of recipes is written both in Catalan and Spanish. It is unclear which individuals actually wrote this handful of recipes but, together with other stylistic differences, the different languages may indicate a different provenance of the recipes recorded in the manuscript.²⁸

Texts that record miscellaneous personal annotations, such as accounts, purchases and certain family affairs, often contain recipes; their significance is currently being re-evaluated by scholars working on the so-called 'domestic writings' or 'ego documents'.²⁹ In this context, when found as part of small groups of recipes, cosmetics are generally associated with cooking recipes and/or with instructions on how to make food preserves. However, if they are present in more extensive texts, the scope of the topics addressed seems to widen. The collection compiled by Juan Vázquez de Mármol, secretary to the Consejo de Castilla under Kings Philip II and Philip III, is a good instance of this trend. A royal priest and a humanist who worked as a general book reviser for Philip II, Vázquez de Mármol wrote a long recipe book containing precise instructions to produce inks and dyes, to remove difficult stains, to make preparations to improve memory, to construct watches, to make glues, to kill fleas and other types of insects, to prepare antidotes for poisons as well as to make medicines for a great variety of common ailments – such as ear and stomach pains, headaches, and so on – among other recipes on smaller-scale how-to household technologies. Only a few recipes in this manuscript are concerned with food, but over 50 deal with the care of the hair and body surfaces as well as the improvement of the smell of the body and breath.³⁰ As its title indicates, the *Receptario sacado de Don Alexio Piemontés y de*

²⁸ *Llibre de memòries de Bernat Sala, Isabel de Seix i Agnès Safont, ca. 1605–1628*. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Monacals d'Hisenda, vol. 3401. A general description in *Repertori de manuscrits catalans (1474–1620)* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), vol. 3, pp. 337–8. The recipe collection is in fols 2r-6v and 42v.

²⁹ Sylvie Mouysset, 'Maux dits, maux écrits: Du soin de soi à l'attention aux autres dans les écrits du for privé français, XVème–XVIIIème siècle', in Antonio Castillo and Verónica Sierra (eds), *El legado de Mnemosyne. Las escrituras del yo a través del tiempo* (Gijón: Trea, 2007), pp. 17–37; eadem, *Papiers de famille. Introduction a l'étude des livres de raison (France, Xve–XIXe Siècle)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007), p. 303; Daniel Piñol, 'Salud, dinero y amor sobre el papel: Usos domésticos de la escritura en Reus (Siglos XVIII–XIX)', in Castillo and Sierra (eds), *El legado de Mnemosyne*, pp. 39–54; Carmen Rubalcaba, *Entre las calles vivas de las palabras. Prácticas de cultura escrita en el siglo XIX* (Gijón: Trea, 2006); Rosa María Blasco and Carmen Rubalcaba, 'Las escrituras del yo en los libros de cuentas de Pedro Jado', in Castillo and Sierra (eds), *El legado de Mnemosyne*, pp. 55–74.

³⁰ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (thereafter, BNE) MS 9226, fols 145r–225v. The recipe book starts with an index of recipes according to a different, individual numbering of its pages, from 1 to 148, identifying it as a separate text. It was bound by its compiler together with other personal texts containing reading notes, registers

otros autores y de otras muchas receptas que me han dado (*Book of recipes culled from Alessio Piemontese as well as from many other authors and recipes that have been given to me*) contains recipes copied from the printed *Secreti*, which the compiler identifies individually, recipe by recipe, with his source. However, Vázquez de Mármol may have used an Italian edition instead of (or in addition to) a Spanish translation since it contains recipes written in Italian.³¹ Although the compiler acknowledges other printed books and medical men as his sources, most of the beauty recipes he writes seem to derive from Alessio's *Secreti*. And incidentally, he adds commentary on his source: in a recipe to help hair grow, for instance, he notes that Alessio does not make it clear which of the ingredients he has listed for the recipe has to be fried – showing his commitment to understand and judge what he writes.³²

Another potent example of the extent to which beauty recipes came to be seen as an inextricable part of domestic knowledge is a copy of the 1516 edition of the Salernitan *Regimen sanitatis* with commentary, which calls into question textual genres and categories of knowledge as well as notions of authorship and readership.³³ Published in Lyon and today held at the Biblioteca General de Navarra in Pamplona, this Latin regimen of health, like many printed and manuscript books, contains a few marginal anonymous notes. Most interestingly, following the end of the printed text is a collection of over 40 household recipes written by two anonymous sixteenth-century hands in Latin, Spanish and Catalan. About 30 of the entries are recipes to care for and modify body surfaces – the cleaning and care of the skin, including ulcers on the penis – and to look after and dye the hair, to care for teeth and gums and to eliminate smelly feet and bad body odours. The rest are to improve memory, to have a good sleep, to make ink, to

paint glass, one for ear pain, two for hunting, for treating stones in the urine and one to help expel the placenta after childbirth. This collection again demonstrates a widespread interest for beauty recipes – which were by far the largest of the additions – and also the commitment of readers of printed books 'to complete' the texts they owned according to their wishes, literally producing new books for their own use.

Regularly culled from people and books – both printed as well as handwritten, beauty recipes became part of the textual culture of the household in sixteenth-century Iberia. Two significant features emerge from the documented compilation practices: 1) the extent to which people with no direct connection with the healthcare occupations were actively involved in the process of written appropriation; 2) beauty recipes were associated with other types of practical knowledge useful to have to hand in the domestic setting. The diversity of genres where single recipes and extensive collections surface attest to the appropriation of beauty secrets by women and men who associated cosmetics with the everyday, domestic sphere of care.

