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Catlos, Brian. *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain*. New York: Basic Books, 2018. xi + 482 pp. + ill.

Islamic Spain, or al-Andalus, occupies a central place in the Spanish national mythology. Whether as a birthplace of *convivencia*, a romanticized peaceful coexistence of Muslims, Christians, and Jews, or the target of an inexorable Christian march toward the “reconquest” of Spain in 1492, al-Andalus provides ample fodder to mythmakers of every political stripe. Those writing about al-Andalus must confront and dismantle the myths or risk joining the ranks of propagandists. The introduction to Brian Catlos’s highly readable and captivating history of Islamic Spain makes the author’s intentions quite clear: the aim is to disabuse his popular audience of the notion that medieval Iberia was either the stage for a “clash of civilizations” or an interfaith utopia (1). The rest of this hefty volume – more than 400 pages – stays true to this promise. In Catlos’s depiction, Islamic and Christian kingdoms of medieval Iberia were a place of shifting religious identities and unstable alliances, where religiously motivated hatred was outweighed by double-dealing pragmatism and grudging toleration. Every college instructor looking for an introductory text on medieval Spain that is both accessible and grounded in recent scholarship will do well to consider using Catlos’s new history. That said, the sections of Catlos’s book dealing with religion, legal culture, and the arts may need to be paired up with secondary sources that treat these subjects in greater depth.

The stories Catlos tells are well-known from secondary literature, but here they are gathered into a narrative arc that encompasses nine hundred and three years of Iberian history: from the Islamic conquest of the Visigothic kingdom in 711 to the final expulsion of Moriscos (converted Muslims) from Spain in 1614. They are largely about wars, palace intrigues, military alliances, dynasties, kings, and other powerful personalities – mostly elite men, but occasionally women and freed slaves who managed to build influential patronage networks. Catlos’s focus on elites is due to the nature of the Andalusian sources, “produced by rulers, bureaucrats, and men of religion” (5), but also to his abiding interest in power and the messy, undisciplined way in which it was pursued by various political actors in medieval Iberia.

The thirty short sections that make up Catlos’s grand canvas break down the information into more digestible portions. The sections, in turn, are grouped into six Parts, each covering between 100 and 200 years of history. Parts I-III of the book detail the politics and culture of the Umayyad and the *taifa* periods, whose social order mirrored the contemporary “diverse, cosmopolitan, and culturally sophisticated” imperial societies of the Fatimid and Abbasid caliphates (157). Catlos argues that the religious identity of each group comprising the Andalusian society was counterbalanced by intra-communal fissures, ethnic affiliations,

patronage networks, and class tensions (110). In Part IV, Catlos challenges the common characterization of the Almoravid and Almohad conquerors from North Africa as “fundamentalist,” and “intolerant,” arguing that their arrival did not bring the destruction of the Andalusí culture or cause a lasting disruption to religious toleration (259, 278). Not even the conquest of most of al-Andalus by the Christian forces by the middle of the thirteenth century spelled an end to the pragmatic acceptance of religious minorities, even though Catlos acknowledges that the status of *mudéjars* (Muslims of Christian Spain) was much more volatile than that of the *dhimmi* groups under Islam (Part V, 332). The final sections of the book (Parts V-VI) show that Christian Castile and Nasrid Granada inherited the fractious internal politics of the earlier period. Ultimately, only the marital and political union of the Castilian and Aragonese Crowns sealed the fate of the Muslims of Granada, and eventually of the *mudéjars* and Moriscos of Spain. In 1614, after the last Moriscos were expelled, “the age of Islam in Spain had come to an end” (422).

Catlos’s insistence on the permeability of religious boundaries and multiplicity of identities works as a valuable corrective to the nationalist narratives of *convivencia* and *Reconquista*. Some readers may find that in an effort to shift the emphasis away from religion Catlos overstates his case. Anticipating potential criticism of this approach, he stresses several times that religious identity was an important factor in Iberian history, but invariably backtracks and qualifies the statement with a follow-up observation that it was “only one factor out of many,” or even dismisses religious motivation as a cover-up for the true, pragmatic considerations (4, 326, 428). This argument may find a receptive audience among students who often are already preconditioned to believe that religion is only a ruse for economic and political motivations, but it contradicts much of modern scholarship on the crusades and other subjects. Therefore, it would make pedagogical sense to assign Catlos’s book alongside works of by scholars who attribute greater agency to religious identities.

Some of the book’s slip-ups are minor, but this reviewer finds them bothersome. Among them are attempts at awkward humor and gratuitous appeals to pop culture and current politics: e.g., “fake news” and “make al-Andalus great again” (170, 255) and the claims that the Andalusí elite culture revolved around “bling, bros, and biyatches” and that “Ibn Abi ‘Amir had grabbed Spanish Christianity by the bells” (94, 193). Catlos’s statement that “Karaites did not recognize any authority other than the Talmud” is erroneous: they only accepted the authority of the written Torah (151). His claim that Hasdai ibn Shaprut harbored “messianic ambitions” is overblown and not supported by the evidence (219).

These complaints aside, *Kingdoms of Faith* is a masterful work, an invaluable reference source, and a welcome addition to both scholarship and popular literature on Muslim Iberia.

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Ringrose, David. *Europeans Abroad, 1450–1750*. Lanham, Maryland; Boulder, Colorado; New York; London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019. xi + 286 pp. + 13 ill. + 20 maps + 5 tables.

Readers who know the author's previous work will expect far more than the title suggests; they will not be disappointed. Based on his own research and teaching experience, as well as broad reading, Ringrose challenges prevailing interpretations of the role of early modern Europeans in the broader sweep of world history. He lays the groundwork with a brief overview of factors that led them to venture beyond the world they knew in search of new opportunities for trade with known partners in Asia, unknown islands and lands to claim, and peoples to convert to Christianity. By the middle of the fifteenth century, Europe had emerged from the economic depression following the Black Death, and the Mongol Empire had been replaced by a number of successor states, one of which—the Ottoman Empire—was in an expansive phase that restricted European trade with Asia.

The cultural baggage that Europeans carried with them, their reception in other parts of the world, their response to the realities they faced, and how those elements combined shape the central arguments of the book. Chapter Two explores the standard categories of nation, society, and religion as sources of European identity. Based on numerous studies in the past several decades, the author argues that these categories were much more fluid than earlier definitions assumed. The modern concept of nation did not exist in the early modern centuries; loyalty was given to a particular monarch or other leader. Moreover, loyalties often shifted, depending on the circumstances, and when Europeans traveled abroad, they were often lumped together in the perceptions of their host societies, regardless of their points of origin. At home or abroad, family, kinship, and business networks formed the core of personal identity and loyalty. Similar networks in other societies around the globe made it easier for Europeans to understand and relate to those societies, sometimes merging with local networks so thoroughly that they ceased to identify with Europe in any meaningful sense.

The author then surveys the most important empires in the early modern world, focusing on those that included large land areas and populations, stable governments, and the capacity to raise large armies and to regulate and encourage

trade. In Eurasia, that meant the Habsburg/Spanish Empire in the west, the Chinese Empire in the east, and the Muslim empires that succeeded the Mongols in west, central, and south Asia: Mamluks, Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals. In the Americas that meant the Aztecs, the Incas, and their successor, the Spanish Empire. Both the Aztecs in the Valley of Mexico and the Incas in South America ruled over numerous conquered peoples by the time the Spaniards arrived in the first third of the sixteenth century. By then, internal tensions and resentments, along with Old World diseases to which local peoples had no prior exposure, aided the Spanish conquests. The effects of disease and conquest resulted in catastrophic declines of the Native American populations, although the numbers involved are in greater dispute than Ringrose acknowledges, and formal and informal 'marriages' among Native Americans, Europeans, Africans, and other peoples in the Americas make it difficult to generalize about individual groups. Over time, the population recovered, and the colonial economies developed their own internal dynamics and needs, apart from their bureaucratic ties to Spain. Foreshadowing the central argument of later chapters, Ringrose notes that from the mid-sixteenth century, American silver from mines in Peru and New Spain flowed not only to Europe, but more importantly to the silver-hungry markets of China and India.

The last pieces of the interconnected world are considered in Chapters Five and Six: Africa, Brazil, and Atlantic North America. In the fifteenth century, the Portuguese established trading enclaves in the various islands off the coast of West Africa and dealt with the well-established African kingdoms on the mainland for gold and slaves. Although they conducted raids into the interior, their numbers and forces could never aspire to the control of large territories. Similarly in Brazil, the Portuguese remained largely on the coast. The dyestuff known as brazil-wood was a valuable early export, but over time plantations worked by Indian and then African slaves produced sugar and tobacco—products with an elastic demand in Europe and the Americas.

In North America, French migration also involved small numbers of males who established liaisons with local women and did not attempt to control large territories. Farther south, English immigrants were often family groups fleeing religious persecution and looking for lands to settle. Inevitably, that brought them into conflict with local Indian tribes already under stress from Old World epidemic diseases. Over time, English colonies in the southeast and the Caribbean islands developed plantation agriculture producing sugar, tobacco, and cotton with slave labor, while colonies in New England eventually produced abundant food crops to trade with plantation societies elsewhere in the Americas. By the late seventeenth century, the various parts of the world were linked in a complex network of interchanges involving peoples, goods, technology, legal and cultural norms, systems of beliefs, and many sub-headings thereof.

Readers who have followed the trends and arguments of world history in recent decades will recognize the book's central arguments: Europeans who ventured abroad in the early modern centuries, far from leading an inexorable march toward world domination, were outnumbered and vulnerable. Though Spaniards were able to defeat the existing empires in the Americas, elsewhere the picture was far different. In Africa and the various parts of Asia, Europeans survived and prospered by working with local rulers and elites and by tapping into pre-existing commercial and social networks. Similar patterns characterized North America. Linking the emerging world economy together was the silver mined in New Spain and Peru, spread widely over complex networks of trade by land and sea. One could argue that maritime technology was Europe's greatest contribution to the growth of world trade, though Ringrose does not emphasize that point.

In synthesizing a topic as vast as world history, an author cannot read everything or deal with every controversy marking its various sub-fields. Specialists will inevitably disagree with some of the author's emphases and conclusions and will find fault with specific bits of information. Nonetheless, this is an important book that deserves a wide readership.

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Torremocha Hernández, Margarita, and Alberto Corada Alonso, coords. *El estupro. Delito, mujer y sociedad en el Antiguo Régimen*. Valladolid: Ediciones Universidad de Valladolid, 2018. 311 pp.

El estupro is comprised of nine pieces, representative of different historical approaches to the subject. It encompasses the Iberian world, including a *coda* on a contemporary Italian case, which prompted legal changes that, not surprisingly, had already been in place during the twelfth century. Given its multidisciplinary subject, contributions have struck a balance between the quantitative, legal, economic, medical, social and emotional issues involving *stuprum*, whose definition is amply discussed on the first chapter, pointing to its late codification due to its perception as a moral or behavioral matter. This *interregno* between clerical and civil law fell mostly on the latter since the beginning of our era and was based on Roman law until the Germanic code introduced a vindictive aspect to it. The development of universities in Spain brought about the implication of religious, nobiliary, and economic aspects to an already complicated scope. The *Partidas* (ca. 1265) as the monumental work it still is for Western civilization, will weigh in the subject until the nineteenth-century reconsiderations, as laid out by Félix Javier Martínez

Llorente. Post-Tridentine Catholicism, as pointed out in Tomás A. Mantecón Movellán's study, acted as a catalyzing, behavioral force throughout the Mediterranean territories, where individuals twisted the moral system within the domains of clerical law. Social uses prevailing, the clash with justice and power struggles, even within families themselves, are highlighted through the sample cases presented, which are full of misinformation and information gaps leading to their inconsistent "patching up".

What is known as the "Old Regime" in Spain, roughly ranging from 1480 to 1840, is the time period isolated by Alberto Corada Alonso and Diego Quijada Álamo for a quantitative study on lawsuits housed in the Real Chancillería de Valladolid documenting *stuprum*. The Real Chancillería, a massive archival source for Castilian law practice, houses an invaluable wealth of documents representative of a very litigious, modern society keen on recordkeeping. The twenty-eight tables and thirty-five graphs included in this study are eloquent about the dimensions of this particular crime through the quantification of 2,035 lawsuits. Data shows, among other factors, the place, date, profession, and relationship between the accused and his victim, the relationship between the plaintiff and the accuser, the victim's marital status, as well as the length of the entire process. It will be interesting to draw a new set of relations through a further reading of the yielded data and drawing from the quantitative, as often assumptions are drawn out of inertia without any hard backup. Isabel Drumond Braga's study on modern Portugal rightfully focuses on class differences, a key aspect of *stuprum*, pointing out the gap between coded punishment in Alphonsine and Manueline laws, and its actual carrying out, stretching the thin line between justice and clemency. Her inclusion of an example by playwright Gil Vicente brings about one of the issues non-historians often neglect when reading the overwhelming number of fiction works on honor subjects, whether that be Tirso de Molina's, María de Zayas' or Fernández de Moratín's: that moral objections—as interesting human subjects as they might be—do not always pair up with issued ordinances; that these are changing by nature; and that the letter and spirit of the law are not always carried out in real life.

