Review of Javier Moreno-Luzón and Xosé M. Núñex Seixas, eds. Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century

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Recommended Citation
Available at: https://digitalcommons.asphs.net/bsp hs/vol43/iss1/25

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A thoughtful compilation of essays on twentieth-century representations of Spanish collective identity, *Metaphors of Spain* is a deep reflection on the way these representations were forged and transformed. The book traces the conflicting and changing understandings of the symbols, icons, and images that have conferred meaning to Spanish identity. In a chronological recounting, the authors examine how representations of Spain were shaped during the period of the Restoration, from *fin de siècle* Regenerationism during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, the Republic, and the Franco dictatorial regime. The authors also analyze the democratic period, reporting the difficulties encountered in redefining or breaking with some representations of Spain inherited from Franco’s dictatorship.

In the first of the twelve essays in the collection, Álvarez Junco introduces Spanish history and the essences of the nation from the perspectives of influential historians of various traditions. The second chapter by Moreno-Luzón and Núñez Seixas focuses on two contested but resilient symbols of the nation: the rojigualda flag and the anthem. The authors revise the official and social uses of these symbols as well as the controversy they raise in sub-state nationalisms. Chapters Three and Four reflect on two opposing metaphors of Spain: one successful, the monarchy; the other unsuccessful, the republic. Duarte explains that the republic is a metaphor for a Spain that could have succeeded and changed the course of Spanish history. Its failure contributed to forging its myth, and even today it remains very present in the collective imaginary of many Spaniards. In “The King of All Spaniards?” Moreno-Luzon draws parallels between the reigns of Alfonso XIII and Juan Carlos I and their attempts to become a symbol of the nation, concluding with a brief reference to the difficulties of the new king, Felipe VI, to reinvent himself as such.

In Chapter Five, “Gender and the Spanish nation”, Blasco Herranz discusses the way in which the different political regimes incorporated men and women in the Spanish nation. In Chapter Six, Vincent depicts the relationship of the Spanish nation and the Catholic Church, one that became entangled during Franco regime and relaxed during the first period of the democracy. In “The Language(s) of the Spanish Nation,” Núñez Seixas details the increasing relevance gained by the Spanish language as a core value of the Spanish identity, and describes the contentious relationship of Castilian and other Spanish languages. Chapter Eight by García Sebastiáni and Marcilhacy covers the position the Americas and the celebration of October 12 have occupied in official Spanish nationalism. Núñez Florencio devotes Chapter Nine to bullfighting. The author abandons the chronological structure of other chapters in the book to present various understandings of bullfighting: as a liability to modern Spain, as an expression of
the national essence, and as a form of art. In Quiroga’s chapter two narratives of sports appear—fury and fatalism—instrumentalized by Franco to conjure a particular image of Spanish collective identity. In Chapter Eleven Holguín focuses on music and the disputes over the genres that represented the nation in the century. Finally, in the last chapter in the collection, Storm examines the difference between the marketable image of Spain derived from tourism and the image held by the citizens of Spain.

Individually, each chapter is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the book; however, as a whole the book presents three main problems. First, the book disregards an idea that has pervasively permeated the Spanish collective imaginary during the twentieth century: the idea that there is not a single Spanish nation by two antagonistic, contentious nations—las dos Españas (the two Spains)—the conservative and the liberal, the traditional and the modern, the rural and the urban, the official and the real, the monarchic and the republican, the nacional and the roja, la de derechas and la de izquierdas. To be completely fair, Álvarez Junco devotes a few words to this idea in his chapter, and two other chapters include examinations of the role that the Republic and the King have played as representations of Spain. Regardless, the editors have missed the opportunity to dedicate a monographic chapter to this metaphor, that is ingrained in the Spanish collective identity and has become even more evident in the twenty-first century.

Second, the authors examine the manner in which the political and intellectual elites in Catalonia and the Basque Country responded to the representations of Spain forged in the hegemonic center during the twentieth century, but the book fails to provide a deep and broad analysis of the metaphors of Spain produced and reproduced at the periphery—in the stateless nations that dispute the loyalty of Spanish citizens—during the same period. Even when Nuñez Seixas transcends the timeframe of the book to report on the unsuccessful metaphor of the “plural Spain,” flagged by Rodriguez-Zapatero to praise a multicultural Spain that Aznar’s governments had marginalized, attention is given to the metaphors of Spain in the center, not to those at the periphery (e.g., the idea of Spain as an asymmetric federation, or the idea of Spain as the oppressor state).

An element unevenly discussed in the chapters that constitute this book is the extent to which these metaphors of Spain are representations “for” or “by” the “real” Spain. The book centers on metaphors of the Spanish identity created by political, intellectual, and cultural elites but omits the Spanish people’s perception and celebration of these metaphors as part of their identity. Perhaps this goal exceeds the scope of the book, but readers would have appreciated a deeper analysis of this issue in the introductory chapter of the book as well as in some of its chapters.

Despite these limitations, Metaphors of Spain is indisputably an extraordinary collection of Spanish history in the twentieth century, convincingly
accomplished by reviewing representations of Spanish national identity. In addition, the book offers a deep and detailed description of the project of nation building undertaken by the political and intellectual elites during the twentieth century. The book is recommended for both the general public and the specialized public who want to broaden their knowledge of the formation of the contemporary Spanish national identity.

In the first two decades of the twenty-first century, events such as the economic crisis, the corruption scandals involving the monarchy, the succession of the king, the victory of the Spanish team in the 2010 World Cup, the pro-independence movement in Catalonia, and conflict within the Spanish government have undoubtedly impacted representations of Spanish national identity. These events and many others serve as an invitation to the editors of this volume to develop a new one in which the authors can examine the way these economic, political, and institutional transformations have further changed the metaphors of Spanish national identity in the twenty-first century.

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