Between Script and Print: The *Regalo de la vida humana*

The *Regalo y policia de la vida humana*, a sizable collection of medical and culinary recipes as well as precise instructions on how to make wines, vinegars, oils, waters and food preserves, included a significant amount of beauty procedures. Besides the embellishing properties of many of the oils and waters contained in Books Two and Three, the text started with a section specifically devoted to beautifying. In contrast with the handbooks containing practical domestic knowledge discussed above, Juan Vallés' work not only functioned to serve his own endeavours as a learned gentleman but also aimed to help his readers accomplish a wide range of household activities.

This social or public character of a text that hoped to reach an interested audience was enhanced after Vallés' death in 1563. His grandson, Pedro de Sada y Vallés (+1615), edited the manuscript with the explicit intention of publishing it under his grandfather's name. In the form of various explicit layers, the manuscript of the *Regalo* bears witness to a long process of preparation of a compilation for the press. According to the codicological study by María Itziar Zabalza, Vallés wrote a first version which was later cleaned up by himself, perhaps with the help of a scribe. The extant copy is a duplicate of this polished version, containing numerous crossing outs and additions in the margins by Vallés' hand. Around 50 years later Pedro de Sada – who may have inherited his grandfather's library – revised the text, adding some recipes and comments, numbering the pages again and writing an index.³⁴

of lent and borrowed books, historiographical and hagiographical accounts, a Spanish-Flemish dictionary as well as texts regarding the art of printing. One precise date appears in the compilation, when Vázquez de Mármol writes that on January 20, 1596, he copied a recipe for a purge by master Guillem de Mallorca that he had found at the margin of a compilation of Spanish law that he borrowed from a friend, fol. 199r. On aspects of this manuscript other than the recipe collection, see Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001), pp. 50–1. For an analysis on the production of miscellaneous manuscripts and annotating practices in early modern Iberia, see Fernando Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge and Memory in Early Modern Spain*, translated by Sonia López and Michael Agnew (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 39–55.

³¹ BNE, MS 9226, fol. 169r.

³² Ibid., fol. 186r.

³³ *Regimen sanitatis salerni: Accurate castigatum adiecta tabula in calce libri hactenus non impressa* (Lyon: Jacobum Myt, 1516). Pamplona, Biblioteca General de Navarra, Fondo Antiguo, NA-BGN, 12-2/39. The collection of recipes proper starts at the end of the alphabetical table and extends to seven unnumbered folia (14 pages). I am indebted to Fernando Serrano Larráyo and Margarita Velasco Garro for generously bringing this source to my attention.

³⁴ Zabalza, 'Estudio codicológico'.

Following his grandfather's footsteps, Pedro de Sada was a lawyer and a royal officer of the Kingdom of Navarre. In the opening epistle, addressed 'to the reader', written circa 1610, he introduced himself as an official receiver (*síndico*) of the Kingdom of Navarre and as a consultant of the Holy Office of the Inquisition.³⁵ While justifying his own editorial decision to bring about the printing of the text, he stated regarding the work of Vallés:

And thus, as someone [Juan Vallés] who had always professed much curiosity, he took that to the good point [of writing this book]. Until the present day, people who have seen it have regarded it highly, as one of the better and more important items that may be hold in a principal house. It seemed to me, then, that I could not but communicate it to everyone; otherwise I would offend very much the good will of the writer as well as causing universal harm to the good of all. Therefore, I determined to try to print it so that after death his good wish to be profitable to all will not be lost by my negligence – or the overall gratitude that he deserves for such good concern.³⁶

For reasons we cannot specify, Pedro de Sada died without success in this printing endeavour. However, he was familiar with the printing business since together with a fellow colleague he published a compilation of the laws of the Navarrese kingdom in 1614. Nonetheless, his editorial work gave renewed value to the *Regalo de la vida humana* and eventually facilitated its long-term transmission. The only extant copy of the text was part of the personal library of Pedro de Navarra, Marquis of Cábrega, who might have obtained it directly from Pedro de Sada – either as a gift or by acquisition. He was a significant figure at the Spanish court, having served as a steward (*mayordomo*) to Queen Mariana of Austria and as officer (*gentilhombre de boca*) to King Philip IV, specializing in the supply, conservation and preparation of the food of his house. In 1674, the Austrian ambassador in Madrid bought all items of his library for the collection of the Imperial Court Library of the Habsburg dynasty, including the manuscript of the *Regalo*. It was then rated as one of the most expensive of the cluster – a clear sign of the extent of the appreciation of its

³⁵ Fernando Serrano Larráyo, 'Juan Vallés (c. 1496–1563): Vida y obra (Regalo de la vida humana) de un humanista navarro de la primera mitad del siglo XVI', in Vallés, *Regalo*, pp. 18–75 (pp. 61–4).