Two articles focus on Aragón, contrasting the situation before (Encarna Jarque Martínez) and after (Daniel Baldellou Monclús and José Antonio Salas Auséns) the monarchy shifted from the House of Austria to the Borbón. The legal situation in this kingdom was similar to Castile's previous to the Cervera capitulations between Isabella I and Ferdinand II, after which nuances in each case and laws particular to the kingdom tangled an already complicated legal space, incorporating new regulations, allegation process, and a newly designated position (the astrict procurer) to this particular transgression. After 1775 there seems to have been a stronger focus on the protection of families and family assets, as reflected by an increasing number of lawsuits, with about 30% ending up in agreements outside of the court. The "New Regime" also attempted at streamlining the entire

process, from the commission of the alleged crime to the gathering of circumstantial information and witnesses, though the actual, documented cases speak of a less than effective system tarnished by monetary interests, hard-to-prove events, and overall subjectivity leading to a “guilty until proven innocent” standard.

Margarita Torremocha Hernández takes a solely theoretical approach in her study of Meléndez Valdés’ *Informe jurídico* (1796). One of the most prominent thinkers of his time, Meléndez Valdés advanced such detailed reflections on *stuprum* as to propose its very suppression, pointing to the lack of innocence of women who act as instigators, female accomplices, and the exploitation of a seemingly weak position in order to force advantageous marriages that would have never taken place but through litigation (one cannot but help thinking about Francisco de Goya’s engravings on the subject). Beyond a purely theoretical exercise, the *Informe* led to a more lenient consideration of those awaiting trial, as well as a heightened awareness of the many ways the law could seamlessly be abused for personal gain. The so-called “matrimonial market” is further studied by José Pablo Blanco Carrasco, whose contribution focuses on the duplicity of *stuprum* as crime and breach of contract entailing wide repercussions beyond the individual sphere, as it affected a family’s social position and economic possibilities, allowing for uneven marriages against the will and plans of one of the parties.

The unique subject matter of this crime, its combination with other transgressions, diachronic recurrence and spilling into other legal, social and economic codes makes it very prone to speculation and digression. The purely historical approach of this book and its archival nature remains within the letter, explaining the difficulties and technicalities of regulating through general laws where a set of circumstances must be particularly considered, and does not renounce the exposition of lawsuits long recorded, allowing for a stronger consideration of widely defined honor matters.

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Hershenson, Daniel. *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. 289 pp. + 1 fig. + 1 map.

The notion that a once-unified Mediterranean world disintegrated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been influential since Braudel articulated it in 1949. In essence, this narrative suggests first that imperial struggles and later disengagement divided the region into separate, hostile Christian and Muslim

camps during the sixteenth century and then, beginning in the early seventeenth century, the so-called “northern invasion” replaced Christian-Muslim antipathy with economic and national competition. The result was a divided region in which earlier common rhythms and shared destinies were no longer relevant. Human trafficking was central to these developments and the explosion in the number of corsairs and captives, particularly after the Spanish and Ottomans declared a truce in 1581, has been seen as evidence of both the depth of confessional hostility and the radical fracturing of the region. But this approach has been challenged by scholars who instead emphasize diplomacy, the trans-Mediterranean commercial ties fostered by ransoming practices, and the persistence of religious enmities.

Daniel Hershenzon, in *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean*, takes those arguments a step further by suggesting that the proliferation of captive-taking in the seventeenth century had the effect of intensifying connections across religious, political, and geographical boundaries between Southern Europe and North Africa. Close attention to the various forms of contact engendered by captivity and to the ways in which rulers attempted to control mobility, he argues, makes visible “not only social relations otherwise unnoticed but also a transimperial process of region formation” (6-7). The result was Mediterranean unity despite political and religious rivalries.

Hershenzon makes no claim to encompass the entire Mediterranean or all captives. Geographically, he focuses on the western Mediterranean, identifying three “corridors” for the movement of people, information, and goods: Tunis-Malta-Sicily to the east, Algiers-Oran-Balearics-Catalonia in the center, and Morocco-Andalusia in a western corridor that extended also to Atlantic Spain. For sources, he relies on material from the Mercedarian and Trinitarian orders, Inquisitorial records, and a variety of other documents. He particularly focuses on the writings of captives: captivity narratives, of course, but also and especially letters, petitions, and even intelligence reports. Among Hershenzon’s central contentions are that writing served to define the experience of captivity for many and that the production and circulation of these texts reshaped and entangled societies on both shores of the Mediterranean. At the time same, he freely admits that the extant source base privileges male Christian perceptions. Not only do North African archives lack comparable materials on captivity and ransom—there were no institutions analogous to the Christian redemptive orders—but women’s voices appear only rarely. To address this imbalance, Hershenzon makes the most of the material he has, emphasizing those moments when Muslim, Jewish, or female perspectives are visible and highlighting that the male Christian experience was not universal.

Both the possibilities and limitations of the sources are apparent in the set of intertwined captivity stories with which Hershenzon frames the book. These

stories, through his deft analysis, both illustrate the main points of the argument and showcase his ability to write with empathy about an often-tragic topic. A central figure in these events was Fatima, a teenage girl from Algiers whose ransom was cancelled when she was baptized (perhaps forcibly) in 1608 and renamed Madalena. In response, the governor of Algiers ordered the detention of three Trinitarian friars and some recently-redeemed captives. The affair eventually impacted attempts to ransom Diego de Pacheco, son of the Marquis de Villena, and Muhammad Bey, an Ottoman official. Ultimately, none of them ever returned home.

Hershenzon, however, shows how Bernardo de Monroy, one of the friars, became a “hub of information” (171), writing hundreds of letters, acting on behalf of other captives, commissioning Jews, Muslims, and Moriscos as ransom agents, negotiating with Algerian authorities, and so on. In doing so, he forged links with members of multiple political and religious communities in Spain and in Algiers. Hershenzon contrasts Monroy’s agency, and his prominent mark on the archives, with that of Fatima, whose consent in her own baptism is unknown, whose story was always told by men (including her father, officials, friars, authors of popular pamphlets, and other captives), and who disappeared from the archive after her marriage in 1616 (174).

Captivity was not a static experience. Enslaved people might be sold, rented, or exchanged, and such mobility allowed many to develop widespread social networks. Nevertheless, most hoped for ransom. For many Christians, the redemptive orders offered the best chance and Hershenzon describes the systems through which a captive might be redeemed and how these encouraged economic and political engagement. Yet the large-scale ransoming of prisoners—with the concomitant transfer of bullion and goods to an enemy—was controversial, and many in Spain advocated war rather than redemption. Captives, though, did not passively await redemption. While acknowledging the trauma of captivity and the fact that the vast majority of trafficked people were unable to obtain ransom, Hershenzon emphasizes the agency of captives. They wrote to relatives, provided information, contracted middlemen, and negotiated with their owners. Furthermore, letter-writing meant that, though physically absent, captives maintained a place in their home communities. The continuity of obligations and the regularity of contact “extended communal boundaries across the sea” (93). Some captives also played political roles in their home country, contributing to Spain’s fund of knowledge about North African conditions by gathering, writing, and sending intelligence.

Despite contact and some level of trust, captivity was inherently violent and Hershenzon recounts multiple instances in which captives were punished for deeds committed across the Mediterranean. Yet, he argues, these disruptive and destructive incidents generated communication and helped to encourage shared norms about what constituted unjust violence. Similarly, the suspension of

institutional redemption from Algiers following the Fatima-Monroy case meant that Spanish ransomers had to rely on Jewish and Morisco intermediaries, undermining royal ideologies while establishing new connections with those Spain had expelled.

The breadth and depth of research, the insight with which Hershenson draws out the significance of the sources, and the clarity of his writing all make this an impressive and convincing book. Because it engages with so many themes, it is of relevance to all scholars of the early modern western Mediterranean. And, though Hershenson focuses on the Mediterranean, his argument raises a broader question: might similar patterns of region formation also have been at play elsewhere, such as in the Caribbean?

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Fox, Dian. *Hercules and the King of Portugal: Icons of Masculinity and Nation in Calderón's Spain*. New Hispanisms. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019. xxx + 303 pp. + 5 ill.

The interplay between changing notions of masculinity and nation-ness is an important, yet insufficiently examined subject in early modern studies, particularly in the Iberian context. Dian Fox underscores the importance of this fruitful *line of inquiry* in her innovative study on Pedro Calderón de la Barca's dramatic portrayal of two discomfiting early modern icons of elite masculinity: the mythological figure of Hercules, so inextricably interrelated to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain and its monarchy, and King Sebastian of Portugal, who reigned from 1557 to 1578 and whose untimely death after injudiciously invading Morocco led to the Portuguese *succession* crisis of 1580 in which Portugal lost its sovereignty to Spain for sixty years. Fox's perceptive analysis of the complex cultural appropriation and manipulation of both flawed masculine figures for political, nationalist and imperialist ends astutely uncovers anxieties in ideological conceptions of manhood and nationhood in *Habsburg Spain*.

Hercules and the King of Portugal: Icons of Masculinity and Nation in Calderón's Spain is a compelling, thoroughly researched and theoretically informed monograph that skillfully covers substantial ground with regard to sources (which go way beyond Calderón de la Barca's plays), approaches, theories, and interpretations. Fox situates her work within the expanding scholarship on masculinities in early modern Spain while acknowledging a specific debt to Golden Age scholars whose research relies on this vibrant and growing field. The book's division into two main parts, each consisting of three chapters, allows the author to

carefully examine the abundant and variegated representations of Hercules *Hispanicus* (Part One) and King Sebastian of Portugal (Part Two) in early modern Iberian culture. Also, by limiting the focus of her study to Hercules and King Sebastian, Fox is able to provide a detailed and insightful account on how their masculinity was constructed, exalted, challenged and problematized on and off the stage in Calderón de la Barca's Spain.

Fox calls attention to, and incisively examines, "Hercules's and Sebastian's imperfect embodiments of iconic masculinity" (xxvi). She explores, for instance, Calderón de la Barca's theatrical representation of the Hispanicized Hercules as an *hombre esquivo*. The punishment this unorthodox masculine behavior receives in the playwright's hands not only offer lessons on normative masculinity to the ruling classes "but also on reproductivity and succession, matters of urgent interest to an elite and royal audience" (109) who claimed descent from the legendary hero. As Fox cogently observes in reference to the hegemonic gender ideology of the times: "The *hombre esquivo*—no matter how strong and militant—in failing to pursue the company of women, fails at manliness and disrupts social order" (185-86). Fox rightly detects a similar effort to reform elite masculinity (with the primary lesson that un-reproductive masculinity threatens hierarchy and the nation) in the complex figurations of the historical figure of King Sebastian of Portugal whose own *esquivez*, characterized by "his apparent absence of desire for women" (215) and reluctance to marry left Portugal without an heir to the throne after his tragic death in North Africa. There were efforts to deflect King Sebastian's non-normative masculinity, which, in addition to his dislike for women, included rumors of impotence, venereal disease and attraction to men. These anxious efforts consisted in the circulation of cultural discourses in the Iberian Peninsula that claimed, for nationalistic purposes, that the unmarried king was "chaste by virtuous choice" (212), among other explanations that sought to honor "his memory with saintliness and martyrdom" (212), reminiscent of Saint Sebastian, his patron saint. Nevertheless, Fox cleverly shows how seventeenth-century Spanish playwrights, including Calderón de la Barca as well as other social and cultural voices, connoted "dysfunctional masculinity in the monarch" (187), an "undoing of his manliness" (213) that was deployed to endorse Spain's supremacy as a nation and empire over Portugal.

In sum, this is an eloquently written and persuasively argued groundbreaking study. Fox's writing is erudite, yet easily approachable, engaging, and superbly readable. Those interested in early modern Spanish theater generally and in Calderón de la Barca particularly will find the work of this established scholar extremely valuable. Fox's book accomplishes a great deal, going beyond a literary study to document the sociohistorical circumstances and contexts in which both Hercules and King Sebastian were made and unmade into early modern cultural icons of masculinity and nation. Her book will have a wide appeal among

scholars and students who are interested in questions of masculinity from a historical, social, and cultural perspective.