³⁶ 'Y así, como quien professó siempre mucha curiosidad, traxo ésta a tan buen punto que, al parecer de quantos hasta hoy este libro han visto, ha sido estimado por una de las mejores y más importantes cosas que en una cassa principal pueden tenerse. Pareciéndome pues, que según esto yo no podía dexar de comunicarlo a todos sino haziendo mucho agravio a la buena intención del que lo trabajó y daño universal al bien común de la gente, determiné procurar se imprimiesse sólo porque el buen desseo que en vida él tubo de aprovechar a todos no perdiessse por mi descuydo en su muerte las gracias que generalmente todos le deben por tan buen cuydado ...'. Vallés, *Regalo*, p. 263.

contents, particularly considering that it is not an illustrated text. Since then, the copy has been held in this collection, which today belongs to the Austrian National Library in Vienna.³⁷

If his grandson was familiar with the printing circles, Juan Vallés was already a skilled author when he compiled the *Regalo de la vida humana*. His first work, today unknown, was called *Flores de cirugía y medicina* (*Flowers of surgery and medicine*), but his most acknowledged contribution was the *Libro de acetrería y montería* (*Book of falconry and hunting*), a comprehensive encyclopedia dated in 1556. The treatise was considered to be a Spanish landmark of its genre and gave Vallés a reputation as an author, but although he had obtained a printing licence for it, he did not see it released by a press.³⁸

With the *Regalo de la vida humana*, while it is uncertain whether Vallés had undertaken such a concrete move towards publication, Pedro de Sada writes that his grandfather had planned his text 'to be profitable to all' and that the text was highly appreciated by those who 'had seen it', suggesting an initial intention towards printed publication.³⁹ Moreover, in reference to the final section of the book, de Sada explains that, although its inclusion is due to his own editorial decision Vallés 'wanted to print it separately' but had left it unfinished. De Sada justified its inclusion as it was 'a forest of diverse recipes in which a great variety of curiosities may be found'.⁴⁰

Ultimately, we do not know why neither Vallés nor de Sada succeeded in their attempts to print the *Regalo*. Contemporary manuscript practices and the printing of translated books of recipes for lay readers suggest that the demand for recipes for domestic use was broadening.⁴¹ However, as far as we can tell, the *Regalo* stands as the first early modern Spanish attempt to print a recipe

³⁷ Fernando Serrano, 'Juan Vallés (c. 1496–1563): Vida y obra', pp. 64–5.

³⁸ For an informed biobibliographical study together with the full text, Jose Manuel Fradejas, 'Juan Vallés, Libro de acetrería y montería', *Archivo Iberoamericano de Cetrería*, 3 (September 2007). Online: <http://www.aic.uva.es/clasicos/valles/valles-intro.html> [accessed: 30 May, 2010].

³⁹ On the different means of 'publishing' in early modern Spain (of which printing was but one of a variety), see Fernando Bouza, *Papeles y opinión: Políticas de publicación en el siglo de oro* (Madrid: CSIC, 2008).

⁴⁰ 'En el octavo y último se pone una silva de varias recetas, en las cuales se hallará una grande variedad de curiosidades no menos de provecho que de gusto ...'. de Sada, 'Introduction', in Vallés, *Regalo*, p. 264.

⁴¹ Useful evaluations of early medical and scientific printing, Bertha Gutiérrez Rodilla, 'Los textos médicos romances en el Renacimiento castellano', in J.L. García Hourcade and J.M. Moreno Yuste (coords), *Andrés Laguna. Humanismo, ciencia y política en la Europa Renacentista* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), pp. 529–38; Jon Arrizabalaga, 'El libro científico en la primera imprenta castellana (1485–1520)', in Luis García Ballester (dir.) *Historia de la ciencia y de la técnica en la Corona de Castilla, Edad media II* (4 vols; Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 619–49, and José Pardo Tomás, 'La difusión de la información científica y técnica', in José María López

book of its kind. Consequently, at the end of the sixteenth century, it was not only in England that the medieval traditions of household knowledge were being eclipsed by new texts. Similar trends, albeit timidly, were also occurring in Iberia.⁴²

Vallés' decision to title his text *Regalo de la vida humana* was original. If other popular books containing recipes or practical knowledge at that time were entitled *Treasure, Mirror, Garden, Forest* (Silva) or simply *Handbook*, he very precisely distinguished his work with a title that disclosed the nature of its aims. *Regalo* is a Spanish word that came to mean 'gift', etymologically deriving from the Latin word *rex, regis*. In the early modern period it meant '[the ability to offer] oneself a royal treat and to give to oneself the delights that kings may have at will'.⁴³ The metaphor behind Vallés' title strongly evokes the idea of body pleasure or 'delight'; a promise which, elsewhere in Europe, other recipe books of this kind were starting to offer to their intended, particularly female, readers. We see examples such as *Delights for Ladies* by Hugh Platt (1600?), *A True Gentlewomen's Delight* associated with Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent (1653), *A Queen's Delight* (1668) and *The Accomplish'd Lady's Delight* (1675).⁴⁴ Vallés' choice of title is an early instance of a tradition that conceptualized a diversity of procedures leading to beautifying, eating, drinking and general feeling of well-being, as actions potentially pleasing the body. Or, in Vallés' words, as potentially delightful to human living.

By locating his book under the umbrella of 'royal treatment', Vallés was literally projecting a courtly culture that promoted individual bodily practices as the axis of social relations and human interaction.⁴⁵ Alison Klairmont-Lingo has pointed out that within this context beauty, alongside table manners and refraining from public spitting, was conceived as an important asset.⁴⁶ De Sada himself writes that these recipes promising beauty – the knowledge of how to embellish oneself – came to be a significant part of 'those curiosities that for the service and good government and policy of an accomplished household might

Piñero (dir.), *Historia de la ciencia y de la técnica en la Corona de Castilla, siglos XVI y XVII* (4 vols; Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2002), vol. 3, pp. 189–217.