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Torremocha Hernández, Margarita. *Cárcel de mujeres en el antiguo régimen: Teoría y realidad penitenciaria de las galeras*. Madrid: Dykinson, 2019. 307 pp.

Prof. Margarita Torremocha Hernández's ample knowledge on penitential and women's legal matters during the Spanish modernity (seventeenth and eighteenth century) has translated into her latest monograph on women's prisons during the Spanish "Old Regime". She is the author of works on other environments, such as brothels (*mancebías*), convents, *casas de recogidas*, and lesser-known spaces within the social system (*De la mancebía a la clausura. La casa de recogidas de Magdalena de San Jerónimo y el convento de San Felipe de la Penitencia*). She has authored articles and book chapters on student life and campus regulations, laws pertaining matchmaking and honor, and charity houses.

From the very title, professor Torremocha Hernández successfully aims at pinpointing aspects in which the establishment of the law does not quite match its application, a situation not infrequent even nowadays but very visible in a setting like the vast territories of the Spanish empire, which covered much of the known world. She cleverly narrows the scope of her analysis to the state of the women's "galleys" (a suitable word, since females could not serve time in actual ships like men did), swiftly covering a range of ordinances through which the establishment and management of such spaces were defined by pioneer Magdalena de San Jerónimo in 1608. Later these would be upheld by Antonio González Yebra (1784), and Luis Marcelino Pereyra (1796). The first four chapters of *Cárcel de mujeres en el antiguo régimen* give the reader a clear rundown of how these and other Spanish intellectuals thought, organized, and planned the connection between theory and the context within the different reclusion models. The fifth chapter dives into daily life in jail, including not only regulations but also the types of prisoners, caretakers, food and clothing, labor, prayer, and other daily activities. The last section of this book takes the Galera de la Chancillería de Valladolid almost as a case-study; one might think regional data could be anecdotal, but in fact Valladolid was the major legal hub for the administration of justice in Spain. Hence it makes for an ideal representation of the state of the matter. The analysis is soundly backed up by theoretical documentation throughout, and a myriad of valuable testimonial primary sources, with some key elements having been reproduced in a brief appendix.

Neither law books nor prison accounts allow us to know what “really” took place within these liminal spaces, as professor Torremocha herself acknowledges, but the hinge-like structure of this book allows for the reader to, at least, infer where the gap between norm and practice lies. Laws are a neat, theoretical representation of how different generations approach this problem, whereas accounts on prisons usually offer, together with detailed descriptions of unsanitary conditions and sordid practices, an assortment of non-daily cases that record extreme situations like the ones found on chapters six and seven. *Cárcel de mujeres en el antiguo régimen* traces the path of architectural spaces, locations, visitation rights, meal regimes and providers (incidentally, the term “*paniaguado*” coincides with Isabel Paniagua, who was in charge of feeding the poorest inmates in the Galera de la Chancillería de Valladolid for over twenty years), financing of expenses, theft by personnel, sanitary conditions and ailments, handling by watchmen, paperwork involved, types of inmates, and attire allowed. The book also examines the price of securing posts (*oficios*) such as warden who, in return, charged prisoners a fee for his services. This book places a particular emphasis on the inmates’ complaints whenever records are available, highlighting the grievances gathered and transmitted through prison wards in the spirit of reformation carried by a “New Regime” where, for instance, workshops would be called “laboratories” and food was treated as bartering currency.

When reading this monograph, one cannot help but think about Francisco de Goya’s, José Guadalupe Posada’s, and José Gutiérrez Solana’s dark depictions of male and female incarceration on both sides of the Atlantic, but also its amusing representation in a movie like *Ladies They Talk About* (1933), where a truck shot travels through the cells of female inmates to show a varied microcosm. They all remind us that jail—a dystopian gallery—serves as a great frame for any work of fiction, perhaps carrying on an inherent pedagogic byproduct, of the many miseries of the penal system, which this monograph breaks down to reveal as a number of interacting forces working against each other. From sociology, to finance, medicine, nutrition, and charity, *Cárcel de mujeres en el antiguo régimen* goes way beyond the anecdotal to expose the paradox of human nature as problem creator and problem solver.

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Finley, Sarah. *Hearing Voices: Aurality and New Spanish Sound Culture in Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019. “New Hispanisms” Series. ix + 237 pp. + 7 ill.

Sarah Finley’s *Hearing Voices: Aurality and New Spanish Sound Culture in Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* comes at an important time for Colonial Latin American Studies, as well as for early modern Hispanic and European Studies. Indeed, an important contribution to these fields of study, her book “attend[s] to the underdeveloped areas of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz’s [aural and] acoustical inheritance” (8). In doing so, referencing music and sound in Sor Juana’s complete works, the author provides original analyses of the nun’s engagement with music, harmony, and other auditory themes. Of particular interest to readers will be the advances Finley makes throughout *Hearing Voices* that lend her musicological readings to the following seemingly nonauditory fields: mathematics, natural science, rhetoric, and visual iconography. In my view, *Hearing Voices* stands as a solid piece of scholarship that achieves its broad and straightforward exploration of establishing new paradigms for listening to Sor Juana’s oeuvre that exceed textual and linguistic limits.

Over the course of its introduction, five chapters, and coda, Finley’s monographic study attends to “a separate strand of the poet’s aurality and seeks to contextualize it with broader discourses in New Spanish sound culture” (9). To that effect, the author, more importantly, identifies sound as a vehicle for women’s agency, thereby attending to “feminine voices that were perhaps less audible during Sor Juana’s time” (6). Chapter 1 pushes for a careful study of harmonic representations of civic order, obedience, and tempered government in understudied loas and occasional pieces that honored viceregal authorities. Chapter 2 attends to another type of aural representation: “musicopoetic portraits that explore links between sight and sound through polysemy, puns, and other poetic devices” (9). To explicate this consideration of “musicopoetic portraits,” Finley studies closely Sor Juana’s inheritance of the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher’s acoustical and musical treatises *Musurgia universalis* and *Phonurgia nova* (1673). Moving forward, chapter 3 “situates feminine sonorities from the villancicos and other imaginings of ritual music within the New Spanish soundscape” (10). Centering female agency, chapter 4 focuses on Sor Juana’s “reimaginings of Echo and Narcissus in *Romance 8* and *El divino Narciso*.” As explained, Finley argues that “these pieces draw on correlations between seeing and hearing as well as voice’s physical and pathetic effects to refigure women’s aurality as counterpoint to patriarchal visibility” (10). Turning to silence, chapter 5 “attends to early modern representations of women’s silence and draw[s] out inherent tensions” (152). The author’s contention is that “anxiety surrounding sound’s absence in religious institutions and elsewhere in early modern culture is similarly palpable in Sor

Juana's engagement with the theme, which can be interpreted as affirming and challenging dominant constructions of female voice" (152). The author's closing remarks appear in the book's *coda* titled "Re-sounding Voices." Here Finley reflects on *Primero sueño*'s aural themes and sonorities, which ultimately "[attend] more fully to sonorities in the nun's oeuvre [that deepen our] understanding of how Sor Juana experienced and re-sounded aural discourses" (192).

The intellectual labor operative throughout *Hearing Voices* undoubtedly merits our undivided attention, as Finley exposes her readers to a new aural and sonic atmosphere of New Spanish sound culture. That being said, however, a few methodological and theoretical matters grabbed my attention while reading the book in its entirety. For instance, chapter 3, on "sound and music making" (93) proves the most problematic for me as a reviewer. What remains curious about the work done in this chapter is the anecdotal and peripheral way in which Finley writes about non-European sonic presences and realities in Sor Juana's villancicos. If, in *Hearing Voices*, she dedicated ample study of musical categories and terms such as "dysphonia," "aphonia," and "silence" (11), I wonder why, in her consideration of black voices, Sor Juana's apt use of "antiphony"—call and response—is not sufficiently examined. In addition, this issue most notably appears in the author's citing politics and the textual rigor with which the book overall neglects to take into consideration bodies of scholarship that are not entirely Eurocentric nor conventional in the ways in which aurality and sound are conceived. In the recent years, leading up to the publication of her 2019 monograph, a handful of scholars from a variety of disciplines have analyzed Sor Juana's "aurality" in her villancico corpus. Some of them, who do not perpetuate the accepted, canonical reading of Sor Juana's representation of non-European personas are omitted. At times, the author's critical readings of concepts such as "aurality," "sound studies," and "voice" become cyclical and repetitive, therefore needing more rigorous theorization. Aside from what Finley clearly articulates in the book's introduction and very well-structured chapters, I am still left wondering: how does she define and situate her scholarly interests and origins for crafting this fascinating topic? What is at stake for such a potentially impactful monographic study? Further, when I say "citing politics," my critique here also extends to the book as a whole. As a reader, I would have appreciated a sustained dialogue with critical thought from theorists in ethnomusicology, critical race studies, as well as a conversation with the latest current trends developing in gender and sexuality studies throughout Latinx and Latin American Studies. For instance, *Listening in Detail: Performances of Cuban Music* by Alexandra T. Vazquez and Licia Fiol Matta's *The Great Woman Singer: Gender and Voice in Puerto Rican Music* come to mind.

To be fair, I fully recognize that Finley's book does not focus on race studies in early modernity nor colonial studies. However, my contention remains that *Hearing Voices* does not consistently live up to the critical edge and theoretical

agility that I had expected from its eye-catchingly seductive title, table of contents, and thematic material. Nonetheless, Finley's volume demands and deserves our attention and respect. It is a must-read work that should be required reading for specialists and non-specialists alike. I applaud the author's efforts for catapulting Sor Juana's oeuvre in a provocative and new direction.

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Gil Martínez, Francisco, and Amorina Villarreal Brasca, eds. *Estudios sobre la corrupción en España y América (siglos XVI-XVIII)*. Almería: Editorial Universidad de Almería, 2017. 384 pp. + 5 tables + 1 fig.

The study of historical corruption has regained much ground in Spain, especially after the economic crisis of 2008 triggered a round of judicial and journalistic investigations. María Pilar Ponce Leiva and Francisco Andújar Castillo, among others, have led the way in Spain. Two of their students have now edited a worthwhile book that studies historical corruption from various perspectives, both Spanish and Spanish American. Many historians of the field emphasize that charges and convictions for corruption in the early modern period often depended on the social or political circumstances or that the phenomenon did not even exist because of a profoundly differing mentality. Yet the editors and most of the authors depart from this view and take a robust stance. They argue that abuses could well result in censure, punishment, or even death. In their introduction, the editors intend to show the "similar dynamics and variations" of the "royal administration and the ecclesiastical hierarchy" (14). Francisco Gil Martínez then defines corruption as any exercise of power for self-benefit that damaged the common good or the royal treasury (*bien común / real hacienda*), which contemporaries viewed negatively. Even the king could unfairly seize property from the vassals and become corrupt. After this refreshing reminder, Gil Martínez shows that it was not Father Antonio Vieira who published the treatise *Arte de Furtar* in 1652, but rather the Jesuit Manuel da Costa. Gil Martínez clarifies in this regard the claims made by Stuart Schwartz in his 1973 book, *Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil*. Gil Martínez then avers that there "was no crime of corruption as such," though the legal historian Carlos Garriga takes a somewhat different stance on this point.

In the following chapter, Rubén Gálvez Martín examines Luis Cabrera de Córdoba (1559-1623), *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España*. Cabrera chastised embezzlements and fraud in government. He hoped that the jailing of the courtiers Alonso Ramírez de Prado and Pedro Franqueza in 1606 and 1607 and the death sentences for other defendants for forging coins or decrees

would set a deterrent against corruption. In this vein, the co-editor Amorina Villarreal Brasca points out that Franqueza sold a position on the Council of the Indies for 3,000 *ducados* to an *oidor* of a Mexican *audiencia*. This sale of judicial office for money “corrupted everything,” in her view, despite the convincing merits of the *oidor*. Yet the investigative judge found it difficult to prove this point, because the *cámara de Indias* and the king had confirmed and legitimized the appointment of the *oidor*. Ángel Gómez Paz then affirms that the *visitas* and other controls of the royal mints in Spain and the Americas circumscribed fraud. In part by drawing on recent work by Kris Lane and Eduardo Dargent Chamot, Gómez Paz argues that the *visitador* Francisco Nestares Marín (1647-1660) garroted both the assayer (*ensayador*) and the municipal magistrate (*alcalde ordinario*) of Potosí for conducting a vast fraud scheme in the Potosí mint.