⁴² Stine, *Opening Closets*, pp. 90–92; Hunter, 'Books for Daily Life'.

⁴³ '[Capacidad de ofrecerse] un trato real y regalarse las delicias que los reyes pueden tener a rege, Covarrubias, *Tesoro*'. 2nd part, fol. 157r.

⁴⁴ The publishing history of these works and their titles is complex, see Hunter, 'Books for Daily Life', pp. 521–2 and pp. 528–30. For analysis of these texts, see Snook, 'The Beautifying Part of Physik'; Knoppers, 'Opening the Queen's Closet'; Kavey, *Secrets*, pp. 95–124 and pp. 156–60. A comparative history of changing patterns of conceptualizing domestic knowledge, as well as what was considered a delight and for whom, remains to be undertaken.

⁴⁵ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process. The Development of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, NY: Urizen Books, 1978).

⁴⁶ Klairmont-Lingo, 'Santé et beauté féminines'.

be necessary'.⁴⁷ Practical knowledge on beautifying belonged to the sphere of good domestic management.

In addition to his singular conceptualization of the care of the body's surfaces as part of the highest possible indulgence, Vallés was also original in the way he proffered his material. Although he copied literally and extensively from earlier compilations without any acknowledgement, he organized his topics in new and important ways. In contrast to other household guides, Vallés began his compilation with issues dealing with beautifying (*hermosear*) and presented the external care of the body as the first theme to be addressed. Vallés explains this deliberate ordering of information in chapter 2 of Book One:

Having to write in this treatise about the things regarding the 'royal treatment' of this life, it is fair that before talking about preserves, electuaries and other delights and treats which one may enjoy *on the inside*, we offer cosmetic and beautifying things to embellish the person's *outside*.⁴⁸

Vallés use of *inside* and *outside* as organizing principles that give coherence to the structuring of knowledge – and the precedence of the latter – is novel in self-care literature and none of the earlier texts from which Vallés copied follow this divide nor prioritize the external appearance of the body.

Vallés adoption of the binary terms inside/outside as the organizational principal of his work is part of a larger cultural recognition that the human body possessed an interior and an exterior part. This notion seems to have become stronger in the second half of the sixteenth century, both for healthcare practitioners and for the general populus. Maria Carla Gadebusch-Bondio has pointed out an increasing medical concern with the skin, '*la carne di fuori*' in the words of Giovanni Marinello, from an intellectual and a practical point of view.⁴⁹ The visible quality of the body – of its public presentation and display – came to be intensified not only by the dissemination of more sophisticated regimens but also by new anatomical works that often deployed vividly the skin as the container and concealer of the body's interior. Earlier uses of the metaphor by learned surgeons suggest that the conceptual divide between an inside and an outside of the body may well have grown together with the intellectual and occupational separation of medicine and

⁴⁷ '... aquellas curiosidades que para el servicio de una persona y buen gobierno y policía de una cassa cumplida, podían ser necesarias.' de Sada 'Introduction'. Vallés, *Regalo*, p. 263.

⁴⁸ My emphasis. 'Haviendo de escribir en este tratado de las cosas que tocan al regalo desta vida, justo es que antes que hablemos de las conservas, electuarios y otras delicadezas y regalos con que se regala la \per/sona por la parte de dentro la regalemos con las cosas que la afeitan y hermosean por la parte de afuera ...'. Vallés, *Regalo*, Book 1, Ch 2, p. 279.

⁴⁹ Maria Carla Gadebusch-Bondio, 'La carne di fuori. Discorsi medici sulla natura e l'estetica della pelle nel '500', *Micrologus*, 13 (2005): pp. 537–70.

surgery.⁵⁰ Recently, Michael McVaugh has explained how thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century learned surgeons struggled to define their identity by integrating Arabic medical knowledge and distillation and sublimation techniques into their craft. These interconnected developments broadened their abilities to modify the appearance of the body and opened their occupation to a sphere of practice with which they did not feel too comfortable: that of embellishing the body surfaces. However, they acknowledged a demand for those treatments – particularly by women – and responded to it, albeit with caution.⁵¹ Eventually, barbers and apothecaries took on some of the inconvenient concerns, and surgeons expanded their practice towards new arenas regarding the treatment of women.⁵² Running in parallel with the realignment and reorganization of medical practitioners grew an active interest among laypeople in collecting recipes to care ‘for the outside’.

An Archaeology of Beauty Secrets: Gendering Texts and Audiences

The *Regalo de la vida humana* also differs from earlier texts conceived for household use in its intended audience. Late medieval vernacular texts tailor-made for their lay commissioners were often gendered by a direct address in their introductory prefaces, and book-length recipe collections that preceded the *Regalo* had marked their audiences’ gender by their titles. In contrast to earlier Iberian compilations which were often clearly associated either with one or the other sex, de Sada, in an introduction addressed to an ungendered ‘someone’ or ‘any person’ highlighted the intent of the text to serve a space – the ‘accomplished household’ – rather than targeting any specific group of people as its readership.⁵³ This echoes the broad audience sought by contemporary printed texts such as the Spanish translation of Alessio’s *Secreti*, which includes women explicitly.⁵⁴

A comparison of the *Regalo* and two thematically similar recipe collections from the late-fifteenth/early-sixteenth century shows that Vallés and de Sada’s decisions to address his work to a broad general audience is closely linked to the compilation strategies employed in the creation of the text. The *Manual de mugeres en el qual se contienen muchas y diversas rezeptas muy buenas* (thereafter *Women’s Handbook*) and *Vergel de señores en el qual se muestran a hazer con mucha excelencia todas las conservas, electuarios, confituras, turrone y otras cosas de açúcar y miel* (thereafter, *Garden of Gentlemen*) are two anonymous manuscripts dealing with a set of themes very similar to the *Regalo de la vida humana*.⁵⁵ They include recipes to make food preserves, meals, waters, perfumes and a significant number of procedures to produce beautifying products such as skin cleaners and softeners, depilatories, hair protectors and hair dyes as well as powders to whiten and colour the face. Roughly, the recipes seeking to offer embellishing instructions amount to more than a third of their contents in both cases. However, when closely considered, they turn out to be different types of texts and, I contend, they belong to two distinct traditions.

The *Women’s Handbook* is the earliest Iberian example of a genre that I have called elsewhere ‘open recipe books’, a type of recipe collections that originates out of women’s annotating practices of their own domestic endeavours.⁵⁶ In this collection, the recipes included are fairly simple; the text is structurally disorganized and in all but one case it only offers one recipe for each of the aims considered. There is no voice of a compiler unifying the pieces that constitute the text and references to provenance of the knowledge written – either to individuals, authors or books – are totally absent. The *Women’s Handbook* now exists in a single copy written in a practised uniform hand; however, the manuscript bears signs which suggest that it was the edited result of an individual or group enterprise of gradual appropriation of recipes for one’s own use. This is most visible in the different organizational strategies evident in the information retrieval devices and in the main body of the text itself. While the manuscript presents a table of contents and a list of all the recipes organized in seven groups of topics, the order of the recipes in the text does not follow this or any other thematic criteria. Recipes written consecutively within the body of the text are assigned to different thematic groups in the table; they are also identified in different ways, some with a rubric describing the type of remedy (*ungüento cetrino*), others by the indication of the procedure (*para quitar manchas*) or by a combination (*unçión para los pechos de las mugeres paridas*).⁵⁷ The unsystematic way of organizing as well as the diverse phrasing of the recipes themselves suggest that the compilation is the result of a growing accretion of recipes that came from a variety of sources, finally

⁵⁰ Marie-Christine Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), pp. 125–60.

⁵¹ McVaugh, *Rational Surgery*, pp. 181–229.

⁵² For these developments in Italy and France, see Cavallo, *Artisans of the Body*; Lanöe, *Le Poudre et le Fard*. See also Monica Green, *Making Women’s Medicine Masculine. The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-modern Gynaecology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁵³ Together with ‘someone’ and ‘any person’, the opening letter mentions once ‘men’ as the book’s addressees; however, the general tone of the address makes clear that it is intended at a broad audience that includes both sexes. De Sada, ‘Introduction’ in Vallés *Regalo*, p. 263.

⁵⁴ ‘Del traductor al lector: ... por ser médico me aficioné a estos secretos, que me parecieron muy buenos, sabiendo usar dellos a su tiempo y razón: lo otro porque libro tan curioso para cavalleros, damas, gentiles hombres y galanes y para otras muchas gentes ...’. Alessio Piemontese, *Seis libros de secretos llenos de maravillosa diferencia de cosas, traduzidos de lengua latina en castellana* (Barcelona: Claude Bornat, 1563), fol. 4r.

⁵⁵ *Manual de mugeres en el qual se contienen muchas y diversas rezeptas muy buenas*, ed. Alicia Martínez Crespo (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1995); *Vergel de señores*, BNE, MS 8565, VI + 239 fols.

⁵⁶ See Montserrat Cabré, ‘Women or Healers’, pp. 43–50.

⁵⁷ *Manual de mugeres*, pp. 30–35.

materializing in the text we know today. It is the written, edited result of women's knowledge – women's secrets.

Significantly, although never explicitly gendered, both the intended users and recipients of the practical knowledge contained in the *Women's Handbook* are women. It is not just a text compiled by them and for them, but, in regards to beauty, it is knowledge to be applied on them. This point becomes particularly apparent when we compare *Women's Handbook* with a contemporary collection that explicitly addressed men. Like the *Women's Handbook*, the anonymous *Garden of Gentlemen* was intended for the use of lay people in a domestic setting. However, it differs from the *Women's Handbook* in significant ways. Firstly, it is a lengthier collection organized thematically in five books, each divided into individually identified chapters. Secondly, while the only known copy does not include a prologue, the voice of the anonymous compiler is evident throughout the text and ascribes recipes to authors such as Galen and Avicenna.⁵⁸ Thirdly, instead of offering a single recipe for each intended procedure, as in the *Women's Handbook*, it provides a handful of options, presented consecutively, for each desired action. Finally, other than the title, the *Garden of Gentlemen* presents other internal signs indicating the gender of the intended audience. For example, four chapters are dedicated to the care of the male body surfaces and contain recipes for the hair and beard – for avoiding and curing baldness – as well as preparations to prevent the greying of hair and, if that recipe was unsuccessful, for dyeing grey hair of the scalp and face.⁵⁹ These Iberian recipes, offering precise instructions on how to care for and embellish beards are the practical counterpart to the growing concern for the male beard as a sign of masculinity that has been identified in literary and artistic sources of Renaissance Italy and England.⁶⁰

The *Women's Handbook* and the *Garden of Gentlemen* are the earliest Iberian household compilations that bring together in a single unified text a certain set of topics: beauty, culinary recipes, recipes for food preservation, recipes for common illnesses.⁶¹ Despite their overlapping thematic interests, these two collections

⁵⁸ 'Asimismo, Avicena alaba muy mucho, para hermohear y blanquear la cara e para quitarle qualquier quemadura del sol e aire, usar un unguento que se haze desta manera'. 'Vergel de señores', BNE, MS 8565, fol. 141v.