Another welcome addition is Alvaro Sánchez Durán’s chapter, which shows that some Portuguese converts from Judaism replaced Genovese financiers to offer the crown better credit terms in exchange for increased social capital. In 1645, for example, the lawyer Andrés de Fonseca began collecting the *alcabala* and *sisas de millones* in Málaga. To levy the taxes more tightly, he cultivated ties to the Council of Castile, while his daughter married the Duke of Alba’s physician. By using this support, Fonseca warded off considerable challenges from the secular clergy, the municipal council, and even the Inquisition. Fonseca broke the stalemate when his sons joined the municipal council and one of them became provincial of the *Santa Hermandad* police force. Sánchez Durán sketches a blueprint for reform, which the crown soon after employed successfully in Puebla, colonial Mexico’s second most populous city, as Michel Bertrand has shown. This piece and several others also wallop the old canard of a stagnant seventeenth century mired in crisis where nothing really changed.

Roberto Quirós Rosado shows in *Diplomacia, procesos fiscales* that Philip William of Palatinate-Neuburg refused to support the poorhouse Santa Casa dell'Annunziata in Naples, where the elector had possessions. When his daughter Mariana married Philip IV, Heinrich Xaver von Wiser, a.k.a. *Enrique el Cojo*, began representing Neuburg’s interests in Madrid and quarreled over poorhouse support. Wiser also accused his predecessor of excessive spending. The trial over the accusations dragged on until the elector finally attained a small indemnity. Next, Carlos Infantes Buil analyzes *El proyecto de Guillermo Eon* by engaging especially Francophone sources and scholarship. Eon represented Spanish interests with the English South Sea Company (1717-27) that operated the annual ship to Spanish America. He also used Company’s proceeds to pay the salaries of the Spanish *junta de asientos* and the president of the Council of the Indies. Eon suggested in his project to raise the salaries of the royal officials in the ports and draw them from career military officers to curb contraband trade. Subsequently, in his essay “¿Más allá del control de la corrupción?” Ricard Torra Prat studies sources in Catalan and

Italian to describe how Diego Fajardo investigated the galley officers in Barcelona in 1623. These galleys were supported by the king and the *Generalitat*. The author argues that the printed *visita* report to curb embezzlements later shaped the laws controlling the naval branch. Pablo Ortega del Cerro, “Medidas de control” shows the tightening control over these questionable practices, because the *Cuerpo General de la Armada* unified all royal naval squadrons in 1714, with instructions issued in 1717. These instructions emphasized efficacy and professionalism of the officer corps, although corruption continued.

In the following chapter, Alfonso Jesús Heredia López examines the fierce opposition against Juan de Góngora’s *visita* of Seville’s *Casa de la Contratación* and *consulado* that started in 1642. Nelson Fernando González Martínez holds in “De la ‘confianza’ a las sospechas de corrupción,” that the public trust in the concessionaries of the *correos mayores* in Spain and America declined over time, as Natives were forced to work there without compensation, for example. The crown dissolved the private postal monopolies from 1720 to 1768 and integrated them into the Secretary of State. In the next chapter, Domingo Marcos Giménez Carrillo maintains that private sales of the admission to the military orders or false testimonies on suitable social descent were on the rise, notwithstanding the increasing paperwork over time to obtain the *hábitos*. Ismael Jiménez Jiménez shows that the accountant (*contador*) of the Lima treasury, Sebastián de Navarrete, initially foiled the *visita* of Juan Cornejo and Francisco Antonio Manzolo but lost out when Queen Mariana of Austria banned him from Lima in 1679. Navarrete was detained and died impoverished in New Spain. Laura Borragán Fernández analyzes the anti-corruption measures of the Marquis of la Ensenada’s *Real Junta de Única Contribución*. Bartolomé Sánchez de Valencia directed the junta, for example, to verify fraudulent surveys on the productivity of land, as the false data damaged the monarchy and the vassals. The *junta* followed up on reports of the intendant of Palencia in 1752 that some surveyors reported only half of the agricultural income. In the last two sub-sections of the volume, Álvaro Pajares González examines corruption in the municipal government, while Javier García Gálvez and Francisco Martínez Gutiérrez cast light on the abuses of authority in Jaén, committed by the *alférez mayor* and the Cathedral dean, respectively. Finally, Jesús Rodríguez Gálvez explores fraud in the municipal council of Motril (Granada), and Álvaro Javier Romero Rodríguez illuminates the contraband trade of tobacco in Seville, 1740-1760.

This interesting compilation reflects the vibrant scholarship on corruption. Many of the contributors are young scholars who skillfully use *visita* interrogations and reports as mirrors onto the values of justice and the discussion over corruption. The majority of the chapters focus on Spain, while four or five include perspectives on the Americas. In fact, some of the chapters have a decidedly peninsular scope, using Spanish primary sources as well as the scholarship published in Spain or by

Spanish scholars. While undoubtedly many of the quality contributions to the debate originate in Spain, some authors could perhaps integrate more of the international historiography, such as the work of Anne Dubet in France or Felipe Castro in Mexico. This observation does not apply to all chapters. Roberto Quirós Rosado, for example, used letters from State Archive in Vienna, while Álvaro Sánchez Durán draws on global publications to great effect. Furthermore, the editors could also consider connecting the dots among the chapter arguments to flesh out important changes over time and highlight the differences in the concept of corruption in Spain and the overseas kingdoms. This would have made this solid book even more fascinating. On a final note, one may doubt Gil Martínez's assertion in his otherwise fine piece that there "was no crime of corruption as such" (23). At least Carlos Garriga takes a different stance by analyzing the legal doctrines on the *crimen corruptionis*. Despite these minor caveats, the editors have gathered thoughtful and well-written accounts of a topic that merits urgent attention, and students and specialists will find the book equally stimulating.

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Kagan, Richard L. *The Spanish Craze: America's Fascination with the Hispanic World, 1779-1939*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019. xvii + 612 pp. + 89 ill. + 8 pl.

With his latest book, Richard L. Kagan, whose work on early modern Spain is well known, ventures deep into modernist territory. Although his narrative begins circa 1779 – the year that Spain entered the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) on the side of the future United States – his analysis focuses on the period 1890 to 1930, when, following the Spanish-American War (1898), a sort of rampant Hispanophilia took root in the United States. Characterized in epidemiological language as a "fever" or "disease," and even, at one point, as a "pandemic" (13), Kagan chronicles the route whereby "Americans" – U.S. nationals – fell victim to the exotic lure of Europe's most beguiling nation and, especially, its arts and culture.

Kagan's work on American historians writing about Spain has appeared in the *American Historical Review*, in 1996, and the edited volume *Spain in America* (2002). Part of the argument presented here also appeared in the *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* under the title "The Spanish Craze in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain's Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca. 1930" (2010). Of these publications, Kagan's *AHR* article on William Hickling Prescott, has received extensive attention. Kagan avoids rehashing "Prescott's Paradigm" in this book. Importantly, his writing broadens the

attribution of anti-Spanish sentiment to early American politicians like John Adams, John Jay, James Monroe, and John Quincy Adams. These voices crowded out those of Thomas Jefferson and others to cast Spain as the quintessential political foil of the United States, virtually destroying all memory of Spain's support for U.S. independence. Significantly, Kagan's writing explored how positive views of Spain lost ground in the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century, just as the two nations seemed destined for war with one another over the fate of Cuba.

Historians of modern Spain will recall the "two Spains" paradigm. Kagan offers another conceptualization of this idea as applied to Americans thinking about Spain. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, visions of a backward Spain framed in the mold of the Black Legend were juxtaposed with a White Legend of "Sturdy Spain" and "Sunny Spain." The image of "Sturdy Spain" framed the Spanish empire as a bringer of civilization, learning, and religion, especially in the Americas, while "Sunny Spain" depicted a romantic and picturesque country uncorrupted by the modernizing forces of industry and urbanization. Taken together, these cultural tropes served to reinforce one another and furthered widespread embrace of Spanish arts and culture in the United States.

Less an account of popular American fascination with Spain, the book pays great attention to the influences of social and cultural elites – William Randolph Hearst and Archer Milton Huntington, among others, feature prominently. Limited exploration of Spanish style homes, advertised and sold in Montgomery Ward and Sears, Roebuck & Co catalogs, and the proliferation of Spanish-themed movies suggested that the mania was likely widespread across class and geography. However, Kagan presents portraits of Charles Deering and the Lost Generation, both more exceptional than representative subjects, more thoroughly. Visits to Spain by U.S. presidents Ulysses S. Grant and Theodore Roosevelt offered fascinating anecdotes. Readers will find explanations for impressive Spanish-style architectural projects throughout California and places such as Saint Augustine, Florida; Kansas City, Missouri; and New York City. The existence of Spanish Colonial Revival architecture dating to the period 1929-1941 at my home institution has found new meaning.

The book is not without a couple of factual errors and at least one overreaching claim. Kagan confuses Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos and José Moñino y Redondo, the Count of Floridablanca, as the same person (37-38). A map on page 50 wrongly identifies the Colorado River as the Columbia River. Frustratingly, Kagan uses Walt Whitman's panegyric on Spaniards in a special letter composed for the Tertio-Millennial Celebration of 1883 to apply to all "Latinos or Hispanics" (115). Notably, Whitman derided Mexico as "contemptable in many respects ... a nation of bravos willing to shoot men down by the hundred in cold

blood,” in the run-up to the U.S. war against Mexico (1846-1848).¹ The evolution of Whitman’s thinking in this regard could have used greater nuance and might well have demonstrated the sudden American embrace of all things Spanish in starker fashion.

The timing of the Spanish Craze could use further reflection as well. Kagan draws an obvious parallel with American exploitation of Native American culture during the same period (10-11). Nonetheless, he concedes that the craze did not owe to romanticism alone. Other forces were clearly at work. Kagan is right to center sturdy and sunny visions of Spain at the heart of the country’s cultural recovery in the United States. Nonetheless, the political importance behind U.S. inheritance of Spain’s imperial mantle warrants closer attention, as does the idea that Spain became “safe” in defeat and thus open to exploitation. The tacit decision on the part of the American public to “forgive and forget” Spain’s enemy status was certainly quite exceptional.

According to Kagan, the Spanish Craze peaked in 1928 with the construction of Addison Mizner’s final Spanish fantasy home in Pennsylvania, the departure of George Merrick from his role on the Coral Gables Development Commission, and the death of Charles Lummis. Kagan contends that the advance of fascism with the victory of Franco’s Nationalist forces in 1939 placed the United States out of step with Spain at a political level. By that time, U.S. cultural currents had migrated towards a new interest in Mexican culture. That shift was facilitated, in part, by the Spanish Craze, which offered clear precedents in terms of architectural styles and linguistic appropriation.

Perhaps the greatest strength of Kagan’s book is his assessment of how U.S.-based impressions of Spain were shaped by what Americans thought of themselves. In that regard, this book ought to be required reading for all U.S.-based historians of Spain. Contemporary scholarship on Spain owes something to the Spanish Craze, which drew from and supported the expansion of courses in Spanish “civilization” and language at U.S. universities. For all of their blind spots, many of the personalities examined in *The Spanish Craze* possessed what they saw as dispassionate, objective, or even merely professional interests in Spain and Spanish culture. Kagan invites us to question how far certain forms of nostalgia and Orientalism continue to influence the writing of Spanish history in the present.

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¹ Walt Whitman, “War with Mexico, May 11, 1846,” in *The U.S. War with Mexico: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Ernesto Chávez (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2008), 82-83.

Lozano, Rosina. *An American Language: The History of Spanish in the United States*. American Crossroads. Oakland: University of California Press. 2018. viii + 364 pp. + 15 fig.

El libro de la historiadora Rosina Lozano (profesora en la Universidad de Princeton) pone el foco de atención en analizar la historia del español en el suroeste de los Estados Unidos desde su contexto sociopolítico. En este ámbito de la historia política del español, cabe destacar dos estudios recientes que, a diferencia de este, tienen horizontes globales: *A Political History of Spanish: the Making of the Language*, editado por José del Valle (Cambridge, 2014) y *Hablamos la misma lengua: historia política del español en América* de Santiago Muñoz Machado (Barcelona, 2017).

Tras la guerra mexicano-estadounidense (1846-1848), se produjo la anexión de vastos territorios a los Estados Unidos (más de la mitad de México) y el español pasó a ser visto por las élites angloparlantes como un elemento extraño o foráneo, aspecto fundamental para la autora. El Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) supuso la legalización de estos pobladores. Así, los “ciudadanos del tratado” pasaron a ser ciudadanos estadounidenses, aunque en la práctica, estos connacionales fueron discriminados por razón de lengua, raza y religión, derechos no contemplados en el tratado. Los hispanos, o latinos, se acogían con frecuencia al tratado para reclamar sus derechos como ciudadanos estadounidenses. La profesora Lozano analiza con claridad cómo se produjo el proceso de asimilación de los habitantes de esos territorios por parte de su nueva patria (la mayoría adoptó la nacionalidad estadounidense) y de las élites que la gobernaban. El estudio trata la discriminación lingüística que se produjo, incluso también la étnica, pues ambas están estrechamente ligadas. Curiosamente, apenas se menciona la discriminación religiosa. Como es sabido, los hispanos fueron discriminados por ser católicos.