⁵⁹ 'Cómo se conservarán los cabellos así de la cabeça como de la barba que no se hagan canos' 'Cómo se harán negros los cabellos canos y blancos así de la cabeça como de la barba'; 'Para hazer nacer y crecer los cabellos o pelos que se cayeron de la cabeça o barba'. Ibid., fols 130r–132r; 'De los xaboncillos de olor que se azen así para la barba como para las manos'. Ibid. fol. 216r.

⁶⁰ Will Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001): pp. 155–87; Douglas Biow, 'The Beard in Sixteenth-Century Italy', in Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens (eds), *The Body in Early Modern Italy* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 176–94.

⁶¹ Cifuentes, 'La ciencia en vulgar y las élites laicas'.

clearly developed from different traditions: one associated with women's practices as well as their own social networks and the other connected to the medical and culinary knowledge sustained by learned men. These genealogies of knowledge production, evaluation and transmission were not opaque to each other; in fact, the male medieval tradition readily acknowledges women's practices as the origin of certain recipes.⁶² It is this second tradition, exemplified by the *Garden of Gentlemen*, that encompasses the needs of the male body as well as those of the female. It also includes advice on the art of falconry, a male activity at the time.

The *Regalo de la vida humana* clearly belongs to the male genealogy of knowledge. In fact, in compiling the text, Juan Vallés copied word-for-word long sections from the *Garden of Gentlemen* without acknowledgement.⁶³ However, unlike the *Women's Handbook* or the *Garden of Gentlemen*, the *Regalo* is the result of the textual effort of a self-identified author who addressed his work to a broad audience. Pedro de Sada described his grandfather's desire to 'bring together and put in order' all the things that would be 'profitable to everyone and for common service', useful because 'neither in health may one do without them nor they can be excused in case of illness'.⁶⁴ Vallés, and later de Sada, both extended the *Garden of Gentlemen* with additional recipes. For instance, of the 17 recipes in the section on how to dye hair blond only four recipes were from the *Garden of Gentlemen*. De Sada, in turn, also added a few recipes that he felt were useful but missing in his grandfather's text, citing the work of Leonardo Fioravanti and Alessio Piemontese.⁶⁵ In addition to 'bring[ing] together' information from the *Garden of Gentlemen* and other texts, Vallés also 'put in order' the structure of the topics within the collection and imposed the idea that the surfaces of the body should take precedence over any other treatments.

Another important point of departure from the *Garden of Gentlemen* is revealed in de Sada's introduction. Unlike the earlier text, whose title signalled

⁶² Cabré, 'Beautiful Bodies'.

⁶³ For a closer comparison of these two texts (including chapter concordances), see Cabré, 'Los consejos para hermohear', pp. 185–202. It is well known that printed culture owed much but failed to acknowledge medieval texts; a recent study of a medieval Latin text that was a success in the early modern press, conveniently translated without recognition of the earlier source, Monica Green, 'The Sources of Eucharius Rösslin's *Rosengarden for Pregnant Women and Midwives* (1513)', *Medical History*, 53/2 (2009): pp. 167–92.

⁶⁴ '... siendo la necesidad que los hombres tienen de semejantes cosas, tanta que ni en salud saben passar sin ellas ni en enfermedad pueden escusallas, havia de ser muy grande el beneficio que generalmente a todos hiziesse, quien después de havellas recogido y puesto en alguna orden las offreciesse al provecho y servicio común para que cada uno, según la calidad de su estado, pudiesse aprovecharse de la industria que en este género de policia otras personas más curiosas han alcanzado'. de Sada, 'Introduction' in Vallés, *Regalo*, p. 263.

⁶⁵ Vallés, *Regalo*, Book 1, Ch. 13, pp. 306–7 (Fioravanti) and Book 3, Ch. 17, pp. 391–2 (Alessio Piemontese).

a largely male intended audience, the introduction to the *Regalo* acknowledged a privileged relationship between women and beautifying practices. Pedro de Sada singled this out while summarizing the contents of the first book of his grandfather's text:

The first book teaches very well chosen and excellent things for the service of one's own person in regards to cleaning and arraying the head, face and hands. And while it is true that it deals a little with cosmetics for women (*afeyte y compostura para mugeres*), it does that mildly so that choosing from the bad the least worst, and thus the most honest, those [women] who have this need will find remedy according to good and allowable practice.⁶⁶

The association between women and the care of the surfaces of the body is not peculiar to the *Regalo*. In medieval Jewish, Christian and Muslim cultures, healthcare texts recognized women as knowledgeable agents of cosmetic practices.⁶⁷ However, late medieval learned practitioners such as Henri de Mondeville tended to justify their engagement with women's cosmetics by warning of the physical dangers posed by the treatments some women used: arguing that learned advice could save them from injuries that their unreliable knowledge might cause.⁶⁸ In contrast, Pedro de Sada's apology in the *Regalo* seems solely motivated by a moral concern. He constructs the authority of his grandfather's text not by appealing to his higher technical expertise but by advertising a moderate attitude to deal with the issue, in order to reconcile an uncomfortable reality – women's persistent desire for cosmetics – with a behaviour that could be widely acceptable. By doing so, he was also gendering the audience of one section of a compilation that was presented broadly as 'profitable to all'.

Early modern Iberia witnessed hot debates regarding women's adornment.⁶⁹ Particularly harsh towards women were influential intellectuals such as Juan Luis

⁶⁶ 'En el libro primero se enseñan cossas muy escogidas, y excelentes, para el servicio de la persona misma, en lo que toca a la limpieza y adreço de la cabeça, rostro y manos. Donde aunque es verdad que se trata algo del afeyte y compostura para mugeres, aquello es templadamente y de manera, que escogiendo de lo malo lo menor, y assí lo más honesto, podrá la que tuviere esta necesidad remediarse en ella, conforme a los buenos respetos, que pueden permitillo'. De Sada, 'Introduction' in Vallés, *Regalo*, p. 263.

⁶⁷ Green, *The Trotula*, especially pp. 45–6; Cabré, 'Beautiful Bodies'; Moulínier-Brogi, 'Esthétique et soins du corps'; Carmen Caballero-Navas, 'The Care of Women's Health and Beauty: An Experience Shared by Medieval Jewish and Christian Women', *Journal of Medieval History*, 34/2 (2008), pp. 146–63.

⁶⁸ McVaugh, *Rational Surgery*, pp. 215–228.

⁶⁹ For the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century debates, see Pedro Tena 'La cosmética áurea a través de mujeres literarias', *Lemir*, 8 (2004). Online journal: <http://parnaseo.uv.es/Lemir/Revista/Revista8/Tena2.htm> [accessed: 30 May, 2010], and María-

Vives or Andrés Laguna; Vives' tough views against women's use of cosmetics were even contended by Erasmus of Rotterdam.⁷⁰ The case of Laguna is especially interesting because his overt criticism did not preclude a certain ambivalence towards the issue. When addressing the properties of lead and mercury in his Spanish annotated translation of Dioscorides, he wrote a strong condemnation on the use of cosmetics by women, particularly warning of their dangers.⁷¹ However, throughout his work Laguna offers details of many of the cosmetic properties of the *materia medica* discussed – a trait not unrelated to his strategies to widen an audience that included women.⁷²

If the control of women's appearance was a matter of concern, the regulation of the male body also took centre stage. The most sober currents of humanist thinking not only expressed contempt for women's cosmetics but also insisted that the external care (cleaning) of women's and men's bodies, in Juan Luis Vives' words, should be done 'without royal treats or curiosities' – precisely, the goals that the compiler of the *Regalo* and its later editor were looking to attain.⁷³ As the interest in beautifying recipes grew in sixteenth and early seventeenth century Iberia, anxieties over the improper care of the surfaces of the male body were expressed in literary, moral and didactic sources.⁷⁴ Castiglione's

Milagros Rivera 'Las prosistas del humanismo y del renacimiento', in Iris M. Zavala (coord.), *Breve historia feminista de la literatura española (en lengua castellana). IV. La literatura escrita por mujer. De la Edad Media al s. XVIII* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1997), pp. 83–129, especially 119–23.

⁷⁰ See Isabel Morant, *Discursos de la vida buena. Matrimonio, mujer y sexualidad en la literatura humanista* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002), pp. 82–7. For his thinking on women's adornment, Juan Luis Vives, *De institutione feminae christianae. Liber primus*. Introduction, critical edition, translation and notes, ed. C. Fantazzi and C. Matheussen, trans. C. Fantazzi (Leiden: Brill, 1996), Ch. 8 De Ornamentis, pp. 74–101; and *De institutione feminae christianae. Liber secundus et tertius*. Introduction, critical edition, translation and notes, ed. C. Fantazzi and C. Matheussen, trans. C. Fantazzi (Leiden: Brill, 1996), Ch. 7 De Ornamentis, pp. 102–3.

⁷¹ Andrés Laguna, *Acerca de la materia medicinal y de los venenos* [Pedanio Dioscórides Anazarbeo] (Salamanca: M. Gast, 1566), bk. 5, Ch. 62, pp. 536–7 (lead); bk. 5, Ch. 69, pp. 542–3 (mercury). In 1616 his commentary was translated into English and published as a separate letter in Arnold Tuke's *A Discourse Against Painting*, see Snook, 'The Beautifying Part of Physik', p. 13.

⁷² Consolación Baranda, 'Los lectores del Dioscórides: Estrategias discursivas del Doctor Laguna', *Criticón*, 58 (1993): pp. 17–24.

⁷³ 'La limpieza del cuerpo sin regalos ni curiosidades ayuda a la salud y al ingenio: que sin falta se encoge estando suzio el cuerpo'. Juan Luis Vives, preface to *Introducción a la sabiduría*, Anvers, 1551, fol. 10r, as cited by María José Ruiz Somavilla, *El cuerpo limpio*, p. 84.