En cuanto a su estructura interna, el libro presenta dos partes bien definidas: la primera (*A Language of Politics*, 1848-1902) analiza el español como lengua para hacer política y su importancia dispar en los territorios estudiados; la segunda (*A Political Language*, 1902-1948), en cambio, trata las políticas relacionadas con el español, por ejemplo, las políticas en materia de educación, y asuntos como la lengua española como rasgo de identidad. A través de los capítulos vemos cómo, el español fue apartado de las esferas política, económica y social progresivamente, perdiendo hablantes, y, en definitiva, influencia.

Por otro lado, la obra se sustenta en abundantes fuentes tanto primarias como secundarias, entre las que se incluyen la legislación, y la prensa en español que proliferó en estos territorios. La autora nos muestra las diferentes maneras de integración que tuvieron los territorios suroccidentales. Vemos, por ejemplo, cómo los territorios que tenían una proporción considerable de hablantes ingleses obtenían pronto su reconocimiento como nuevo estado, mientras que, los de clara

mayoría hispanohablante obtuvieron el mismo estatus de manera tardía (Arizona y Nuevo México en 1912), bajo la sospecha o excusa de no aportar suficientes garantías para autogobernarse.

Asimismo, no debemos perder de vista que la “americanización” se produjo de manera desigual en cada territorio, mediante la implantación de una educación monolingüe en inglés. Esta se acabó imponiendo a otras políticas alternativas que apostaban por la educación bilingüe o que, al menos, defendían el español como lengua de instrucción. De igual modo existió la educación segregada, lo que obstaculizó la integración de los hispanohablantes y también aumentó los prejuicios hacia ellos. Además, se tratan las iniciativas del Gobierno federal en favor del panamericanismo, interrumpidas al final de la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

No cabe duda de que en los territorios abordados en este trabajo (principalmente Arizona, California, Colorado y Nuevo México) se habló antes español que inglés. Lo que no resulta tan obvio es cómo el español pasó de ser la lengua predominante, fundamental en todos los ámbitos, a ser una lengua de menor estatus, viéndose relegada, en pocas generaciones, a desempeñar un papel secundario en la sociedad. La profesora Lozano saca a la luz el interesante mundo de los mexicanos e hispanohablantes en general, en los primeros tiempos bajo dominio estadounidense. Entonces, el español era el idioma en el que se llevaba a cabo la política; por ejemplo, las traducciones de documentos al inglés estaban a la orden del día, no solo en el terreno político, sino también en el ámbito legal (documentos oficiales, escrituras de propiedad, herencias...). No en vano, la autora ve la traducción como “una medida de poder” en este contexto. Ante esta situación, no faltan los hispanos que se muestran orgullosos de su lengua, que no renuncian a ella, por verla como parte de su identidad.

De igual modo, la publicación apunta oportunamente que, pese a la importancia histórica del español en los Estados Unidos (233), este siempre fue considerado una lengua foránea. Es más, se pensaba —hay quien lo sigue pensando— que para ser un buen ciudadano estadounidense había que hablar inglés. Incluso los propios hispanos veían su lengua como secundaria en el nuevo panorama político, económico y social; salvo excepciones como Nuevo México donde el español desempeñó un papel muy importante durante bastantes décadas, lo que retrasó su obtención de la categoría de estado. Los hispanohablantes —sobre todo las élites— se amoldaron a las imposiciones lingüísticas y adquirieron una educación en inglés. Muchos pensaban que, para prosperar, no quedaba otra opción que apartar el español al ámbito familiar. Otro caso aparte —también analizado en el libro— fue Puerto Rico, que defendió el español como característica identitaria innegociable, siendo un rasgo de su independencia.

Lozano resalta en el epílogo la siguiente contradicción que se produce actualmente en la sociedad estadounidense: por un lado, tenemos las conquistas lingüísticas, tan duramente peleadas, mientras que, por otro, encontramos a

políticos que siguen haciendo juicios de valor xenófobos y defendiendo políticas lingüísticas discriminatorias que solo aceptan la lengua inglesa. Además, la autora señala que las concesiones a los hispanohablantes nunca han sido automáticas, sino que han tenido que ser peleadas en el terreno político, lo que nos lleva de nuevo a esa percepción del español como lengua extranjera en los EE. UU., que siempre ha cercenado las iniciativas a favor del bilingüismo.

Destacamos, por último, el hecho de que este estudio aparece en un momento oportuno, pues el simple hecho de hablar español públicamente en Estados Unidos ha sido cuestionado recientemente por algunos políticos estadounidenses. No es tiempo de retroceder y volver a caer en los mismos errores del pasado.

En suma, con este título la profesora Lozano hace una valiosa aportación al estudio de la historia de los hispanohablantes en el sur de los Estados Unidos, analizando su contexto político y social. La autora ha demostrado con este trabajo tan revelador que se pueden abrir nuevos caminos dentro de esa fructífera vía, aún poco investigada.

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Calderwood, Eric. *Colonial al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Moroccan Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018. vii + 400 pp. + 21 ill.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the literary revival of Muslim Iberia became a major discursive element of Spain's imperial turn toward Morocco. By the middle of the twentieth, memory of Al-Andalus was a touchstone of Moroccan nationalism, and, by extension, the anti-colonial aspirations of much of the Muslim world. Yet, as Eric Calderwood ably demonstrates, the modern Spanish and Moroccan appropriations of Andalusí heritage were not competing claims, but instead constituted a single integrated process of cultural history. This illuminating story has found an expert narrator in Calderwood, whose learned critiques of a range of Spanish and Arabic texts reveal considerable interconnection across literary and aesthetic cultures.

Calderwood's central thesis is that the discourse of Andalusí heritage cultivated by contemporary Moroccan nationalists is the direct product of colonial encounter with Spain. Scholars have explored how Romantic reconstructions of Al-Andalus served as a resource for Spanish colonialism and later developed into a symbol of cultural achievement and religious tolerance, but the active participation of Moroccan writers in this process has remained outside Hispanists' purview. Calderwood's innovation is to place Spanish and Arabic authors side by side,

implying a collective effort to construct a shared past in order to become mutually intelligible in the present. Beginning with Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, the correspondent whose diary of Spain's invasion of Morocco in 1859-60 became the seminal text of Spanish Romantic imperialism, Spanish writers discovered Granada's Muslim past in modern Tetouan. Alarcón's work serves up large doses of textbook Orientalism, as scholars have previously noted, but Calderwood also identifies a self-reflectiveness in which the author constructs Moroccans as alter-egos to the Spanish, or at least part of the same "family tree with roots in Muslim Granada and with branches that stretch from Spain to Morocco" (45). Alarcón's *Reconquista* triumphalism also conveys a spirit of fraternity with its target, an ambiguity that itself prefigured the *Africanismo* of figures like Joaquin Costa. A somewhat different version emerges in the *Andalucismo* of Blas Infante, whom Calderwood depicts as foil to the purity-obsessed Catalanism of Enric Prat de la Riba, compressing the concepts of Andalucía, Al-Andalus, and Morocco into a transhistorical home to all comers—multiculturalism *avant la lettre*.

Like their Spanish counterparts, Moroccan writers also turned to Al-Andalus as a tool for making sense of the intensifying encounter with their neighbors across the Strait of Gibraltar. Although Calderwood's major examples reside in the twentieth century, the poetry of Mufaddal Afaylal indicates a revival of Al-Andalus already underway before the 1859 war. To demonstrate how the Tetouanese writer looked to the past to understand Spaniards, Calderwood displays his virtuosity as a comparatist, analyzing Afaylal's many references to Andalusí poets and use of literary conventions typical of medieval Andalusí genres. As a historian without Arabic language skills, I have no standing to evaluate the philological merit of this "thick reading" of Afaylal's 1861 elegy to Tetouan, but Calderwood's patient contextualization of his methodological choices in the broader cultural history makes a fine advertisement for interdisciplinarity.

The period 1936-1956 saw the most concerted promotion of the concept of Hispano-Arab civilization—a product of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco movement's effort to win over colonial subjects and to cultivate a version of Moroccan nationalism compatible with its political goals. Calderwood may underestimate the importance of Hispano-Muslim studies prior to this period, particularly among Spanish intellectuals, but he is certainly justified in dedicating three central chapters to Franco-era collaborations. The first of these chapters deals with Ahmad al-Rahuni's narrative of the 1937 Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca carried out under Franco's sponsorship. Al-Rahuni's account, which was later published in Spanish by the Francisco Franco Institute under the title *Journey to Mecca*, gives an idea of what Francoism would "sound like if it spoke Arabic and converted to Islam" (145): peppered with the motifs and references of the traditional Hajj narrative, the tract also conveys a finely tuned propagandistic message emphasizing the shared legacies of Al-Andalus uniting God-fearing Spaniards and Moroccans

in a battle against atheism. From there, Calderwood explores active efforts by the Franco regime to cultivate Hispano-Arab culture, a deliberately imprecise concept that could have religious or ethno-cultural meaning depending on context. The regime also assumed patronage of the Tetouan School of Art and the Hasani Institute for Moroccan Music, where Spanish masters like the painter Mariano Bertuchi taught Moroccan students and popularized the belief that Morocco's artistic and musical traditions originated in Al-Andalus.

The book closes with the transformation of Andalusí heritage from a discourse of colonial collaboration into a theme of anti-colonial nationalism. Calderwood traces this transformation to the writings of the Lebanese Druze prince Shakib Arslan, whose writings of the 1930s popularized the association of Al-Andalus with the notion of "lost paradise" (266)—not Hispano-Arab patrimony at all, but a golden age of Islamic history with potential to inspire all Muslim peoples to rise again. Since independence, Calderwood notes in his epilogue, Moroccan nationalists and particularly the monarchy have asserted their claim on Andalusí patrimony, as evidenced by the numerous references to Granada's Alhambra in Moroccan public architecture since 1960, including the Muhammad V mausoleum in Rabat.

For students of Moroccan nationalism, it is instructive that Spanish colonial culture played a key role in a process usually understood in relation to French imperialism. Logically enough, Andalusí heritage is associated most closely with the north—especially Tetouan, whose nickname, "the daughter of Granada", was the creation of Moroccan nationalists of the independence generation. It was also in the north where Moroccan nationalism encountered the most determined resistance from Berber tribes of the Rif. Calderwood observes that Al-Andalus provided a kind of antidote to divisive French policies such as notorious Berber *dahir* of 1930, but he might also have considered its meaning with respect to persistent ethnic tension in the former Spanish sector. Two of the book's other central claims, namely that the Hispano-Moroccan case does not conform to Edward Said's standard Orientalist paradigm and that Moroccan nationalists engaged in sincere collaboration with the Franco regime, are not as surprising as the author frequently asserts, in light of considerable historiography on *Africanismo* and of what is known about European fascism in the Arab world more generally. This is not to say that Calderwood's work is not a major contribution to these literatures. It is a skillful example of textual criticism in historical and institutional context and should be of significant interest to historians of modern Spain and Morocco as well as those interested in modern representations of the medieval world.

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Rein, Raanan and Joan Maria Thomàs, eds. *Spain 1936. Year Zero*. Sussex Studies in Spanish History. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2018. 303 pp.

This volume comes out of a conference held to mark the eightieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Civil War. It has a novel premise. Rather than cover the conflict as a whole, it focusses on the initial moments of the war and their immediate impact. Borrowing the concept of “year zero” from Italian filmmaker Roberto Rossellini and Dutch author Ian Buruma, Raanan Rein and Joan Maria Thomàs asked their contributors to focus on the first few months of the conflict, “a brief, intense and crucial historical moment” (1) that largely determined what came years, and even decades, later. Those months, they contend, were absolutely transformative, turning “social and political cleavages into a Manichean struggle between two antagonistic camps, each one believing it represented the utmost good and was fighting the utmost evil” (9).

Some chapters are devoted to topics central to any history of the Civil War: the actions of countries such as France and the Soviet Union, the construction of the Francoist state, and the impact of the Civil War on women. Others—and here is the greatest novelty of this volume—deal with less well-known perspectives: athletes at the abortive Popular Olympics, the actions of the Salazar regime, Argentina, and Japan, and attitudes of Winston Churchill. The list of contributors reflects this dichotomy of topics. Some are well known to specialists on the Civil War, including Michael Seidman, Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, Inbal Ofer, Daniel Kowlasky and David Messenger, while others, such as Luciano Casali, Pedro Aires Oliveira, Haruo Tohmatsu, Leonardo Senkman, and Manuela Consonni, were, to me at least, unfamiliar.