⁷⁴ Mar Martínez-Góngora, 'Entre el rigor humanista y la estética cortesana: El ideal de conducta masculina en la *Respuesta de Boscán a Don Diego de Mendoza*', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 78/4 (2001): pp. 421–38 (p. 435).

count Ludovico de Canosa stated that the face of his ideal courtier should not be excessively treated and effeminated and condemned those men that use women's beautifying techniques on themselves.⁷⁵ After devoting a chapter to the great bravery, strength and masculinity of the Great Tamerlane in his *Silva de Varia Lección*, Pedro Mexía recounted the story of the Roman emperor Heliogabalus, a man who embodied not male virtue but male vice. He was 'the most effeminated and over-treated man' ever ('*más afeminado y más regalado*'). He used cosmetics and painted his face, even desiring so much being a woman that he called the greatest physicians and surgeons of his day to ask them to cut up and intervene in his body as they pleased, so that he could behave like a woman ('*usar como mujer*').⁷⁶ A learned diatribe by Brother Antonio Marqués against women's cosmetics dated in 1617 devoted a long chapter to explain why 'it is much more indecent for men than it is for women to use cosmetics and adorn themselves'; that is why men who use cosmetics 'change into women's state'.⁷⁷ Those who condemned cosmetic practices considered them women's propriety; accordingly, men interested in them were designated as 'effeminate' (that is, similar to women) a clear indication that cosmetics did not belong to them.

In this context, male beards became an important asset, for they were a powerful measure to construct proper physical representations of masculinity that maintained distinctive physical traits between women and men. As Alonso López de Corella put it in 1547: 'it is now more common to grow beards than what has been for many years'.⁷⁸ This distinction was not exempt from hierarchical value, since beards made men not just different but also 'more venerable than women'.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ The Spanish translation was published in 1534, Baltasar de Castiglione, *El cortesano*, trans. Juan Boscán and intr. Rogelio Reyes Cano (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1984), Ch. 4, pp. 97–8.

⁷⁶ Pedro Mexía, *Silva de varia lección*, ed. Isaías Lerner (Madrid: Castalia, 2003), Ch. 29, pp. 434–42, (pp. 434 and 437 respectively), from the last edition emended by the author in 1550–51.

⁷⁷ Ch. 8, 'Es muy más indecente afeitarse y engalanarse los hombres que las mujeres'. Fray Antonio Marqués, *Afeite y mundo mujeril*, intr. and ed. Fernando Rubio (Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1964), pp. 72–85 (p. 76): 'Sobre este desorden ... añaden otro mayor los hombres, que es andar afeitados, con que pasan al estado de mujeres'.

⁷⁸ '... la naturaleza, la cual siempre es curiosa en dar la forma del cuerpo conveniente a las costumbres, dio al hombre la barba; la cual es indicio de cuánta más veneración sea el hombre que la mujer. Esto dice Galeno. Lo cual en la edad presente puede ser mejor admitido que en otra; porque es uso más común de criar barbas que muchos años ha sido'. Alonso López de Corella, *Secretos de filosofía y astrología y medicina y de las cuatro matemáticas ciencias*, intr. and ed. Juan Cruz, trans. Idoya Zorroza (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2001), question 113, p. 258, col.a.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

The Secret Lives of Beauty Recipes

Whether explicitly or not, household recipe collections conceived for the press contained many secrets – 'things kept quiet and under cover' – that lay compilers and editors were not always ready to tell.⁸⁰ Analyzing what they presented shows that beauty was an important concern within the domestic sphere. Moreover, the attention to beauty was not marginal but widely shared, since both women and men appropriated beauty recipes for their own use in the everyday household setting. Single and clustered beauty recipes travelled from script to script, from print to print, and from print to script; but most importantly, they chart hybrid genres of writing in which these traditional categories collapse.

Beautifying recipes attest to changes in the cultural embodiment of sexual difference. Preliminary comparisons between early modern and medieval traditions seem to show a trend: a renewed interest in the sixteenth century for the care of the male body surfaces, particularly regarding the beauty of the hair of the head and beard. Comprehensive investigation of recipes for embellishing the body – who kept them, how they are grouped, the issues they encompass and the audiences they sought – shows how Iberian collections intended for print privileged certain earlier traditions over others. The *Regalo de la vida humana* aimed at a wide readership of men and women while earlier collections were more clearly gendered. While copying extensively from a male-authored source, its compiler and editor added a significant number of recipes to their text, producing a much longer and systematic collection. Nevertheless, they did not enrich the variety of beauty treatments included in the texts from which they copied. And in fact, neither the *Garden of Gentlemen* nor the *Regalo de la vida humana* contains certain beauty treatments – baths, red powders for the face, ointments for the care of the female breasts, and so on – that had a significant presence in medieval cosmetic traditions. Comparing these two texts makes also clear that the *Regalo* hid certain women's traditions that had been widely acknowledged in medieval texts.⁸¹ Whose bodies gained or lost in the narrowing diversity of treatments on offer remains to be thoroughly studied.

Tracing back beauty recipes is not simply an exercise of erudition. It is a historical method that allows us to identify different traditions of knowledge that textual developments privilege or hide, in complex processes of communication and transformation that may journey from oral medieval communities to healthcare practitioners' textbooks and from those to learned Renaissance audiences.⁸² Much work needs surely to be done. However, this preliminary attempt already

⁸⁰ Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, 2nd part, fol. 172r.

⁸¹ Montserrat Cabré, 'Los consejos para hermostear', pp. 191–202.

⁸² Peter Murray Jones has documented rich chains of communication of healthcare knowledge among the medieval laity, textually recorded when arrived at the ears of health practitioners, 'Mediating Collective Experience: The Tabula Medicina (1416–1425) as a Handbook for Medical Practice', *Between Text and Patient: The Medical Enterprise in*

shows certain themes: on the one hand, how early modern texts deserted earlier genealogies of knowledge while creating their own; on the other, how texts still bear footprints of a past that, because of those imprints, is not totally gone.