The editors did well in putting Michael Seidman’s chapter first. Writing with his characteristic provocative flair, he calls 1936 a “magical year” (13) on a par with 1917, one that first gave anti-Fascism a global audience. But the Civil War was not just any kind of anti-Fascism; nor was it, as is often said, the opening round of World War II. Instead, it was a “revolutionary anti-Fascist struggle” (28) that foreshadowed the “People’s Democracies” of eastern Europe. Raanan Rein tells the fascinating story of Jewish athletes from Palestine who went, or tried to go, to Barcelona for the Popular Olympics, some of whom chose to fight for the Republic. Inbal Ofer describes how the first months of the Civil War provided women with “new opportunities for public activism” (109) while at the same time not constituting any kind of Year Zero since most women were mobilized into pre-existing organizations and there was no rupture in power relations. She also highlights the similarities between the mobilization of Republican and Nationalist women, with the greatest point of differentiation being the ways in which this mobilization was justified. Xosé M. Núñez Seixas demonstrates how the outbreak

of the Civil War was a “turning point” (79) in the way Spanish fascists viewed Nazi Germany. The most intriguing part of the chapter was Núñez Seixas’s analysis of the letters that ordinary Spaniards sent to the German embassy on Hitler’s birthday and following the invasion of the Soviet Union, portraying the German dictator as an “avenging angel” (84). David Messenger effectively guides us through the complexities of French responses to the Spanish conflict, emphasizing that these went well beyond a simple left-right binary and affected many parts of French society. He briefly mentions concerns in the Foreign Ministry about developments in Catalonia, including the possibility of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence and its effect on Roussillon, which had its own Catalan population, and Alsace. In light of the events of the last couple of years, one wishes he had been able to discuss this at greater length.

Two chapters deal with the Soviet Union. Daniel Kowalsky provides a well-argued account of the evolution of Soviet engagement with the Spanish Republic, although his description of Soviet intervention as “one of the most improbable events in modern history” (152) is a bit hyperbolic. Silvina Schammah Gesser and Alexandra Cheveleva Dergacheva’s detailed account of Rafael Alberti’s connections with the Soviet Union, and particularly his 1937 visit there, shows how this supposed “voice of the proletariat” (175) never confronted his Soviet past, leaving him a diminished figure.

There are chapters devoted to countries little mentioned or even ignored in discussions of the Spanish Civil War. Pedro Aires Oliveira gives a thorough account of Salazar’s policies towards Spain. Seeing the Second Republic as “an existential threat” to his regime and even fearing a possible Spanish invasion (118), he backed the Nationalists “without qualms” (120), offering various forms of support, including using his ties to Great Britain to promote Franco. At the same time, this most traditional of political leaders was concerned about what fascist domination of Europe would mean for a country whose relations with Britain were so crucial. Great Britain itself is absent from the volume, except for a curious and highly speculative chapter by Emilio Sáenz-Francés San Baldomero about Winston Churchill’s “chimerical thought” about the Civil War, which seems to come down to his having had a personal involvement with Spain. He also, strangely, refers to Franco as a “major figure” in World War II (227). Haruo Tohmatsu analyzes the impact of the Spanish Civil War on Japan, a country that had experienced an attempted military coup not long before July 18, 1936. The Civil War was, unsurprisingly, not a major issue in Japan, but it did connect “various issues in diverse and sometime unexpected ways” (247). The most intriguing one was through the Soviet intervention in the Sino-Japanese War on behalf of the Kuomintang and the Chinese evocation of the battle for Madrid as an analogy for their defence of the city of Wuhan. Finally, Leonardo Senkman explores Argentina’s policies of diplomatic and naval asylum, which were second only to

Chile's among Latin American nations. As one would anticipate, most beneficiaries were Nationalists, including Ramón Serrano Suñer, who travelled to Marseilles clandestinely on the naval vessel *Tucumán*, but Argentine policy also helped some Republicans.

The volume concludes with Manuela Consonni's unusual tribute to Renzo Giua, a young Italian who died in Spain in 1938, "with guns blazing" (270). She combines his personal story with that of the clandestine resistance to the Fascist regime in Italy. Giua's own story mostly consists of lengthy extracts from texts written "by those who knew him very well or very little" (271), as well as some letters he wrote to his mother. She borrows the structure from Hans Magnus Enzensberger's biography of Buenaventura Durruti, but her claim that Giua's story resembles Durruti's is unconvincing.

As Rein and Thomàs point out in their introduction, written in December 2017, the Spanish Civil War remains a "source of contention of controversy" (1), with debate still swirling around the Valley of the Fallen and the *callejero* of Madrid. Much has happened in the subsequent two years, including the dramatic/anticlimactic exhumation of Francisco Franco from the Valley of the Fallen broadcast live over many hours on October 24, 2019. Whether this will lead to the repurposing of this Francoist monument is, in the extremely complex current political situation, very much an open question. What is beyond doubt is that the production of scholarship devoted to this seminal event in Spain's— and Europe's— twentieth-century history will not slacken any time soon.

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Matthews, James, ed. *Spain at War: Society, Culture, and Mobilization, 1936-44*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019. xii 263 pp. + 14 ill.

James Matthews, who previously won acclaim from the Association of Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies for his *Reluctant Warriors: Republican Popular Army and Nationalist Army Conscripts in the Spanish Civil War 1936-1936* (2012), can count this new edited volume as another achievement. Matthews gives this collection cohesion by bringing together twelve other scholars who can all speak and provide depth to one unifying topic. Namely, the volume's object is to allow the reader to understand what the experience of the Spanish Civil War was like for everyday people—soldiers and civilians—on both sides of the conflict. In so doing, Matthews hopes to demonstrate the agency that these participants exercised, bringing social and cultural analysis to the fore where political and military history have previously dominated the study of the civil war. Thus, he

understands the volume as “new” military history, that is, as part of the movement to develop a “dialogue between military history and social and cultural history;” although, not all chapters are in dialogue with the work of military historians (2). What this volume certainly does do is provide “the grassroots perspective of the experience of war and mobilization between 1936 and 1944” (3). Since each chapter presents a different grassroots perspective, the result is a fairly comprehensive overview that covers the war from its inception to aftermath and spans over a dozen topics, from economics to gender, children to food. Each chapter adheres to Matthews’s mission of foregrounding the social and cultural aspects of the war rather than the politics, battles, and generals, such that the chapters combine to create a new narrative of the war entirely focused on subaltern actors. Since Matthews also provides a brief overview of the course of the war in the introduction, a reader with no prior knowledge of the war could gain a unique grounding in it through this volume, which suggests that the work should be ideal for undergraduate classroom use.

Matthews frames the civil war as a “total war” since the volume’s chapters demonstrate that it affected every aspect of life. Regrettably, however, the collection’s authors do not use the material they present to spell out an explicit case for why the civil war was a “total war,” even though many seem to provide further evidence for Roger Chickering’s argument that the civil war should be considered as such. Although less emphasized in Matthews’s introduction, many chapters do make the argument that the Republic did not lose the war solely because it did not receive substantial aid from the Western democracies (although the authors do not deny that this was a very important reason), but also because the Republic was much less successful in mobilizing its population to fight the war than were the Nationalists. While this conclusion echoes the previous work of scholars such as Michael Seidman, the authors in this volume provide further abundant evidence to support the thesis, showing that the Republicans faced disorganization and disunity in almost every facet of mobilization, including conscription, desertion prevention, espionage, finance, and provisioning. The treatment of each of these varied topics can only be about fifteen pages given the number of chapters in this volume, but each one provides a few suggestions for further reading as well as endnotes so readers can easily find more information. One last achievement of the collection should be mentioned. Matthews brings together Anglophone and Spanish scholars as well as both veterans of the field and relative newcomers. The reader can see how pioneers of the social history of Spain like Seidman and Adrian Shubert paved the way for the innovative new directions that the younger cultural and gender historians featured in this collection are taking in the field.

The volume’s many chapters are logically organized into sections focusing on the initial mobilization of the militias, the later mobilization for total war, the situation in the rearguard, and then finally the aftermath of the war. Matthews and

Michael Alpert begin with the Republican militias, and although they acknowledge that the militias were the key to foiling the coup that set off the civil war, the authors then paint a picture of almost total disarray in which the disunified, poorly equipped and inexperienced militias proved no match for the Army of Africa's disciplined veterans. The contrast with the Nationalist militias, as described by Mercedes Peñalba-Sotorrío, could hardly be starker. While Peñalba-Sotorrío proves that the tensions between the Falangist and Carlist militias were very real, it is clear that they were both more effective in battle and more willing to unify than their Republican counterparts. Ultimately, she concludes that the fusion of the Falange and the Carlists into the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Socialista was a victory for the Falange that left the Carlists with little authority.

The next section of the volume concerns mobilization after the initial phase of the war. Matthews begins by considering the conscript experience on both sides of the conflict. While it is no surprise that the Nationalists were more effective in getting their conscripts to fight than the Republicans, Matthews shows that the reality of conscription was not as simple as militarized, authoritarian coercion on the Nationalist side and more respect for freedom and human rights on the Republican side. The Republicans began conscription later than the Nationalists and had looser discipline at first, but late in the war the Popular Army resorted to tactics as extreme as mass executions to try and force conscripts to stay at the front. Not only were the Nationalists able to keep their conscripts better supplied, they proved better at providing what Matthews calls "psychological comforts" (59). Small measures such as offering goods for purchase, a mail service, and regulated prostitutes, all of which the Nationalists made available more effectively than the Republicans, went a long way towards making obligatory military service tolerable. Despite these measures, desertion and self-mutilation were serious problems for both sides, as Pedro Corral's chapter documents. Yet here again, the Nationalists dealt with these issues harshly yet consistently, relying on summary military justice, whereas the Republicans went from Popular Courts to summary executions to offering an amnesty. One would think that the Republic would have had less trouble with its spies, which were supposed to be among its most enthusiastic adherents, but Hernán Rodríguez Velasco demonstrates that this was not the case. Like other aspects of the Republican war machine, its spy network was dogged by disorganization and underfunding, and most spies turned out to be more motivated by personal rather than political reasons, giving more intelligence away about their own side when they were captured than they had gathered on the enemy.

Ali Al Tuma's chapter considers another little-studied group of participants in the war: the Moroccan *regulares*. Al Tuma exposes the deep-seated prejudice that the Republicans held against the "*moros*" and reveals that this prejudice remains present in scholarship on the civil war to this day in the form of the almost

universally held assumptions that the *regulares* were brutal fighters only in Spain for the money. Al Tuma demonstrates that while the *regulares* did commit some atrocities, especially early in the war, how many of these acts were committed is actually unknown. His study of veterans' testimonies also reveals that while economics were certainly a draw, *regulares* were also motivated by a desire to fight those whom they perceived as "Godless Reds." In addition, while talk of a "Moorish invasion" made good propaganda for the Republicans, it might have been at least partially counterproductive since Republicans developed a habit of killing Moroccan prisoners. No wonder the *regulares* were thought to be willing to fight to the last man.

The chapters on the war effort in rearguard areas provide still more evidence that the Nationalists were better able to manage their affairs than the Republicans. Of all the authors in this volume, Seidman makes this claim most forcefully in his chapter on economics and monetary policy. He convincingly argues that the Nationalists' conservative monetary policy convinced international business that Francoist Spain was a safe place to invest, and consequently the Nationalists were able to raise much-needed funds on credit. The Germans and Italians were not the Francoists' only creditors; the Spanish bourgeoisie greatly aided the war effort as well. In contrast, the Republicans were never able to convince investors that their property would be safe. The Republic turned to hyperinflation as a way to compensate for its lack of funds, but this only encouraged capital flight and hoarding. Whereas bank deposits and industrial output actually increased in the Nationalists' militarized economic system, the Republic found it impossible to collect taxes and economic productivity plummeted. Seidman highlights these differences between the Nationalists and Republicans, but Ángela Cenarro demonstrates that in regard to their social policies there were many similarities between the two sides. Both tried to mobilize women for the war effort by channeling them into caregiving work and sought to found a new social order through state intervention.

Suzanne Dunai and Verónica Sierra Blas make clear how deeply the effects of the war were felt even far from the front lines through examining food and children, respectively. Suzanne Dunai argues that, like so many other aspects of its war effort, the Republican failure to provision its population adequately with food undermined that population's willingness to continue supporting the war effort. She points out that while Madrid and Barcelona did not experience a famine during the war, there was a food crisis, and residents considered their monotonous diet unacceptable after enjoying increased food variety in the preceding decades. Regarding children, that tens of thousands were evacuated during the war is well known, but Sierra Blas shows how such experiences affected children's memories by examining the letters and artwork the children made as a way to face their

trauma. She concludes that these traumas defined a generation as many had to cope with them for the rest of their lives.

In the section on the aftermath of the war, Francoist Spain is compared to the fascist states of Italy and Germany rather than to the Republic. Ángel Alcalde finds that the Francoist state, like these other fascist regimes, honored its veterans but left many in a state of impoverishment. As for Republican veterans, they often had to endure a concentration camp in either Spain or France. Xosé M. Núñez Seixas examines the Spanish “Blue Division,” which fought for the Axis on the Eastern Front in the Second World War. He questions the usual assertion of military historians that the Blue Division was simply anticommunist and not linked to the Nazi’s larger genocidal project by examining the actions of the “Blue Division” in the rearguard. He determines that while division members were not involved in mass killings, this was because the Spanish did not participate in the most brutal fighting and partisan warfare rather than because they lacked the racial ideology of the Nazis. Ian Winchester examines what the composition of the Francoist ideology was regarding masculinity. In a creative, Foucaultian reading of training manuals and instructional pamphlets, he argues that the compulsory military service, which continued after the civil war had ended, was a way for the regime to imbue young men with a conception of masculinity that followed the conservative sexual mores of the Church while also emphasizing discipline, obedience, and subordination—characteristics that were important for maintaining a docile citizenry.

Taken as a whole, the most refreshing aspect of this edited volume is that it truly concentrates on the social and cultural experience of the war for everyday people, thereby avoiding the polarized politicization of the war’s history that has plagued scholarship on the subject for so long. The reader will find little here on the war’s charismatic generals and politicians, the heady days of anarchist revolution, or the romanticism of the International Brigades. After all, as Matthews informs us, less than ten percent of the war’s combatants were volunteers. While most scholarship has focused on that ten percent, telling the story of the other ninety seems like as worthy a goal as any for the historian, a goal at least as worthy as determining whether the anarchists or the communists did more damage to the Republic or comparing the body counts of different massacres in the Republican and Nationalist rearguards. This volume shows that most of those impacted by the war were not primarily motivated by any ideological concern. Historians will paint a more representative and ultimately more moving picture of the war if they, rather than engaging in the polarized debates of old, ask questions directly related to the experiences of low-ranking participants: how did the war affect the lives of ordinary Spaniards and how did they seek to cope with those effects? *Spain at War*

demonstrates that there are historians today on both sides of the Atlantic seeking to answer such essential questions.

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Brenneis, Sara J. *Spaniards in Mauthausen: Representations of a Nazi Concentration Camp, 1940-2015*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018. xii + 365 pp. + 10 ill.

Following the liberation of German concentration camps by Allied forces, accounts and testimonies emerged from Jewish Holocaust survivors and led the discourse surrounding the experiences of the victims of Nazi policies. Since then, representations of the Shoah have included these testimonies, but have also extended to include novels, documentaries, Hollywood films, and the creation of Holocaust Studies programs and research centers in academe. The importance of documenting, studying, and continuing the discussion of the tragedy of the Holocaust cannot be understated. In *Spaniards in Mauthausen: Representation of a Nazi Concentration Camp, 1940-2015*, Sara Brenneis contributes significant scholarship to Holocaust Studies at large, and Spanish cultural studies, specifically. Despite the many texts about the Holocaust, both historical and fictional, the experiences of Spaniards who survived and witnessed the atrocities have been largely overlooked. Through the introduction and subsequent five chapters of *Spaniards in Mauthausen*, Brenneis argues for the recognition of the experience of the Spanish deportees who lived and died in concentration camps in order to provide a more inclusive depiction of the Holocaust. Brenneis considers a wide variety of texts spanning seven decades—from high cultural productions to popular cultural materials—that range from survivors’ first-hand memoirs to postmemory works from the second and third generations.

As the title suggests, Brenneis’ study centers on representations of the Spanish experience in the Mauthausen labor camp and its subcamps where a majority of Spanish victims (most of whom were Catalan) were transported (5). The introduction situates Spain’s position within the larger context of World War II and the Holocaust, including Franco and his government’s complicity in the detainment of the more than 7,000 men who fought for the Republic in the Spanish Civil War. Importantly, the introduction differentiates the Spanish prisoners from the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Because of their positions as non-Jews, Spanish survivors “agreed that they held an often-privileged position in the camp, one that was radically different from the treatment of the Jewish prisoners there” (17).

Brenneis begins Chapter One with an exploration of the materials the prisoners from within Mauthausen rescued or created. “A View from Inside: Clandestine Representation and Testimony of Mauthausen, 1940-1946” focuses on the years when the concentration camp operated and the year following the liberation. Brenneis describes the clandestine network of Spanish and Catalan prisoners that rescued the Nazi documentation that ultimately helped expose the innerworkings of the camp during the Nuremberg trials, while also creating a detailed record of the Spaniards who entered the camp. Brenneis focuses on photographic evidence rescued by Francesc Boix and documents saved by Casimir Climent i Sarrión and Joan de Diego—all at great personal risk—in addition to artwork by their fellow prisoners.

Chapter Two, “Postwar Impressions: The First Published Representations of the Camp, 1945-1963,” examines the first four accounts of the Spanish experience in Mauthausen through testimonial and fictional writings by Catalan authors, penned and published both inside and outside of Spain. In the third chapter, Brenneis describes the upsurge of survivor retellings that took hold towards the end of the dictatorship. “Transitions: Early Accounts of Mauthausen, 1970s” highlights the diversity of texts that circulated to a wider audience in Spain just prior to and following the death of Franco. From Mariano Constante’s self-aggrandizing memoirs, to the first documentary about the camp by Llorenç Soler (*Sobrevivir en Mauthausen*), to Montserrat Roig’s pioneering historical account of Catalans in Nazi concentration camps, Brenneis elucidates the differences amongst the quality of materials as well as the intended audiences of the authors.

Chapter Four describes the diverse methods used to represent Mauthausen at the *fin de siècle* and into the twenty-first century. In addition to a second wave of memoirs that emerged circa 1995, a growing body of documentary films were produced at the turn of the century. Brenneis focuses on new media elements, such as a fictional Twitter account and a graphic novel. Apart from the memoirs discussed, the play and historical novels analyzed in the fourth chapter are often authored by non-survivors and constitute works of postmemory. While continuously warning of the subjectivity of not just fictional sources, but of firsthand testimony and even primary source documentation, Brenneis situates the material she analyzes within its historical and cultural milieu to combat the subjective nature of the works. The combination of genres and modes of representation ultimately help build a clear picture of the Spanish experience in Mauthausen and its extension into contemporary Spain.

In addition to positioning the Holocaust texts within their historical context, Brenneis draws astute parallels between her source material and the Spanish literary cannon. Examples of the connections she forges begin with the first account from a Mauthausen survivor available in Spain. Published in the Falangist newspaper *Arriba*, Carlos Rodríguez del Risco’s propagandistic, serialized memoir “Yo he

estado en Mauthausen” (1946) follows both the Spanish literary traditions of the serialized novel and conversion narrative. (90) Despite the title and form of Amadeo Sinca Vendrell’s personalized historiography, *Lo que Dante no pudo imaginar*, making explicit reference to Dante’s *Inferno*, Brenneis brings his writings closer to the peninsula. Published in exile the same year as Rodríguez del Risco’s memoir, Sinca Vendrell’s narrative mimics Francisco de Quevedos’ seventeenth-century narrative “El sueño de la muerte” (108). When examining twenty-first-century new media texts, Brenneis aligns Carlos Hernández’s “@deportado4443” Twitter account with the serialized narration Rodríguez del Risco relied on seventy years prior (245). In addition to weaving a rich tapestry of the interrelatedness of experiences and techniques used by survivors and subsequent generations, Brenneis’ alignment of the texts with Spanish literary traditions demonstrates how these works reflect the Spanish experience in Mauthausen.

Today, the location of the camp serves as a memorial, monument, and museum to the memory of the victims of the Nazis. In the final chapter, Brenneis grapples with the role of the site as a space of memory-making, but also questions its place in “appropriating sites of genocide as tourist attractions ultimately interested in financial gain over a nuanced exploration of history” (257). The debate raised as a closing to the book exemplifies perhaps the most pressing reason for amplifying the experiences of Spanish survivors at this precise moment. *Spaniards in Mauthausen* advances historical memory discourse by contributing new voices to the conversation as it brings forth representations of Spaniards from concentration camps to form a part of the historiography of the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship.

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Valencia-Garcia, Louie Dean. *Antiauthoritarian Youth Culture in Francoist Spain: Clashing with Fascism*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018. 248 pp.

Antiauthoritarian Youth Culture in Francoist Spain makes a lively and innovative contribution to the body of scholarship that explores the origins of the democratic transition in Spain in the emerging civil society of the Franco dictatorship. Like other works in this genre, the book analyzes how the growing pluralism and autonomy in the public sphere of the 1960s and 1970s undermined the regime’s authority “from below”, preparing the ground for the formal institutional transition of the late 1970s. But where most works have focused on political movements and ideologies, this book turns the attention to cultural

practices with no explicit political content, from comic books to the carnivalesque excesses of the Movidá. Drawing from cultural studies theory, Valencia-Dean argues that transgressive and non-normative cultural practices contributed to a “revolution of everyday life” that undermined the regime’s authority, particularly with the younger generations. In contrast to what he calls “fascist tendencies” such as nationalism, sexism, queerphobia, and xenophobia, the emerging pluralist countercultures challenged the homogenizing and exclusionary parameters of the regime’s values. These pluralist spaces not only helped young people imagine a different world, he argues, but were necessary preconditions for democracy to take hold.

In linking the word “fascist” to the later Franco regime, the book wades into the complex debates about the nature and evolution of the dictatorship. While this stage of the regime is not institutionally fascist, he argues, there remains an everyday fascism articulated through binary categories of inclusion and exclusion, which manifests along different axes, such as queerphobia or sexism. Likewise, democratic countercultures are defined, not through institutional criteria, but through their embrace of pluralism and diversity. In this cultural contest between fascist and democratic values, young people are both the object of indoctrination and the subject of everyday resistance. In chapter two Valencia-Dean argues that fascist values remained at the core of the Francoist education system, as evidenced by the continuity in children’s textbooks over four decades and the continued strong censorship of children’s literature, even after the liberalizing 1966 Press Law. Although other scholars have written about youth rebellion against this indoctrination in the form of the student movement, Valencia-Dean argues for a more diffuse cultural shift in mentalities beginning with the first generation with no memory of the civil war.

The book is loosely organized along a chronological trajectory from the 1950s to the 1970s, with a focus on youth cultures in Madrid. In the final chapter 7 on the raucous Movidá culture of the late 1970s, Valencia-Dean frames it as the moment when the antiauthoritarian countercultures that had developed in “virtual” and underground spaces over the previous decades exploded into the public sphere. For those earlier decades when the smallest transgression could become a form of political protest, chapters 3 and 4 focus on forms of non-conformity that mostly took place in “virtual” or private spaces in the 1950s and early 1960s. Chapters 5 and 6 follow the story into the late 1960s and early 1970s when the regime was losing more control of social and cultural practices, creating the opportunity for more pluralist spaces, especially in print.

Valencia-Dean appropriates Benedict Anderson’s concept of imagined communities to define the process of creating virtual spaces. The ability to imagine a different world was in itself a subversive challenge to a regime that claimed to be all-encompassing. Chapter 3 makes the interesting argument that the memory of

pre-Francoist culture could be mobilized as a virtual space for imagined community. Although the pluralist political-literary café culture of the past had been suppressed by the regime, the memory evoked a different vision of Spanish culture in which liberal philosophers like Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset had been the “masters.” The chapter focuses on a short story written about Unamuno’s last lecture as rector of the University of Salamanca in October 1936, and on the funeral for Ortega in 1955, which turned into a procession through the streets of Madrid. Although the story was published in exile, Valencia-Dean argues that the myth of Unamuno’s last stand was incorporated as part of a narrative of pluralist intellectual culture that preceded and would outlast the dictatorship. By the 1970s, as chapter 5 argues, this pluralist virtual space could be reproduced or reimagined in a more sustained form in the pages of the journal *Cuadernos para el Dialogo*, which provided a space for “dialogue” like that which used to take place in the tertulias of the café culture. Without launching direct attacks on the regime, the celebration of pluralist “dialogue” was enough to challenge the regime’s values.

Another medium of everyday resistance identified by Valencia-Dean was the comic book. Chapter 4 analyzes the impact of American Superman comics in the 1950s and 1960s, which entered Spain through a popular Mexican edition that was banned by the regime in 1964 in recognition of its subversive values. Drawing on a lengthy critique of the Superman comic from the era, Valencia-Dean analyzes the fear inspired by the protagonist’s feminized and queer qualities, as well as by the manly woman, the fearless Lois Lane. When Spaniards began producing their own underground comics in the 1970s, as explored in chapter 6, they drew on other American auteurs like Robert Crumb to create a carnivalesque virtual space of sex, drugs and debauchery that would later erupt in physical spaces like bars and finally in the public sphere during the Transition. Instead of dismissing the outrageous and irreverent Movidia culture as a sideshow to the more serious process of political transition, Valencia-Dean defines it as an “aesthetic of dissent against normative culture” (143) that marked the culmination of two decades of antiauthoritarian youth culture.

While it draws on cultural theorists from Hebdige to Bakhtin, the book is engagingly written and sprinkled with short biographical sketches of protagonists and descriptions of events that help flesh out the parameters of a cultural shift that is mostly teased out from between the lines of a creative variety of sources. It’s hard to tell from the sources how far this revolution of everyday life extended into the population, but the book’s suggestive framing tells a compelling story that provides a new window into the origins of the democratic transition in Spain.

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Elliott, J.H. *Scots & Catalans: Union and Disunion*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018. Xii + 339 pp.

Over a seven-decade career writing political, biographical, and national histories rich in detail, J.H. Elliott has earned a reputation for painstaking research, dispassionate assessments, and admirable prose. Now he wants to know why two European peoples, the Scots and the Catalans, have attempted (again and again) to challenge their subordination to England and Castilian Spain. He seeks an answer in a comparison of their histories. He puts up a good fight against some confounding methodological difficulties but, in the end, a straightforward answer to the multigenerational rabble-rousing of his subjects eludes him.

The author sees plenty of similarities in the historical trajectories of Scotland and Catalonia over roughly 500 years: medieval monarchies shaped the territorial limits and institutional features of each region, then dynastic accidents brought each into the unions that became Great Britain and Spain. The earliest manifestations of these unions were composites in which monarchs protected the legal and cultural distinctiveness of each of their kingdoms or principalities. As monarchies became empires and then nation-states, advisers and lieutenants gained advantage for the political centers, making Scotland and Catalonia peripheral adjuncts. Scots and Catalans rebelled against these conditions in the 1640s but lost. In the early eighteenth century, authoritarian governments, threatened by international conflicts, tightened their hold and increased restrictions. The dispatch of Philip V's *Nueva Planta* decrees in 1716 revoked Catalonia's privileges and imposed new legal, institutional, and military controls. When repression arrived in Scotland at the end of the Jacobite Rising in 1745, Scots in the Highlands, already marginalized, were further reduced to a Gaelic-speaking minority. Both Scotland and Catalonia industrialized late in the eighteenth century. Both felt the reverberating effects of the French and American revolutions and suffered the social upheavals that came with the rise of Liberalism and other ideological currents. In the period of nineteenth-century Romanticism, historians, writers, and folklorists elaborated and reified the myths upon which they could assert claims to a national consciousness. Into the twentieth century, some Scots and Catalans found justification in their invented national identities to assert cultural distinctiveness and to radicalize claims for political separation. The evolution of sophisticated political parties and civil society institutions into the twenty-first century gave impetus to emboldened secessionist demands.

That these similarities are meant to give the book its basic structure is evident in the table of contents, which shows Elliott shoehorning his similarity-seeking agenda into a tight-fit chronology: 1. Dynastic Union, 1469-1625; 2.

Rebellion and Its Aftermath, 1625-1707/1716; 3. Incorporating Unions, 1707-1789; 4. Nations and States, 1789-1860; 5. The Call for Home Rule, 1860-1975; 6. Breaking Away? 1975-2017. The construction is presented as unproblematic, but readers should be forgiven for seeing the chronology as a textbook rendering and the themes as superficial. We can rightly wonder whether a story that begins for Catalonia in 1410 or 1469 can be so neatly fit to a story that begins for the Scots in 1603. And why start the stories there anyway? Elliott's points of departure signal preconceptions and prejudices that shape the narrative uncomfortably. The early pages oversimplify basic cultural distinctions. I am not Catalan, but I can appreciate that many Catalan readers of the book will argue with good conscience that any story about Catalonia that does not begin deeper in the medieval period will get basic premises wrong. Similarly, the story of the Scots insufficiently identifies the cultural elements – religious difference being key among them – that separated the Scots from the English at the moment of union. Later, as when discussing the period of rebellions after initial union, the author is not keen to emphasize the contingencies that make each situation distinct.

Elliott is engaged in exploring how the paths traveled by Scots and Catalans differ as well as converge, but how he presents these differences confirms the arbitrary, even illusory, nature of the perceived similarities. To take one example, Elliott notes that industrialization came to both locales through the manufacture of textiles, but the differences obliterate the value of the parallelism. Scotland's output made it a cog in the wheel of Great Britain's robust and diversified industrial economy, with the result that Scottish industry made Scotland more British. Catalonia's textile industry made it the economic powerhouse of an otherwise backward-looking Spanish economy dominated by a retrograde agriculture. That Madrid preyed upon the Catalan economy gave Catalans one of many reasons to harden their resistance. The author approaches some differences with timidity, obfuscating the weight they deserve. He hardly notices the fact that Catalonia had to defend itself from two hungry neighbors since at least the thirteenth century (France only gets bit-player status here). Elsewhere he posits controversial claims with such ease as to make them seem incontrovertible: that Catalonia was never a state; that the value Catalans give to their language as a cultural indicator is a Romantic invention (Gaelic, he says, was never of much consequence to the Scots either); that Catalan successionists are fanatics, a minority who impose themselves with the pretense of a majority upon a population that vacillates between disoriented or hapless. Readers may agree with the author, or they may question his motives.

To assert that historical context can tell us something about recent successionist moves requires a theory about the discursive relationship between past, present, and future. In his book of autobiographical reflections on the historical profession, *History in the Making* (Princeton: Yale University Press,

2012), Elliott tells us that theory gets in the way of his pragmatism. That is a smoke screen, since careful readers can intuit not only that he holds theoretical predilections but that they are ill-fitted to his task. One is that governance and the decisions of contending elites are of greater consequence, of a higher order, than sloppy change from below. While Great Britain and Spain need no explaining (no matter that the loss of Empire and the Brexit fiasco throw shade on Great Britain's exceptional ego, and no matter that many who know the history of Spain consider it a repeat-offender failed state), Scotland and Catalonia remain "lesser polities" of questionable relevance. Second, he is dismissive of manifestations of culture, of the construction of identity, of the productive capacity of myth and memory, and of the possibility that a state can inflict long-lasting trauma on its own people. A third guiding position, one that subsumes the first two, has it that time is the most powerful agent of change. This is tricky. Elliott can be adept at describing the seriousness of momentary conflicts even while relentlessly piling evidence upon evidence to the end that change always seems to brush the past under its rug. Leaders and those who struggle against them may try to steer the world this way or that, but they inevitably get set adrift, rocked to and fro by exigencies that they cannot anticipate and that they never fully comprehend. The problem here is that fatalism cannot answer the question Elliott asks. Some successionist movements have very deep roots. In seeking to learn why it is that their emotional batteries get recharged time and again, the answer has to go beyond identifying dynastic foibles or fleeting successes or failures in diplomacy. It has to take account of the psychology, sociology, and anthropology of humanity's use of the past to change the present.

Near the end of the book, Elliott asserts "Spain after 1978 was an infinitely more benign country than the Spain of General Franco" (270). Such relativism is undoubtedly true for those who ignore the damage done by the past to the present. It also forgets that events in the present can reawaken ancestral spirits and reopen old wounds.

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Vargas, Michael A. *Constructing Catalan Identity: Memory, Imagination, and the Medieval*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. Pp. xii, 197.

While a nation is a social construction, no nation can be simply constructed, as the failed example of Padania vividly testifies. To be built socially, a nation must contain the raw materials for its building, and a sense of a shared history is an essential component to such a project. Furthermore, there needs to be a degree of societal consensus around its constituent parts. We should not see these parts as

fixed and unchanging. Rather contemporary needs will determine what should be promoted and emphasised. Linda Colley noted some years ago the centrality of Protestantism in the making of British identity in the eighteenth century, yet this religious component is barely relevant today. The past that arrives in the present is there through a process of selection. Michael Vargas's study carefully examines how features of a medieval past are celebrated in contemporary Catalan society.

The case of Catalonia is a fruitful one for the examination of the relationship between historical recall as well as the impact of myth-history in the national story. As we are shown in this lucid study, the presence of the medieval is visible in the physical architecture of cities such as Girona and Barcelona; in the naming of streets, squares and even metro stations; in the evocation of a millenarian culture; in the selection of national heroes; and in a sense of collective historical consciousness. This is what Vargas terms an "imagined medieval inheritance" (8). This is not to delegitimise Catalan nationhood as this imaginary inheritance is probably a universal component of national stories, from Joan of Arc, Saint Patrick and the shamrock to the Battle of Kosovo. As Hans Kohn once noted, in nationalism, what is true is *not what is*, but what people think is true.

Golden ages and glorious pasts are often the building blocks of nationalism. Catalonia, like Poland-Lithuania and Bulgaria, achieved its greatest territorial extent in the Middle Ages, which subsequently produced the cultural-political narratives of decline, decadence and, most importantly rebirth. Vargas examines closely the notions of decadence and renaissance in the Catalan tradition, seeing them as moral frameworks. One cannot exist without the other. Decadence can best be seen as offering the possibility of rebirth. This rebirth, or revival, permits a form of national reinvention, as a mythologised past comes to serve more contemporary political aims. Often moving effortlessly around a wide range of cultural expressions, Vargas encourages the reader to see anew the Catalan Renaixença in the nineteenth century. The author argues persuasively that a political purpose to Catalan cultural revival can be located earlier than has hitherto been argued. Here what are termed the medievalising and modernising interact producing invented traditions (*jocs florals*), an evoked landscape represented in the epic form, and what Vargas calls an official popular medievaldom.

This medievalising can connect with both the present and provide a narrative for the future, and here we can be reminded of Nairn's positing of nationalism as akin to Janus. This was evident in the shift from elites adopting Castilian to participate in Spanish nationhood to an embrace of Catalan as tool for modernity. The internal status of the Catalan language was transformed as economic modernisation created social divergence from the halting modernisation in other areas of the state. This transformation over the course of the nineteenth century created a distinctive fusion in Catalan identity around the question of culture-language. Yet this did not mean the abandonment or rejection of Spain, as

contemporary pro-secessionist ferment should not lead to a misreading of the Catalan past. The modernisation of Spain, led by Catalonia, remained central to the narrative.

A line can be drawn from the present-day attachment of Catalans to their institutions to the representation of the medieval in the present. The resonance of the Generalitat and its president, as being an almost unbroken line from the Middle Ages, is evoked as evidence of the deep national roots to Catalonia. Saints, religious icons and holy landscapes also play a role in the construction of contemporary identity. Montserrat, Poblet, Girona, Vic are sites of nationalist commemoration, where we encounter a fusion of the national and the religious. These elements feed into what Vargas terms streams of collective consciousness, where Catalan expression is constantly evoked and remade. Paradox also abounds. The rejection of Spanish Catholicism means the evocation of a deep Catalan religiosity, for a secular religion: nationalism. In this sense, what is deemed to be Spanish requires de-legitimisation.

This can be seen in the rupture with the Spanish monarchy. While present day Catalan nationalism invokes a republican narrative, this vision is combined with a hagiographical relationship to Catalan monarchs, perhaps none more so than Jaume I, the conqueror. The evocation of monarchical glory is present in many contemporary national narratives, from England to Poland. Jaume I brought glory to the medieval Catalan empire, but he did so at a terrible price, particularly in the conquest of Mallorca, which resulted in the enslavement or forced departure of much of the native Muslim population. Catalan children are taught uncritical narratives of medieval warrior nights, the Almogavars, who were ruthless mercenaries. Memory and historical memory are, as we have noted, selective, but it would be like ignoring the brutal depredations of the Black Prince in France and instead invoking him as embodying some national essence.

On occasion, some of the interventions rehash uncritically many of the standard tropes of Catalan nationalism, for example claiming that the mass internal migration of Spaniards from the south to Catalonia in the 1950s was a Francoist state policy to dilute Catalan identity. Historiography has demonstrated that state authorities tried to prevent this movement and frequently sent new arrivals back to the south. It is unfortunate that the final chapter is so hazy. Seemingly written as part emotional reaction to the attempted referendum of 1 October 2017, hyperbole seems to take over when we are told that the Guardia Civil “beat *and shot* Catalans,” while “*millions* stayed home for fear of attacks upon them by their own government (my emphasis)” (167). (Emphasis added by the reviewer.) This is disappointing when the full body of the book has been a model of considered analysis.

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